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THE LIFE
OF
JAMES DUKE OF ORMOND;

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF
THE MOST REMARKABLE AFFAIRS OF HIS TIME,
AND PARTICULARLY
OF IRELAND UNDER HIS GOVERNMENT:
WITH
AN APPENDIX
AND
A COLLECTION OF LETTERS,
SERVING TO
VERIFY THE MOST MATERIAL FACTS IN THE SAID HISTORY.

A NEW EDITION,
CAREFULLY COMPARED WITH THE ORIGINAL MSS.

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AN HISTORY

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OF

THE LIFE OF

JAMES THE FIRST DUKE OF ORMOND,

AND OF

THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND IN HIS TIME.

BOOK IV.

Containing an account of the duke of Ormond's conduct, and of the affairs of Ireland, from the cessation in September 1643, to his departure from that kingdom in July 1647.

THE news of the cessation was not agreeable to all of either party, as being contrary to the particular interests and views of some of both. The Romish clergy, the old Irish, and the necessitous part of the old English recusants, who could get nothing that they had set their hearts upon but by the confusions of the kingdom and the success of a war, exclaimed heavily against it, and would have been glad of an opportunity to break it as soon as it was made. These several sets of men, joining afterwards with the pope's nuncio in opposing the treaties of peace which were set on foot, never failed on every occasion of debate to clamour against this step, as what first broke the union of the confederates, divided them into parties, stopped the career of their successes,

and cooled as well their ardour for war, as the zeal which had been shewn by Roman catholic powers abroad in contributing to the support of what they hitherto had believed to be a war of religion. They had in truth no ill grounds for these complaints, and the marquis of Ormond was very well satisfied when he agreed to the cessation, that it would be attended with those consequences; and that if the confederates once laid down their arms, it would be a very difficult matter to persuade the generality of the gentlemen of English race to take them again; at least if their fears of extirpation were removed, and any hopes were given them of pardon for life and estate.

- 2 There was a like difference of sentiments among the protestants. All wise and good men, that wished well to the king, and desired the good of their country, rejoiced in an event which was necessary to prevent the utter desolation of the kingdom, and to enable the rem-453nant of his majesty's good subjects there to subsist. None disapproved it, but such as were linked in the parliament faction, and had views of raising to themselves fortunes upon the ruin of those of others. The heads of that faction, who by their measures, directions, and creatures had used as much skill and industry to improve and continue the rebellion as ever the first conspirators did to begin it, were enraged to see a stop put to the further effusion of blood, and a foundation laid for a pacification, which would defeat their schemes of extirpation. They sent over the copy of a petition against it to Dublin to be subscribed by the protestants there, and in other quarters to which it was to be distributed, expecting a speedy return of it; but every body almost had felt so much misery, and were so sensible of their inability to subsist without a cessation, that very few were willing to subscribe. The parliament, who whilst they were preparing for their own rebellion in England had sent over a great

part of the soldiers, which they had raised under pretence of the service of Ireland, so wretchedly clad and so ill provided, that it was shameful to see them, and had kept them ever since in a starving condition, incapable of attempting any considerable enterprise, now exclaimed loudly against a cessation, which their own utter neglect of supplies for ten months together had enforced. They published a declaration against it on Sept. 30, though they had not then received certain advice of its being concluded.

- 3 In that declaration they protested against all peace with the rebels, without regard to the terms of any; which must have entailed a perpetual war on the kingdom of Ireland, till the nation itself was in a manner extirpated. They censured the king for receiving propositions from the Irish rebels, though he acted therein out of the same paternal goodness to his people which induced him to receive those insolent and traitorous addresses which were made him by the English rebels under the humble style of petitions. They did not forget to extol their own zeal for religion and care of Ireland in general, without descending to particulars, which would have exposed the little foundation there was for either. But exclusive of this cant, the whole force of the argument against a cessation lies in a misrepresentation of facts, and in a confident asserting, that it was a fraudulent contrivance of the rebels, sought by them only for the gaining of time to get in their harvest, and to expect foreign succours; that the rebels were in a worse condition than the protestants, and even in danger of famine, and being forced to eat one another. The falsehood of these assertions appears sufficiently from what has been said before, upon unexceptionable evidence, and was at that time so notorious to all the kingdom of Ireland, that if it had not been necessary to keep the people of England from being imposed on by that declaration,

there would have been no occasion for the king to have published his^a motives for agreeing to the cessation, nor for the lords justices and council of Ireland to write their long^b letter to the speakers of the two houses of parliament in England, to justify their words in an act of council, for imposing the excise, sent to the house of commons on June 10, in a letter directed to the speaker. The words expressed that *their present difficulties* (in Ireland) *were occasioned by the failure of the houses of parliament in England, who undertook the charge of the war.* Both houses took offence at these words, and caused their speakers to express their resentment by letters on July 4, which gave occasion to the council of Ireland to prove the truth of what they had affirmed by so particular a detail of passages, that neither house cared to expose⁴⁵⁴ themselves by offering at any reply.

- 4 They knew it indeed to be the truth of the case ; and yet some years afterwards the house of commons thought fit to object to a gentleman of great merit, that he had assisted in the treaty of cessation. Sir Philip Percival had lost by the rebellion a landed estate of two thousand pounds a year, a personal estate of twenty thousand pounds, and the benefit of several offices worth two thousand pounds a year, which he held for life. He had, as clerk of the crown of the king's bench, been at a very great charge to make up records of indictments of high treason against three thousand of the rebels, and those for the most part noblemen, gentlemen, and freeholders, and been obliged to prosecute two thousand of them to an outlawry. He had, without any charge to the state, raised and armed a competent number of soldiers, horse and foot, and maintained them for a year, to defend his castles of Liscarrol and Annagh, in the remotest and most exposed quarters of the protestant party in Munster. He

^a See Collection of Letters, No. CLXXIII.

^b Ibid. No. CLXXXII.

had done the like with regard to those of Temple Conila and Walchestown till the treaty of cessation, and had maintained his house of Castlewarning, about nine miles from Dublin, for some years after. He had relieved three hundred distressed English for twelve months together in Dublin; and having been made commissary general of the victuals of the army, he had spent two thousand pounds of his own estate in that service; besides goods of his own, and what money and goods he could procure of others; had contracted an arrear of four thousand pounds and upwards, for entertainments due to him for his several employments in the war; and had engaged himself in more than ten thousand pounds for provisions to feed the army, having never refused to engage himself or his estate for them upon any occasion. When this gentleman, distinguished by his merit in so many respects, and otherwise unexceptionable in all, attended upon the English house of commons in 1645, to solicit the payment of his entertainments, (no part of which had he ever received,) and of the sums of money which he had advanced for the public service, they objected to so just a demand, that he had been concerned in the dangerous plot (as they were pleased to call it) of the cessation. Sir Philip Percival, for his own vindication, drew up a representation of that affair, which, coming from a person of his character, and who by his office could not but be apprised of the real condition of the army, and being laid before the house of commons, who would have punished in the severest manner any mistake that they could have caught hold of therein, carries with it an evidence which nobody can dispute. It cannot therefore be improper to give an extract of it, to refute all the misrepresentations that have been formerly made by the party writers, who have conveyed to us accounts of the transactions of that time, and to silence for ever all the cavils that have been made on this subject.

5 He begins with expressing his concern, "that it was necessary for the vindication of the truth and of his injured reputation, ingenuously to offer to their honours' consideration, that nothing but want and necessity, not feigned, but eminent, real and extreme necessity, and the exceeding great discontents of the army, to the apparent danger of the sudden and inevitable ruin and destruction of the remnant of our nation, and religion there, did or could compel his consent to the cessation; which was concluded at a time when our exigency was most pressing and the enemy most insolent, so that they had almost enclosed us with several armies during the treaty, our armies being in no posture of marching or taking the field, (as the prime officers of the field upon consultation declared,) and being at that instant, through want, in great danger of falling into the hands of the rebels, if by his mere industry, a few days before, (without any ready money, and beyond the expectation of the state,) ⁴⁵⁵ he had not found means to procure a good quantity of corn, which had been brought into the harbour upon promises of the lords justices and council to return it again, if the owners did not receive satisfaction for the same.

6 "On March 23, 1641, he received his commission of commissary-general of the provisions of the army from the earl of Leicester; and was sent in April to Ireland without money, but with letters from his lordship and the speaker of the house of commons to the lords justices, assuring them, that within twenty days his lordship would bring with him a great sum of money, (it was said one hundred thousand pounds,) for the occasions of the army, and that Mr. Frost, appointed commissary in London, should be supplied with money or credit to send provisions of victual from thence and Chester, as occasion should require. The army in Leinster consisted at this time of sixteen regiments and five old companies of foot,

four hundred firelocks, and twenty-two troops of horse and dragoons; most of them very full; and the Munster army consisted of seven thousand more. The lord lieutenant's coming being deferred, no money being sent over, nor any to be had in Dublin, there was little other pay for the army than victuals out of the stores, which were likewise burdened with the victualling of ships, and a considerable number of garrisons; carriages by sea and land for that service, storehouses, and necessities thereto belonging, were all wanting. Accounts of these wants, of the constant weekly and chargeable expense of so great an army in a country where free quarter and other helps could not be had, and which was burnt and wasted by the army, wherever they marched, and of the necessity of remitting money and provisions, were sent to Mr. Frost, the lord lieutenant, and the parliament, five hundred pounds was all that was paid, and that allotted for providing storehouses, weights and measures; but that sum, and much more, was soon disbursed for provisions.

- 7 “He continued writing, and pressing the charge of the army, and the impossibility of undergoing that service effectually, without answerable means. The house of commons, in Aug. 1642, voted five thousand pounds to be paid him to be employed in Dublin, which would have been of great advantage to the service by reason of some provisions to be had there more seasonably upon marches and other sudden occasions, and at much easier rates than they could be sent out of England. In confidence of the payment of that money, he disbursed one thousand three hundred and eighty pounds in charges, without which the service could not have been carried on, and engaged himself in several sums to the endangering of the remnant of his estate; but he never received that five thousand pounds, nor any part thereof. His wife and children were resident in London, and in the winter following petitioned the house of commons for

some money, to be advanced towards their subsistence, to be defalked out of his entertainments: order was given for paying them two hundred pounds, which was long solicited, but not a penny of it ever paid.

- 8 “Provisions of a good value were taken up for the necessities of the army, and charged on the parliament, by bills or certificates, according to the ordinance of both houses; part whereof (especially at the first) were accepted and paid, part accepted and not paid, and a great part were neither accepted nor paid. This was a great discouragement of all there employed, and a great disadvantage to the service, which could not otherwise have suffered through want, and would have been supplied by Dutch merchants and others. Thus, when lord Inchiquin at the last extremity had, in the march before the cessation, seized the goods of the merchants of Youghall, sent them to France to be bartered for corn, and given certificates to the owners as usual, in order to the parliament's paying the value thereof, the committee for Irish affairs⁴⁵⁶ ordered, above three months before the cessation, viz. June 5, 1643, that the goods should be sold by the factor trusted for bartering them in France, (where a stop was then lately made of any exportation of corn,) and the money arising thence to be paid to the owners, and the surplus only (if any) to be paid to lord Inchiquin; his lordship's certificates to be returned back to him unpaid, and his bonds for disposing thereof to the use of the forces to be given up and cancelled; which made a very great impression on the army.
- 9 “In the summer, and beginning of the winter 1642, Mr. Frost sent over a good quantity of corn and provisions; which might have been spared till the latter end of the winter, had there been any pay for the army; but for want thereof they were fed upon the stores, no payment being made them but in victual, (except twelve pence a week sometimes to find them drink,) and the cattle taken

from the rebels being disposed of by the officers, pretending they could not otherwise subsist, there remained little for the army in the dead of winter; so that they were forced before Christmas to feed on salt herrings (which were indeed the proper goods of the inhabitants taken up without money,) and these being spent before Lent, there was nothing then, nor at any time after during the war, to be had in certain, but as shifts could be made to provide for them; which was a very unseasonable course, and (among many other things) added to the discontents of the army.

10 “He gave seasonably, and from time to time, particular relations of the condition of the stores, of what had been received and issued, of what was necessary to supply them; and his letters at Christmas 1642, to the speaker, setting forth the necessity of sending over a great quantity of provisions, and of money for that service, were apostyled by the parliament committee. There was not then in the stores above eight days’ provision for the army, which was like to be devoured by want. An eminent member of the house of commons^c, to whom he also sent a like account, wrote him word, that eight months’ provision should be sent; but from that time forth he received nothing towards the subsistence of the army, more than the small proportions hereafter mentioned. The lords justices represented at the same time, that without timely supplies it would be utterly impossible to contain the soldier from mutiny and disbanding; and that they should suddenly be cast through want into a worse condition than some millions of money could recover.

11 “Upon an exact account taken by the state before the cessation, it appeared that the parliament sent over seventeen thousand pounds, or thereabouts, in provisions of all sorts during the war, and about six thousand pounds into

^c John Pym.

Munster; and that not above half as much were taken up there upon account of the parliament, or allowed of by them; and how long such proportions might serve such an army is easily computed. Whereas there was issued by him and his ministers to the army near twice as much before the cessation, as appears by the accounts thereof; and from Dublin (besides what was issued for the army there, and by warrant from the state for shipping employed in the service) he sent provisions to the English and Scotch forces in Ulster when they were in distress, as well as in the like case to the fort of Duncannon, at several times, without which relief it would have been lost; and issued out others upon extraordinary occasions by order from the state.

- 12 “He proposed ways of saving money and easing the stores, but (it was affirmed) they could not be taken, for want of means to pay and clothe the army; without which the muster once taken upon oath must stand, and the forces could not do service in the field. Finding he 457 should be ruined by his employment, he desired to quit it; but could not obtain that favour, because of the services he did in providing for the army. He had good reason for that desire, Mr. Frost having on Jan. 3, 1642, wrote him word from London, that the distractions in England had put him out of hopes of sending the promised supplies, and that money was not to be had; but that he should sell some part of the provisions for defraying ordinary charges, as himself had done. The parliament committee went away in February, full of a sense of the wants and great discontents of the army, even to the endangering of their persons or liberty, if they had made any longer stay, as was generally conceived. He gave them at parting an account of the mean condition of the stores; they promised to solicit supplies, being sensible of the necessity of a speedy relieving the army, to keep it from disbanding. They knew the extremity,

which had obliged the state, with their privity, to seize by force the goods of merchants without paying for them; yet no relief was sent.

- ¹³ “From November 1642, till May 1643, no provisions at all arrived at Dublin. In May a small proportion was brought in W. Boardbank’s ship; and in July after, three other parcels, viz. one by captain Tho. Bartlet, another by Robert Stubs, and the third by Rich. Cooke; with a letter sent him from one of that committee by captain Bartlet, expressing the great difficulty of obtaining that small supply which he had then sent. Mr. Frost wrote him word at the same time, that he should not wonder, that so little provision, but that *any at all* were sent, as the times were. Captain Bartlet, when he was sent with the parliament committee from Dublin, received twenty marks in part of his pay; the committee for Irish affairs now sent orders to sir Philip to pay him forty marks more for his freight from London; which was much taken notice of at Dublin; and accordingly so much of the goods, as at the first price amounted to that sum, were left him, and other provisions (though the army wanted them) were forced to be sold to discharge his freight, wages, and charges. This was the first and only time he heard from the committee after their departure; and these four parcels of provisions were all that arrived in Ireland from Nov. 1642 till the cessation on Sept. 15 following, or since; and exceeded not the value of two thousand three hundred pounds, or thereabouts, as appeared by the invoices thereof, being in all four hundred and fifteen quarters of wheat and peas, two hundred and twenty-eight barrels of butter, and twenty-five ton of cheese; a very small proportion towards feeding so numerous an army; and within that time far greater quantities were by him procured and issued to the forces. And as to money; after the arrival of twenty thousand pounds in October 1642, there never came any over for

any occasion ; and major Warren's uncomfortable account upon his return from soliciting the parliament in December 1642, that if five hundred pounds would save Ireland they could not spare it, and they would not go over the threshold for that kingdom, exceedingly increased the discontents of the army.

14 "In winter 1642, towards Lent, upon a contract which he made with Mr. Ricketes and Mr. Hunt, with the approbation of the state, he received out of England two thousand barrells of beef, amounting to three thousand pounds, he paid eight hundred pounds of it, and charged the rest on the parliament whilst their committee was at Dublin ; but the same still remained unpaid, with much more for the like occasions ; and yet without that parcel of beef, the army would have then disbanded, and the lords justices acknowledged at that time, in the presence of the committee, that it was the means of preserving them.

15 "He was soon after advertised by Mr. Frost how hard a matter it was for the parliament to raise any money at all, or to procure any more provisions for Ireland on further credit ; and if any means could be obtained from them, he would first of all pay five thousand pounds, in which he stood engaged for provisions which the army had formerly spent, before he would remit any more, his house being like to be pulled down by the creditors, and by the seamen who carried the provisions, and himself to be arrested for that money.

16 "The state, whilst the committee was there, before and after, for six months before the cessation, by letters to the speaker and agents had represented the dangers approaching by the terrible wants of the army, not only as to victual, but clothes, arms, ammunition, many other things, and money, as well for the necessary charge of the general employment, as for other urgent occasions incident to the prosecution of a war ; and had certified also

the frequent mutinies of the army for want of pay, the impossibility of keeping up discipline; that divers captains being commanded to march with their soldiers, declared their disability to march, and that their soldiers would not move without money, shoes, and stockings, for want of which many had marched barefoot, had bled much on the road, and been forced to be carried in cars; and others, through unwholesome food, having no money to buy better, had become diseased, and died; yet no competent supplies came, and very few answers were returned.

- 17 “Sir T. Wharton indeed on July 18, 1643, wrote word, that there was a ship then falling down the river with provisions for Dublin, and sir Robert King, an agent also employed to solicit supplies, sent advice of another; but neither of these ever arrived: and if they had come, they would have been some relief to the soldiers, but of no long continuance, nor any manner of satisfaction to the officers, who were discontented for want of money and clothes for themselves, as much as for want of victual and other necessities for their men. However, shewing an abstract of sir T. Wharton’s letter, he got credit for two hundred pounds, with which and some money raised by the excise, and with cessing, taxing, and pressing the inhabitants of Dublin, (whereby many English families were reduced to beggary, and forced to abandon their houses where they had formerly lived in very good fashion,) the army was with great difficulty, and in all the extremity of want, kept together; the stores having no manner of victual for so much as one day, many times long before the cessation was made, or the treaty for the same commenced.

- 18 “The Irish all this while subsisted very well, carrying their cattle (especially their milch cows) with their armies for their relief into the field, and there at harvest cutting down the corn, burning, (as their manner is,) grinding,

baking, and eating it in one day. Whilst the great quantities of cattle gained from the rebels were suddenly consumed by the soldiers, or made away by the officers, the country wasted by the English army, the custodiams not applied to the public use, and the soldiers, kept by the officers thereon, to the detriment of the service, furnished with provisions from the stores. There was a great hardship laid upon him (as he represented often and seasonably to the state) in furnishing those provisions. The lords justices had directed that each soldier should have his allowance of eleven pounds of bread every week, (besides their other provisions,) at the rate of fourteen pence. This rate was fixed at the beginning of the war, when corn was at forty-eight shillings a quarter, or less, and yet they would not alter it when corn rose to four pounds a quarter, which was the ordinary price for eight months before the cessation.

19 “The lords justices made various applications to parliament for speedy relief, without which the kingdom must be lost, yet nothing more than is above expressed ever came to their relief. Nor would the army be con-459
tent with victual, after their first discontents at the parliament, (which they thought ought to supply them, and for a long time before the cessation,) without ready money and other necessaries from time to time, especially upon marches, which were the only probable way of easing the stores, as was manifestly known to all there resident, and was certified to the speaker by the lords justices in their letter of April 4, 1643.

20 “The first treaty of cessation began in June, but proceeded not, by reason of some insolences of the Irish, who advanced in great numbers into the English quarters, and took some of their garrisons; and in hopes of some supplies out of England, which the agents there had given encouragement (as is said above) to expect. An army, to the great charge of the poor inhabitants,

(amounting to two or three thousand pounds,) was set forth, marched into the King's County, could not subsist abroad, and returned, as soon as their provisions were spent, to Dublin. On Aug. 24 the treaty began, which ended in a cessation on Sept. 15, and in the mean time no other provisions than those before mentioned came for relief; and some consigned thither were taken as malignants' goods at sea, and carried into England by some commanders of the parliament ships; and between both treaties numbers of the officers and soldiers found means to ship themselves away, notwithstanding orders to the contrary.

21 “Between both treaties, in hopes of some supply at last out of England, he engaged himself, and used all his industry to get provisions for the necessary subsistence of the army. On Aug. 24 he was ordered by the lords justices and council to attend the treaty; and it was generally conceived by all that were acquainted with the particulars of the situation of affairs, that a cessation should be concluded on the terms propounded, (being such as could be procured from an insolent enemy at that time very powerful in the field,) and that it would be more for the advantage of the protestants, when they could not proceed in the war, and when by reason of the general want of all things, (or at least of such things without which the army could not or would not march, or stay abroad to live upon the enemy, but consumed their own party at home,) and by reason of the great discontents of the army in general, whereby nothing but certain and sudden ruin and destruction could be expected in their condition. As for himself, he could not but apprehend that their continuance in that condition would have wrought the ends and designs of the Irish in a few months more, in a greater measure than the cessation could possibly do, for many reasons; some of which were,

22 “1. He understood from the council-board, and from

the officers of the ordnance, before the treaty began, that there was not sufficient store of powder, match, and ammunition for ordinary duties for any reasonable time; nor any arms to recruit, nor means to fix the soldiers' arms, which were extremely wasted and out of order; and without this, it is evident that nothing effectually could be done. These wants were not only in Dublin, but in most other places throughout the kingdom; and by reason thereof, powder for ordinary duties was at that time denied by the master of the ordnance in that garri-son and elsewhere. He understood at the council-board that they had written with all earnestness and importunity for recruits of arms and horses; but none ever came; nor even the arms contracted for with Mr. Schout for seven thousand pounds, whilst the committee was at Dublin, for want of payment being made by the parliament; nor was any match, whereof their wants were exceeding great, to be had in that city.

23 "2. He understood from sir Adam Loftus, the vice-treasurer, that there was no money in the treasury, nor means to procure any; and all the letters of the state⁴⁶⁰ sent into England for a year before the cessation, fully expressed their continual wants of money for ordinary and the most necessary occasions, wanting means even to bury their dead commanders; and yet no supply came.

24 "3. He understood by sir W. Anderson, commissary for the clothes, that he was engaged many thousands of pounds for clothes, shirts, stockings, and shoes for the army; a great part whereof, being charged upon the parliament, (whom his agents had long attended,) was neither accepted nor paid; and that he neither had nor was able to procure more, without means to discharge his former engagements. The army too was at this very time generally destitute of those necessities, and most miserably distressed for want of clothes, shoes, stockings, hats, and shirts.

25 “4. He found that in the stores of Dublin (upon which that and many other garrisons depended) there was no victual, but only a part of that quantity of corn which was procured by his means, as aforesaid; and this was rye, not fit alone to make bread, in regard it was heated at sea; that in the stores at Drogheda there were not above fifteen quarters of corn, and in most of the other garrisons little or none at all; that carriages and other necessities were extremely wanting, and no probable means of providing any more; and yet without victuals, clothes, and carriages in a large proportion, and money to the officers from the corporal upwards, and to the officers of the train of artillery, the army did not usually march, and in fact would not march after Christmas 1642. Besides, before the treaty was concluded, it was manifest that the army was so oppressed with wants, and the necessity so great, (besides the general discontent of the officers,) that there was no need of any other enemy, but hunger and cold, to devour them suddenly; which must be the consequence without relief, of which there were little hopes. This ruin appeared the more unavoidable, from the fate of several expeditions undertaken with great charge, in hopes the army might find subsistence abroad; as that of the marquis of Ormond to Ross in March; that of colonel Crawford at Easter, when he was supplied twice or thrice from Dublin, and had letters of credit for such provisions, as the garrison of Athy, then well stored with corn, afforded; and yet the army returned, when they had spent those provisions, whereby Athy, a most necessary garrison, was almost destroyed, and Dublin more disabled than before; and that expedition (between the two treaties) into the King's County, when the rebels avoiding a battle, the forces returned, when their provisions were spent, to Dublin; and if any corn or cattle were gained in any of these expeditions, the stores of Dublin had no part thereof.

- 26 “5. That upon several searches made in Dublin and the suburbs thereof from house to house by warrants from the state, as well by the churchwardens as by particular persons intrusted for that purpose, there could not be found fourteen days’ provision for the inhabitants and the soldiers; a circumstance of great weight, considering that both the parliament ships and the Irish privateers interrupted all commerce and importation to that port and those quarters.
- 27 “6. That the rebels had three armies on foot, even in Leinster, during the treaty, well furnished with necessities and ordnance, one of them near the place of treaty; that the protestants lost many castles, and much corn of great value round about in the county of Kildare by that under the earl of Castlehaven, while the treaty continued; and that the chief commanders of the protestant army declared, that for want of clothes, victuals, and other necessities, the army was in no posture to take the field, especially so speedily as the occasion required: so that colonel Monck was necessarily called out of Wick-⁴⁶¹ low, where he was quartered by the sea-side, and making good provision of corn, to hasten northwards for opposing a strong power under Owen O’Neile, ready to be joined with sir James Dillon’s forces, and advanced towards Drogheda.
- 28 “7. That the Ulster army refused all assistance, unless the treaty was absolutely broken off; which was not thought proper in that juncture.
- 29 “8. That most of the chief officers were extremely discontented with the parliament for want of pay, expressing passionately their sufferings and doubts of being never paid by them; demanding in threatening terms of the state what could not be paid, and recalling their subscriptions; and that the soldiers frequently broke out into mutinies, assaulting his house several times, when they wanted provisions, and threatening to pull it down, break-

ing open the stores at other times, robbing numbers of the inhabitants, and committing other insolencies; complaints being often made that many of them were starved in several places for want of food and raiment.

30 “9. That the marquis of Ormond would have prosecuted the war, if ten thousand pounds, half in money and half in victual, could have been raised to have furnished the officers and soldiers, and enabled them to march; and his lordship, the lords justices, and most (if not all) of the council, had entered into various bonds, some jointly, some severally, for provisions spent by the army, whilst any could be had on their security; and he heard the said marquis at several times offer in public to divers merchants and others, that had formerly furnished the army, to engage himself for provisions to subsist it, as far as his engagement would be taken, or as his estate would bear, if provisions could be had thereupon; but little or nothing could be procured on any of their securities before the treaty of cessation began. The state likewise had been necessitated to seize by force goods of a considerable value on shipboard, after they were put on board by license, all duties and customs paid, and the ships ready to sail, and to take many other hard ways to gain relief for the subsistence of the army.

31 “10. That lord Inchiquin declared at the treaty, that the agents he had employed into England for relief could not procure him any; that there was no possibility for the forces in Munster to subsist in the way of war; that to resist the Irish, who had fallen into his quarters in Imokelly, between Cork and Youghall, he was forced to recall colonel Mynn from Carbery (where he had made some preparation of corn for subsistence in the enemies' quarters) to resist their force, and to order him to destroy what he had provided; that he hoped by the cessation to preserve the garrisons till further means might offer for the prosecution of the war; but that without it

Munster would be lost, and it was easy to see the loss of that province would be soon followed with that of Leinster.

- 32 “ 11. That the lord Esmond, governor of the fort of Duncannon, having agreed with the Irish for a cessation of a few days on some other pretence, sent a person of trust to the treaty in the beginning of September with letters of credence; on the back of which that person certified under his hand, that the store there was so exhausted, and the officers and soldiers in garrison had already suffered so much extremity through want, that it was not possible for him to hold the fort above ten or fourteen days longer, and therefore earnestly desired either immediate supplies, or that some speedy course might be taken for the preservation of that important place. This fort was deemed impregnable but by famine, and commanded the mouth of the harbour of Waterford, into which the three navigable rivers of Noer, Suer, and Barrow, whereon the city of Waterford, Ross, and twelve other corporate towns are situated, discharge 462 themselves. The place being of such importance, the danger of its loss had a great effect in the treaty.
- 33 “ 12. The earl of Clanrickard declared also, that all his means, which had hitherto enabled him to maintain some forces and towns in the county of Galway, were now so utterly exhausted, that neither himself, nor the forces, nor the English, which he had as yet supported, could possibly subsist any longer without a cessation.
- 34 “ 13. That the garrison of the Naas, one of the chief garrisons of Leinster, where one thousand men had been usually kept, lying within a mile of the treaty, was so ruined, and the soldiers become so naked and miserable, that (as sir Fulk Huncks the governor related) many of them were starved; and the rest in such distress, as raised the pity of every body that saw them; and most of the other garrisons (though supplies were sometimes

sent them from Dublin, as provisions and carriages could be had) were in the like miserable condition.

35 “ 14. That there was no prospect of the lord lieutenant’s coming over; that Mr. Frost had quitted his employment; and that though the charge of the forces was as great as ever, yet he had not for many months before received any answer that gave hopes of supply from England, but on the contrary was advertised that little or nothing was to be expected from thence whilst the war lasted.

36 “ 15. That it was generally said at the council-board and other places, that the parliament had resolved no longer to supply the war; which was the rather credited, because (before the cessation) their frigates intercepted not only ships coming with provisions to Dublin on particular adventures of protestants, but such as had been formerly laden and consigned by the parliament for the relief of the army; and for that pamphlets, printed at London, after the return of the committee, represented the Leinster army as consisting of malignants, and it was to no purpose to supply them, because it was conceived, in case they prevailed, it would be a second work to subdue them. And that also (as was then declared) his majesty had done all that was in his power for the furtherance of the war, they having spent at Dublin much more than the parliament had sent, with what could be got on trust, and the value of many thousand pounds taken up by the sole authority of the king and his council there.

37 “ 16. That the agents for Munster and Ulster, sent over to solicit the parliament, had (among other things) petitioned his majesty, expressing that all passages, by which comfort and life should be conveyed to that gasping kingdom, seemed totally obstructed; and that unless timely relief were afforded, the danger was so great, that they must yield their religion, lives, and fortunes a prey to the merciless rebels; and yet no relief was sent them.

38 “ 17. That without such a conclusion of the treaty for the present, in all probability (considering the state in which the English army and those of the rebels then were) the city of Dublin, and the greatest part of the unhappy protestants left in the kingdom, were like to be suddenly and infallibly lost for want of means; and all the records of the kingdom, interest of the crown, and evidences of the estates of private persons be destroyed; to the inconceivable prejudice of church and state.

39 “ 18. That many of the officers, sent out of England, had not only declared their resolutions that they would fight no longer without pay, according to their capitulation, or in some reasonable proportion, to enable them to subsist; but between some of them and the captains of the parliament ships there happened such quarrels as gave 463 grounds to apprehend dangerous consequences.

40 “ 19. That many cessations had been made with the Irish in former rebellions, but never any was made in so pressing a necessity as this; and though the Irish agents having perfect intelligence of the distress of the state, and the condition of the English forces, knowing the prevailing strength of their own armies, made their advantage thereof, and could not be brought to grant so large a supply as was expected; yet it appeared to him more honourable, more charitable, more necessary, and in truth more advantageous for the protestant cause, to consent to a cessation for a time on the terms agreed on, than to have refused the same to go on with a war, which they were no way able any longer to maintain.”

41 These reasons, expressed with that modesty which is so becoming in all addresses to an house of commons, and yet delivered with that honest freedom, which a knowledge of the truth of the case, and a consciousness of asserting nothing but undisputable facts, inspire, abundantly shew the reasonableness of the king's measures in this particular affair, and how requisite it was for him to

take entirely into his own hands the care of a kingdom, which the parliament had so scandalously neglected. They knew very well the absolute necessity there was of a cessation, and though it was with the very worst grace in nature, yet they thought it their interest to clamour against it, thereby to draw off the attention of the world from that neglect of theirs, which had been the cause of that necessity. The breaking out of the Irish rebellion had served their purposes of raising one in England so exceeding well, that they did not care to suppress it, which otherwise they might easily have done before any succours arrived from abroad to the rebels. It had been suppressed without any of their assistance, were it not for their violent measures and threats of extirpation, which terrifying and making the nobility and gentry of English race desperate, hurried them, in spite of their animosity against the old Irish, into an insurrection. For the like detestable purposes, they had starved the war all the time it was carrying on in Ireland, and were angry that a stop was put to it for a time by the cessation. Of the four hundred thousand pounds, raised by the adventurers' act, they had not sent above one hundred and thirty thousand pounds in money to Ireland, nor above thirty thousand pounds value in provisions; most of the rest had been employed to involve England in the miseries of a civil war, and to maintain a rebellion there, against their lawful sovereign. The king had expended vastly more in the service of Ireland; and even that four hundred thousand pounds of the adventurers was his money, not coming out of the purses of any of the parliament, but raised purely by the sale of lands which the law made his own property upon the forfeiture of the rebels. Upon the first news of the rebellion, he gave commission for raising ten regiments of foot, two regiments and several troops of horse in Ulster, and sent arms out of Scotland to assist the colonels in arming them. He gave the like com-

missions for as many regiments of foot, and some troops of horse in Leinster and Munster, which were armed out of his magazines and stores in Ireland, which the earl of Strffaord's care had left plentifully furnished. The forces sent over afterwards by the parliament were all armed (as well as those which they employed under the earl of Essex) out of the king's magazines in England; from whence likewise was taken all the ammunition sent to Ireland in the first year of the war; after which, his majesty's stores being exhausted by supplying their own army in England, no more was sent to the relief of the other distressed kingdom.

- 42 It might be expected at least that they should take some care for the pay of the forces employed in the Irish war which with so much pretence of zeal they had taken upon themselves. But they did not care for any troops raised 464 by the king's commission, and carried this so far when they did not like the colonel^d, that they would not allow lord Montgomery's regiment of horse to stand, because it had been raised by his majesty's commission. As for the other regiments so raised, though they had borne all the brunt of the war for the first six months, being continually in action during one of the severest winters that had been known, and had wonderfully merited by their services against the rebels, they appeared very unwilling to make any provision for them, and did not till the summer of 1642 put any of them upon the establishment which they then settled. This was not done till after various remonstrances from the state of Ireland, and when it was settled, the pay of those raised in Leinster and Munster was to commence from the first of April in that year, and that of those in Ulster from the first of July; all that was due to any of these regiments and the companies of the old standing army, which were doubled upon

^d Lord Montgomery's letter to the marquis of Ormond, May 12, 1643. E. 139.

the breaking out of the rebellion, for their entertainments before those respective days, was to be paid by his majesty, who had been at the charge of raising and arming them. The officers of those regiments had not been named by themselves, so that they could not depend upon their readiness to join with them in the treasonable measures they were taking to destroy the monarchy of England; and therefore with regard to these, it seems to have been their maxim, (as^e they told lord Montgomery,) *if they had a mind their regiments should stand, let them get entertainments from the king.* Agreeable hereto they^f never sent any supplies during these two years' war to those of Ulster, except a small quantity of victual and clothes; and never remitted them a penny of their pay (though put in form upon the establishment) till after the cessation, when the officers and soldiers had pawned their souls, and devoted themselves to their interests by taking the covenant, that detestable oath of association, which was made the instrument of carrying on their designs to ruin the best constituted church and monarchy upon earth.

- 43 As for the regiments raised in Leinster, they had indeed, through the distributions made by the state of the small sums sent over to Dublin, (which, as hath been already observed, were vastly less than what was raised and borrowed there on the king's account,) some little allowance made them for their present subsistence; but nothing issued to them by way of pay, nor could the officers so much as get their arrears stated, (that their widows and children might know what was due to them,) till the king, to do what he was able for their relief and satisfaction, did in the summer of 1643 grant a commis-

^e Lord Montgomery's letter to the marquis of Ormond, May 12, 1643. E. 139.

^f Petition of lord Montgomery, sir W. Stewart, &c. to the lords justices. E. 373.

sion for that purpose ; upon which they were settled, and debentures thereof signed by the lords justices upon reports of the proper officers and certificates of the commissioners. It must be said, they were treated in this respect after the same manner as the forces sent out of England were ; but the treatment of these was cruel, being sent over half clad ; in confidence of pay and all necessaries, upon a formal capitulation and conditions offered by parliament, and kept there, exposed not only to the ordinary hardships and dangers of war, but oppressed with all manner of wants, and every moment in danger of perishing by being destitute of food and raiment.

- 44 The parliament did nothing towards the service of Ireland, but in subordination to the ends which they had more at heart in England. The reports about the Irish rebellion gave them great advantages against the king. They found still greater benefit by having in their hands the management of the war ; it enabled them to raise an army, and get a fund of money in a regular way, before they came to an open breach with his majesty. When they had raised forces and money really for that end, 465 though under pretence of the Irish service, they could not for shame but send some of them to Ireland. This was absolutely necessary to countenance that pretence, but they sent them slowly and sparingly, so as barely to keep the war alive, and do no effectual or important service, whilst they were preparing to take the field in England against the king. Thus, at the end of Dec. 1641, sir S. Harcourt was sent over with his regiment ; on Feb. 20, colonel Monck with the lord lieutenant's regiment of foot, and sir R. Grenville with four hundred horse. In the April following, lord Lisle went over with his regiment of horse, and between that time and the end of June seven regiments of foot landed at Dublin. In this last month, sir J. Paulet's and sir C. Vavasour's regiments

were sent to Munster, as lord Kerry's was in the November following ; and these, with three or four troops of horse, were all the forces which they sent out of England. They were however sufficient to crush the rebellion, if they had not kept them so bare of provisions, that they were never in a capacity to keep the field, or so well supplied as was necessary to undertake a service of any considerable importance.

- 45 Had they only sent over sufficient sums of money, which the zeal of the city of London (who offered upon the first news to lend one hundred thousand pounds) and of the English nation plentifully supplied, the war had been soon at an end. But they sent over first, in Dec. 1641, sixteen thousand five hundred and ninety pounds, four months afterwards twenty thousand pounds more, twenty-three thousand pounds in the August following to Dublin, and about sixteen thousand pounds in all that time to Munster ; sums that never removed the necessities under which the forces laboured, nor put them into a condition of doing service. But after they had proceeded to open hostilities against the king, they never sent any supplies (other than what are mentioned by sir P. Percival) to Ireland, except when Reynolds and Goodwin, at the end of October 1642, carried over twenty thousand pounds with them in order to sow sedition and debauch the army about Dublin. From that time, failing of their aims, they seemed to abandon Ireland, and resolved to take no care of an army which, though they had only distinguished themselves by their bravery and services against the Irish rebels, were as ready to draw their swords against any other rebels, of what country or religion soever. There was a great change in the officers even of those regiments which they had sent over ; many of them had been killed in action ; many had died of hardships and diseases, and the marquis of Ormond had filled their posts with others more affectionate to the king's service.

The usage which they had met with, and the extremities which they had endured in Ireland, had raised in them a general resentment against the parliament, to whom all was imputed.

46 This disaffection the house of commons did not ascribe so much to their own conduct, though that might naturally occasion it, as to the influence which the marquis of Ormond had over the officers. They had a mind to remove him from the command of the army, and declared their design by a vote on June 19, 1643, that they would in a short time send over a commander-in-chief into Ireland, such as the kingdom of England should have good cause to confide in.

47 They resolved at the same time to send over committees into the several provinces of Ireland, whereof one in each to be of the house of commons, and one chosen by the adventurers; in favour of whom they made then what is called the *doubling ordinance*, viz. that such of them as should then deposit a fourth part of what they had formerly subscribed and paid, should have so many acres of land added to what was allotted by the former act of parliament as should make their former proportion of acres double to what was granted by that act; and whosoever should subscribe *de novo* should have the like double proportion of land for his new subscription.

48 It is not always so easy to execute resolutions as it is 466 to make them; as appeared in the case of the first of these. The marquis of Ormond had so fair a character in the world, was so irreproachable in all his conduct, and had so much power and credit in the army and the kingdom of Ireland, that they did not think fit to proceed further in a work of so much difficulty as the removing him would prove. Despairing of success with regard to the Leinster army, whilst it was under his command, they sent no committee into that province, though one was sent not long after to corrupt the Ulster

forces. It was their fears of that army under the marquis of Ormond which was the main reason why they declared so warmly against a cessation, that was necessary to preserve the lives and fortunes of the remaining protestants that were left in Ireland. It cannot be thought that they meant or wished the destruction of those protestants; though they did not care who they sacrificed in that kingdom, provided they could carry their point in England. If the Leinster forces would have served them in this last country, they would have liked the cessation well enough; but they were afraid lest so gallant a body of troops should be brought over to assist the king against the Scotch army, which was coming to aid them in their rebellion, and now ready to invade the north of England.

- 49 The heads of the prevailing faction in the parliament^g were men of no principles with regard to religion, whatever exterior professions they made. It served them for a pretence upon all occasions, but they never loved it; and whilst they played with it in their votes, they excluded it in all their actions. The evident inconsistency of these, the series of detestable hypocrisy and iniquities carried on by them in a course of many years, the outward prosperity which they enjoyed all that time, the encouragement which they gave to an infinite number of monstrous sects and heresies, and the violence with which they enforced unlawful oaths upon all persons, laid the foundation of that irreligion which hath since too much prevailed in this nation. They had made the presbyterians their tools to blow up the common people of England into a flame, to render them disaffected to the government in church and state, and so to prepare matters for the rebellion which they had in view. They now proposed to make the like use of the Scots, whose fondness for the model of government lately established in their

^g See Collection of Letters, No. CLXVI.

kirk, and desire to see episcopacy abolished in other countries as well as in their own, served to decoy them into their measures. The English parliament never intended to establish presbytery, but found it convenient for their ends to give private assurances of their doing so; which were the more readily believed, because they had publicly declared for an extirpation of episcopacy, and had called an assembly of divines, as fit as they could pick out for their purpose, under pretence of settling the government of the church. They easily agreed to a covenant between the two nations, drawn up in such terms as were agreeable to the Scots, and obliged their assembly of divines (who were so absolutely under their direction, that none of them durst dissent for fear of their resentment) to approve it, as a lawful and pious engagement. Sir H. Vane, one of the English commissioners sent to manage the treaty with the Scots, and who governed all the rest, was known to be engaged in measures with the sect of the Brownists, which was grown very numerous and powerful. The lord Say, who had the greatest influence of any one over both houses of parliament, had publicly used bitter invectives against a presbytery; and the earl of Essex, general of the parliament forces, was as well known to hate and despise the nation as well as religion of the Scots. But these were so fond of the covenant, that all their scruples and doubts were silenced⁴⁶⁷ and removed by the entering into that bond, and by the sums of money which were offered in case of their compliance. The English parliament, which could not for many months spare five hundred pounds to save Ireland, now found means to advance one hundred thousand pounds to the Scots, and sixty thousand pounds to the forces of that nation in Ireland. Tempted by this money, and carried away by a zeal for the covenant, the Scotch convention resolved to send an army into England to the assistance of the parliament.

50 The king had been, from the beginning of this year very apprehensive of their coming to such a resolution, but had some hopes from the marquis of Hamilton's undertaking to prevent it. When those hopes had proved vain, and he saw the convention had ordered a strong army to be raised, and had laid the taxes necessary to maintain it, he thought it behoved him to provide as well as he could to oppose such a force of auxiliary rebels. The convention broke up on Aug. 19, and on the 7th of the following month^h he sent directions to the marquis of Ormond, in case the cessation was concluded, to consider what forces would be necessary to be kept up in Ireland, and be able to subsist there; and to transport the rest of his army out of that kingdom into England, to assist his majesty against the Scots. The king's councilⁱ were much divided in their opinions, whether the marquis of Ormond should come over, as commander-in-chief, with those forces into England. The parliament had in Ireland their agents, who at this time offered both officers and soldiers the payment of all their arrears, supplies of clothes and all necessaries, with further encouragements and temptations, if they would oppose and break the cessation in that kingdom, or if, upon their landing in England, they would declare for the parliament. It was not doubted but the like temptations would be offered, and the same or greater promises renewed, as soon as they arrived in this kingdom; and as they were to land in parts where the king's affairs were declining, where the parliament forces were very strong, where the transported men were to enter upon action the very moment of their being on shore, before they could possibly be supplied with those refreshments and accommodations which they might promise themselves, and where no arts would be neglected to debauch them, there was a good

^h See Collection of Letters, No. CLXIX.

ⁱ Ib. No. CXCII.

deal of reason to apprehend that they might be wrought upon either to break out into a mutiny, or to desert the service and join the parliament army. The king depended upon them for enabling him to oppose the invasion of the Scots; and a revolt would not only disappoint him in that respect, but in that juncture would absolutely ruin his affairs in England. The marquis of Ormond's being in person at the head of that army, (over which he had so much influence as to keep them in obedience, when pressed with greater difficulties than they were likely to meet with at their landing,) was considered as the only sure means of preventing that danger, and of frustrating the attempts of the rebels to debauch them.

- 51 But there were other reasons still stronger for his continuance in Ireland; such as the nice and hazardous situation of that kingdom, where a cessation had been just made, and there were still great disputes about the quarters, and a multitude of complaints of breaches thereof on both sides, which might give occasion to a renewal of the war, unless his lordship, who had so powerful an interest of love and authority with both parties, were there present to provide a remedy, and prevent the ill effects which might naturally follow in such cases. There were besides to be considered the power and the disposition of the Irish; the weakness and fears of the remaining English, when the armies, which had hitherto 468 been their defence, were drawn away; and the scandal which would fall upon his majesty if any disaster happened in that kingdom through the marquis's absence. The council being either unable, or perhaps unwilling, to determine where the marquis of Ormond's presence was most necessary, the king left to him to take which of the two parties he pleased: but he, ever ready to serve his majesty in any place where he should judge him useful to his service, declined making the choice. It was at

last resolved that he should continue in Ireland, and, that he might be enabled to serve his majesty more powerfully there, to make him lord lieutenant of the kingdom.

- 52 This resolution seems to have been taken chiefly upon the hopes conceived, that a better provision might be made against the inconveniences of his not coming over with the forces into England, than could possibly be made against such as might arise from his quitting Ireland, where there was nobody of power, credit, and authority enough to supply his place. It was thought, with regard to the forces which were to be brought over, that the putting of lord Byron, a nobleman of great worth and prudence, and of a very fair character, into the immediate command of them upon their landing, and the giving out that the marquis of Ormond was to follow himself with the last corps that was to be transported, and then to take upon him the supreme command, would suffice in a good measure to contain them in their duty and prevent their defection. For this reason he was declared commander in chief of those forces, by the style of lieutenant general, under the prince of Wales, of the forces in North Wales and the adjacent counties. When hazards are necessary to be run, they are seldom fatal, because they are foreseen, and proper precautions are taken against them. To guard therefore still more against the danger apprehended in this case, great care was used in the choice of the officers sent over with the army, that they might be well affected to the king's cause; and by way of test of the affections of the soldiers a protestation was framed to be taken by them all before they went out of the harbour of Dublin, after the example of the marquis of Ormond himself, and the principal commanders, who led the way, and first gave the assurance of their loyalty. Every person who took this protestation did therein promise, vow, and protest, that he would, to the utmost of his power, and with the

hazard of his life, maintain and defend the true protestant religion established in the church of England, his majesty's sacred person, just powers and prerogatives, against the forces under the conduct of the earl of Essex, and against all other forces whatsoever, that were or should be raised, contrary to his majesty's commands and authority; to use their best endeavours to procure and reestablish the peace of England; and neither directly nor indirectly to divulge or communicate any thing to the said earl of Essex, his officers, or any other, to hinder or prejudice the designs of his majesty in the conduct or employment of his army. To prevent all occasions of complaint after their landing, sir Orlando Bridgman was sent to Chester to make provision of shoes, clothes, and other accommodations, with some money for the subsistence and encouragement of the soldiers.

- 53 There was another consideration which contributed not a little to this resolution. The English rebels were nowhere so superior to the king in forces as in the parts about Chester. They were masters of all Cheshire up to the very walls of that city; Lancashire was entirely their own; they were strong in Shropshire, and had made an irruption into North Wales, carrying terror before them everywhere. The king had not the face of an army thereabouts to oppose them, and this was deemed the most hazardous part of his service in the whole kingdom. The marquis of Ormond's honour and reputation was the 469 chief support of his majesty's affairs in Ireland, and if he by any unfortunate accident should receive a foil in the English service, it might have an ill effect upon that kingdom, and lessen his ability to serve the king there so eminently as his majesty hoped he might. Nor were the forces to be brought over to those parts of England sufficient to form the body of an army fit for one of his quality to command in person; it being found necessary to divide those forces, which at first were intended to be

united in one and the same army. There was a considerable enterprise formed in the west, for which the Munster forces were necessary. The service to be done about Chester seemed of the utmost consequence, because it was thought that the Scots would make their way into the heart of England through Lancashire; and if that county were reduced into the king's obedience, it would serve for a very good barrier to stop their progress. Yet the western affair was judged to be of such importance, that orders were sent to lord Inchiquin to transport what forces he could spare out of Munster to Bristol, and other ports of the west; and the Leinster army alone was assigned to the northern service.

54 Lord Inchiquin, commanding in a province abounding with sea-ports and trading towns, found no difficulty in sending over the forces he chose for that service, but what arose from the scarcity of victuals, and the want of money to supply the officers; three hundred and fifty pounds being all that he could raise for this latter purpose. The sea was open, and before the middle of October he had shipped off sir Charles Vavasour (who had been released upon the cessation) and sir J. Paulet with their regiments for Bristol. Sir W. St. Leger and colonel Mynn followed them with two others in November; and the late lord Dungarvan, now upon the death of his father the earl of Cork^j, was so zealous to signalize himself in his prince's service, that he applied to the king for orders that his regiment might be one of those appointed to serve him in England. The order was readily given, and he went over with it in Christmas holidays.

55 The marquis of Ormond had greater difficulties to encounter in the way of transporting forces from Dublin. The sea thereabouts was infested with the parliament ships, which issuing from the river of Liverpool, inter-

^j See his letters. G. 96. H. 140.

cepted all vessels that offered to pass between Chester and Dublin. This interruption, and the poverty of Dublin, occasioned by the great hardships laid by the state upon merchants, had ruined the commerce of the port, so that it afforded no vessels to transport the troops. The marquis, a few days after the cessation, had despatched colonel Barry^k to Wexford and other ports, to hire shipping of the Irish. The captains of the frigates there would not take any men on board, out of a jealousy that their ships might be seized by the soldiers; and asked unreasonable prices to attend as convoys. ^lThe like excessive rates were asked by the masters of little vessels who were treated with, so that no contract was likely to be made till the earl of Castlehaven arrived at Wexford, being employed by the general assembly then held at Waterford. He found the charge of small barks to carry men, and of frigates to convoy them, would be excessive, and took another method. He hired at an easy rate three ships of four hundred ton each, and mounted with sixteen or fourteen pieces of ordnance, and despatched two of them, on Nov. 7, to Dublin, the very day that captain Baldwin Wake arrived there from Bristol with two ships and five barks to transport the army. There was still a want of money for some small supply to the officers that were to go on board. The Irish were^m to make the first payment of five thousand pounds by Oct. 16, and the second by Nov. 16, but the first was not yet made. Sir James Dillon had indeed taken care of⁴⁷⁰ the payment of the five hundred pounds charged upon the counties of Westmeath and Longford, but no more than one thousand three hundred and fifty pounds of the rest had been paid. This would have put a stop to the embarkation, if the marquis of Ormond had not found in this exigence means of raising one thousand pounds upon his own credit.

^k F. 346.^l G. 232.^m H. 65.

56 The common soldiers, glad to leave a country where they had endured incredible hardships, and had been in continual danger of starving, embarked, and took cheerfully the protestation, which only two officers thought fit to decline. Colonel Crawford, a native of Scotlandⁿ, pretended conscience for his refusal, alleging that he had taken the Scotch covenant before he came over into Ireland, and could not therefore swear to maintain and defend the protestant religion as established in the church of England. He was invited at this time to return into his own country, with offers of greater preferment there than he could expect in Ireland; and either in expectation thereof, or apprehension of being put under an arrest for his refusal of the protestation, he fled into the north to Monroe, and on Dec. 7 embarked for Scotland, where he had a regiment given him in the army that was ready to march into England against the king, to whom this man of tender conscience had sworn allegiance. Colonel George Monck was the other who declined the oath, not because he had any exception to the king's service, in which he soon after engaged; but possibly because he had a mind to consult his patron the earl of Leicester, or to get his arrears of the parliament before he engaged in it. The marquis of Ormond had no other objection to his conduct, and was so well satisfied with his reasons, that, notwithstanding his refusal, he gave him a pass to go over into England. It happened unluckily at this time that the parliament^o, being resolved to oppose the cessation, and to send supplies of money, arms, and provisions into Ulster for that purpose, fell into a debate about a person who should have the chief command in Ireland. Monroe and lord Lisle were proposed: it was argued in favour of the first, that all the old Scots would join him; and in behalf of the

ⁿ G. 374 and 392.^o See Collection of Letters, No. CLXXXVII.

latter, that he could draw off several regiments of the Leinster army. His lordship was so fully possessed with this notion, that he ventured to specify the particular colonels whereof he was sure, naming Monck amongst the rest. This persuasion was merely the effect of lord Lisle's vanity; but another advertisement coming at the same time from one Johnson^p, who being on his return for Ireland, and attending the Irish committee for a pass, which, being drawn in a more ample form than ordinary, had in virtue of an old acquaintance been signed by Mr. Glynne, was interrogated by Mr. Pym concerning the officers of the Leinster army, and after some discourse was charged by him with a message to colonel Monck, pressing him to employ his popularity and credit in the forces to keep them from fighting for his majesty against the parliament, and assuring him of all the supplies he could desire, and of rewards that should be entirely to his satisfaction. The marquis of Ormond did not lay such a stress upon these advertisements as to entertain any ill opinion of Monck, but thought they were sufficient warning to make him take precautions in the case. He would not suffer him to embark with the forces, but sent him under a restraint to Bristol, desiring the governor of that city (who was Monck's near relation) to treat him with all possible civility, but to keep him in custody, till his majesty had signified his pleasure concerning him^q.

- 57 The forces sent in the first embarkation over into England consisted of sir M. Ernle's, colonel Gibson's and sir Fulk Hunck's regiments, and part of colonel Byron's.⁴⁷¹ According to the lists given in by the officers they should have been three thousand, but did not actually make much above two thousand effective men. They were commanded by sir M. Ernle, and set sail on Nov. 16 from the bay of Dublin. They came on the 18th to an

^p G. 218.

^q See Collection of Letters, No. CCII.

anchor at Mostyn in Flintshire, but the weather was so very stormy that they could not land till the 20th. They found the country in a terrible fright, and all the gentlemen of those parts fled to Conway for fear of the parliament forces, who having, to the number of two thousand foot and eight hundred horse, under the command of sir W. Brereton and sir Thomas Middleton, forced a passage over the Dee at Holt, had taken Wrexham, and overran all the counties of Flint and Denbigh; Flint castle and Mostyn house being taken, and Hawarden castle delivered to them by the treachery of one Ravenscroft the governor. Sir W. Brereton having advice of the fleet lying off the coast, sent warrants over the country, requiring all persons between sixteen and sixty to take arms to oppose four thousand bloody Irish rebels that were come to invade them. There could not be a fouler aspersion upon a body of troops, who had underwent the extremest hardships in the prosecution of those rebels, and had done signal services against them; for they had been originally sent out of England. There was not one Irishman or rebel among them, nor a man but who had taken the oath to defend the protestant religion as settled in the church of England; which was likewise taken by the other forces that followed these from Dublin, as well as by those^r which lord Inchiquin sent from Munster into the west. Brereton might possibly mistake as to the number of those forces, but he could not mistake the quality of them: the exaggerating of the first might help to apologize for his hasty retreat or flight out of Wales, and the misrepresenting of the latter was useful to cast an odium on the king's cause. For these reasons he sent the like account to the parliament, who, by a wicked policy, too common in their proceedings in those days, were not ashamed to publish it to the world, and thereby adopt it for their own.

^r Lord Inchiquin's letter. G. 54.

58 Brereton had so little sense of shame in his own conduct, that on the very day that he signed the warrants asserting this palpable falsehood, and dispersed them over the country, he wrote a ^sletter to sir M. Ernle and colonel Gibson, (then on shipboard,) extolling to the skies their brave adventures in Ireland in defence of the protestant [religion], confessing the unworthy reward the parliament gave them for that service, desiring them to excuse that neglect, promising them, if they would adhere to the parliament, they should have all their arrears paid them without fail, and entreating them earnestly to condescend to a parley with him. Those commanders sent him a very noble answer, such as was fit to be given to rebels, and told him that they would enter into no parley with persons that were in rebellion against their king. Brereton was superior in number, and had by his horse a great advantage over those forces, who were all foot, fatigued by six days' beating at sea, many of their arms unfixed, and a good number of them, having been raised in Wales, as soon as they landed, dispersing themselves to visit their friends. But seeing nothing was to be done by treaty, and not daring to attack such a body of redoubtable warriors, he quitted North Wales immediately, was himself the first man that passed the bridge of Holt, (the castle of which place was never taken, having been gallantly defended by young Robinson of Gwersytt,) and for his greater security broke the drawbridge and an arch of the great one behind him, though the enemy was at some miles distance. This shameful flight was the first thing that gave the Leinster forces that contempt of the English rebels which afterwards proved their ruin.

59 Sir M. Ernle advanced to Hawarden, (which was garri-472 soned with one hundred and twenty of sir T. Middleton's regiment,) and leaving two companies, joined by about six hundred of the Welsh, to block up the castle, which

^s Mr. H. Byron's letter. H. 59.

surrendered in twelve days for want of water, he marched to Chester, where his soldiers were well supplied with clothes and all necessaries, the stragglers and such as were drove by stress of weather into Anglesey rejoined him, and his troops were found complete. There the commanders, on Dec. 9, received a gracious letter from the king, expressing his joy for their landing; his thankfulness for their so honest refusal of the rebels' propositions; his hopes that the time would come when he might be more able to reward them for their service in Ireland; his sense of the unworthy desertion of them by the parliament, from whom he expected better things when he trusted them; his fears lest the report that they were Irish rebels, [a report so much encouraged by the parliament party, that some clergymen were put in prison for not publishing that falsehood in their churches;] and his desires that they should therefore express in all places the detestation they had of that odious rebellion, and that by their constant prayers and sermons they would make men understand what was the religion for which they fought.

- 60 The marquis of Ormond, on Dec. 3, sent over another party of one thousand three hundred foot and one hundred and forty horse under colonel Robert Byron, who landing at Chester, and lord Byron coming thither at the same time with a body of one thousand horse and three hundred foot to take on him the command of the forces in those parts, they were all drawn out into the field, notwithstanding the severity of the season, which it was thought they were fitted to bear by the hardships to which they had been inured in Ireland. Lord Byron marched out of Chester on the 12th, with four thousand foot and one thousand horse, took Beaston castle, Crew-house^t, drove Brereton from Sambach, and on St. Stephen's day routed him at Middlewich, where he was

^t Colonel Byron's letters. H. 291, and J. 44.

strongly posted. He retired with the remainder of his forces into Namptwich; which being the only place left the enemy in Cheshire, it was resolved to besiege, notwithstanding the season of the year, and the great number of forces within the town. The pride of these successes, and an opinion that they should meet with little resistance from an enemy they despised, made them attack the place in form: but here their good fortune failed them. Sir Nicholas Byron (uncle to the lord of that name) and sir R. Willis, marching from Shrewsbury with four hundred horse, and a convoy of arms and ammunition, to join the army, and quartering within four miles of Wem, a small garrison of the parliamentarians, colonel Mytton, with one hundred and twenty horse and as many foot, beat up their quarters in the night, killed several before any alarm was given, took both the commanders and above one hundred officers and troopers prisoners, with all the powder and ammunition: some officers and about two hundred of the horse made a shift to get off. Upon the neck of this disaster another happened; for it being resolved in a council of war to storm the town on Jan. 17, they were repulsed with the loss of four hundred men killed or wounded. Some of the regiments behaved themselves very gallantly in that attack, entering the works; and colonel Byron's lieutenant colonel with some of his regiment even forced their way into the town: but not being supported, and the enemy being very strong within, they were forced to retreat.

- 61 The soldiers still retaining their courage, the siege was continued, though in the way of a blockade, till sir Thomas Fairfax, after his routing colonel Bellasis at Selby, and the marquis of Newcastle's marching northward to make head against the Scots who had entered Northumberland, advanced with great diligence to relieve the place. He had with him six regiments of foot and about 473 one thousand two hundred horse, and attacked them in

their posts as they lay about the town, so that all the brunt of the action fell upon those regiments which were quartered on the side of the town next Manchester. A little river swelled with the rain lay between them and the rest of the army, intercepting the passage; so that lord Byron, with a good part of the foot, and all the horse, (in which only he had an advantage of the enemy,) by reason of the distance, the long circuit he was forced to take, and the inconvenience of the deep lanes and high enclosures, was not able to come up and support them.

62 The party which fought consisted of colonel Robert Byron's, Gibson's, sir M. Ernle's, and Warren's regiments, which last, in the absence of their colonel, was commanded by colonel Monck, the most beloved by the soldiers of any officer in the army. The two first received the enemy with great resolution; but Warren's broke upon the first charge. Monck rallied them again, but upon the next charge they ran quite away; which gave suspicion of foul play, because sixty of them at least joined the enemy and fired upon their own party. In the mean time those within the town sallied out with one thousand musketeers, and fell upon the rear of those regiments. They were necessarily to pass over a bridge where lord Byron had ordered four hundred men to be posted; but colonel Gibson having appointed only one hundred for that service, the bridge was soon forced, and sir M. Ernle's regiment, which was posted next it, did not long stand the dispute. Gibson's and Byron's regiments still remained entire, but being charged on all sides with horse and foot, it was high time to shift for themselves as well as they could. Colonel Byron made his retreat before two regiments of the enemy that pursued him, his men firing with great resolution in the rear, till they recovered the horse which secured them, and with little loss, there not being ten of them killed in the fight. Sir

Fr. Butler was unfortunately taken in this retreat by mistaking a regiment of the enemy for one of his own party. Monck, Gibson, sir M. Ernle, sir Richard Fleetwood, colonel Gibs, and almost all the considerable officers, were taken prisoners, with all the artillery, baggage, and ammunition of the army. There were one thousand two hundred common soldiers taken, many whereof, especially of Warren's regiment, entered into the parliament pay. Lord Byron rallied about one thousand three hundred of the soldiers, and retired with them and his horse to Chester^u, where he was very seasonably joined by two regiments of foot, commanded by the colonels Broughton and Tylyer, and four troops of horse under the charge of sir W. Vaughan; which the marquis of Ormond sent at the end of that month out of Ireland; as he did afterwards three other detachments, making about nine hundred men.

- 63 This misfortune would probably have been prevented, had another enterprise, more feasible than that of Namptwich, and of much greater consequence, at least to Ireland, been undertaken. ^vLiverpool, a place of considerable trade, seated near the mouth of the Mersey, and in a part of Lancashire the best affected of any in the county, was yet held by the parliament. It was the only port by which the rebels could bring fresh supplies of arms and ammunition into these parts; and from thence issued those ships which interrupted the commerce of Dublin, and the free intercourse between that city, Chester, and Wales. The town was without any works or defence on the land side, and being once possessed by the king's forces, and these reinforced by the numbers which it was expected would in that case declare for the king, they might easily reduce the rest of the county to his obedience. But it was proper, at the same time that the place was attacked by land, that the haven should be

^u See Collection of Letters, No. CCXV.

^v Ibid. CCIII.

blocked up from the sea, by which means they might be 474 masters of all the ships that lay in the Liverpool water. Captain Wake's ships, with the two pinnaces of the state of Ireland commanded by the Bartlets, would have served for that purpose; but the first wanted provisions, and was employed in transporting the troops necessary for the enterprise, as the others were in other services. The marquis of Ormond endeavoured to hire the Wexford frigates; but they, either not caring that Dublin should be delivered from its straits, and enjoy a free commerce, which might lessen that of Wexford, or for some other reasons insisting on excessive rates, declined the service, and the design was laid aside though much pressed by the marquis of Ormond, till P. Rupert came into those parts, and took the town on June 10; but there being no ships of force to secure the mouth of the haven, the vessels which were in the river, richly laden and well furnished with ammunition, got off to sea with the governor and wealthiest of the inhabitants. Want of money was not only in this, but in many other cases of infinite detriment to the king's affairs. The marquis of Ormond was ordered to send a supply of arms and ammunition to Chester, and were it not for this want, might easily have been furnished with a sufficient quantity by the Irish who abounded with them. But having no money to purchase, he could only send fourteen barrels of powder with colonel Byron's detachment out of the store of Dublin, which was reduced so low, that ^whe gave the colonel orders to send them back, unless they were necessarily wanted at Chester.

- 64 There was as little success in other applications to the Irish. They had in their remonstrance delivered at Trim expressed themselves ready to employ ten thousand men in the defence of his majesty's rights and prerogatives. The king seeing the parliament made no scruple of call-

ing in the Scots and other foreigners to their assistance ;
*and that they had a body of walloon horse in their service, who had their Romish priests with them to say mass wheresoever they marched, thought he might with as little offence employ a body of his own Roman catholic subjects. Some Irish noblemen and gentlemen of that religion, zealous for the king's service, and presuming that the inclinations of their countrymen were agreeable to their own, undertook to his majesty to bring over several regiments of them for his service. †Colonel John Barry (if the king would give way to it) proposed to raise three, under his own, his brother's, and colonel Richard Power's command. Lord Taaffe offered to raise two thousand, and sir John Dongan made the like proposition, with great assurance of success. Sir John Reade was at the end of January in the following year sent on a negotiation of the same nature to the lords and gentlemen of the pale, who readily promised three thousand men armed, together with a considerable proportion of ammunition. But none of these promises or propositions took effect ; nor was there so much as one regiment or company carried over to the king's service. ‡The reason of this was, that the supreme council refused to allow any men to go over, out of an intention to send men of their own in such a public way, as that his majesty might take particular notice thereof ; whereas by their going under private persons and in small parties, his majesty would think himself little obliged to their body in general. In vain did the marquis of Ormond represent to the members of that council, that the protraction of the time would be of the worst consequence ; that before they could put their purposes in action his majesty would either be past standing in need of them, or else, for want of seasonable supplies, be utterly ruined ; whereas his present condition

* See Collection of Letters, No. CLXVI.

† Ibid. CCXI.

‡ Marquis of Ormond's instructions to sir J. Dongan. H. 195.

was such, that a very small help would much advantage⁴⁷⁵ his affairs and forward his designs; and that there would be much more merit in the contribution of a small relief at present, than there would be hereafter in a greater supply. The supreme council were not moved by these remonstrances; they resolved to proceed in their own courses, and to make advantages to themselves by the king's distresses; persisting obstinately in that ungenerous way of thinking, till his majesty's affairs were ruined in England, and their own party afterwards involved in the like destruction.

- 65 About the same time that the king employed those agents to obtain from the Irish a levy of forces for his service^a, the court of France sent M. de Moinery, gentleman of his chamber, and Don Francisco de Melos, governor of the Low Countries, employed Francisco de Fosset, to solicit the like levies for the service of France and Spain. His catholic majesty had about the Easter before remitted to them a free gift of twenty thousand crowns, which they had laid out in arms and ammunition; and their agents at Madrid, in return for such a kindness, had offered to send a body of men out of Ireland into Spain for his service. They had^b directed their agent at Paris to make a like offer to the king of France, from whom they had likewise received supplies; but that court^c had afterwards stopped the payment of two thousand pounds, part of the money formerly ordered for their assistance. This had cooled their affections to the latter court; but there was no serving the one without gratifying both. When those agents applied to the supreme council for these levies, they excused themselves from complying immediately with their demands; because they had so

^a See Collection of Letters, No. CCXXI. and Register of the Supreme Council, Feb. 18, 1643-4.

^b Letter of Supreme Council to M. O'Hartegan, Aug. 8, 1643.

^c Ibid. Dec. 21, 1643.

lately refused the same thing to their natural sovereign, and they could not with any tolerable grace grant it at that time to any foreign prince. They however gave positive assurances to both the agents, that after the next June 25, they should each of them be allowed to raise two thousand foot with their officers, upon such capitulations as should be agreed on, and to transport them into France and Spain for the service of their respective masters.

- 66 As soon as the news of the cessation reached the court at Oxford, it was resolved to make the marquis of Ormond lord lieutenant of Ireland. He was very far from desiring a post, full of difficulties, to which the greatest capacity was scarce equal, in such a distracted situation of affairs, that the wisest conduct and the most perfect integrity could not carry a man through them without reproach. There was once a time, when he might in that post have served his majesty effectually, and prevented the miseries of his country, by a speedy suppression of the Ulster rebels, and by stopping the progress of the rebellion into other parts of the kingdom. But that time was elapsed; the rebellion was now at its height; the Scotch were masters of Ulster, and the rebels of the greatest part of the other provinces; the one refusing to obey the orders of the state, the other having formed a government of their own in opposition to it; and each of them too strong for any force or power which his majesty had to communicate to his ministers in that realm, and enable them to serve him with reputation to themselves and advantage to his affairs. The king knew his own weakness; and considering that a renewal of the war would be the utter ruin of his affairs and faithful protestant subjects in that kingdom, thought it necessary to put the government thereof entirely into the hands of the marquis, who alone was capable as well as willing to contain the Irish in their obedience, to keep the cessation

from being violated by new and open hostilities, and to dispose matters for a general peace, that he might be able to draw some assistance from thence to enable him to⁴⁷⁶ oppose the power of the rebels in other parts of his dominions. There were no hopes of any assistance from England, and the king's necessities, and the poverty of that small part of the kingdom which remained in obedience, were such, that there was not the least prospect of any emolument or advantage that might otherwise arise from a charge which would necessarily expose him to the fury of the parliament, and engage him to involve his own estate, to support the burdens and difficulties with which it was encumbered. These circumstances, which would have deterred any other from accepting it, prevailed upon the marquis of Ormond to undertake the charge^d, with that duty which made him ready upon all occasions to sacrifice himself, his family, and his fortunes, for the service of the crown, but with that submission to his majesty's pleasure, and that modesty in the manner of his accepting it, which attended him in all his actions.

- 67 The court being at a distance from the records of the kingdom, the lawyers were at a loss how to draw the patent of lord lieutenant. Several draughts were proposed; but they all agreed that it was best to draw it upon the plan of the earl of Leicester's, to express it in the same terms, and fill it with the same powers. The king resolved to send to the earl for his, and to engage him likewise to resign it, that the marquis of Ormond might come unexceptionably on all accounts into a post of that difficulty and importance. The earl had been piqued against the marquis, ever since their dispute about filling up vacant commands in the army, and was not fond of resigning to one whom he had long considered as his rival. But he did not care to come to an open breach with his majesty; which was unavoidable, if he disputed

^d See Collection of Letters, No. CCXIV. and CCXXII.

his pleasure in this particular; and accordingly resigned his commission, having obtained a warrant for the payment of all the arrears of his entertainments. He still however retained a secret animosity and malignity against his successor; which betrayed him to some^e mean, unworthy, and untrue reflections upon the character and behaviour of the marquis of Ormond; which this nobleman could not choose but resent. He received some intimation of this from Mr. Arthur Trevor, (uncle to the late master of the rolls,) and afterwards a fuller account thereof by a message, which Mr. Lutterel brought him from John Williams, archbishop of York, but had mistaken much in the delivery. He had thereupon applied himself to his grace, (who did not care the matter should go further, the words having been spoken at his table in Oxford,) for^f leave to take notice of, and vindicate himself from, that very false and malicious scandal cast upon him by a person that he had never injured; “unless (says he) he understood my preventing the seduction of the army in Ireland from his majesty’s obedience by his instructions and his son’s endeavours to be an injury to him. But my part being to justify myself by other means than recrimination, I desire it may go no further, unless your grace will be pleased to tell it my accuser to heighten his malice; which, out of the clearness of my soul, I do more despise than I wish to revenge.” The difficulties in adjusting the form, the steps requisite for procuring the earl of Leicester’s resignation, and the superseding of his commission, (which was done on Nov. 29,) and the foul weather which sir P. Wemyss met with in his passage, took up so much time, that the marquis of Ormond did not receive his full powers and commission till after the middle of January following; in conse-

^e See Collection of Letters, No. CCLXXVIII. and CCLXXXIV.

^f Marquis of Ormond’s letter to the archbishop of York, May 27, 1644. L. 10 and L. 143.

quence whereof he was sworn lord lieutenant on the 21st of that month.

68 There^g were four things particularly recommended to 477 him when he entered upon his charge; two of which have been already mentioned in part, and were the procuring of all the arms and ammunition he possibly could from the Irish, and the disposing of the principal Irish to a readiness to come over with forces, either into England or Scotland, according as either should be most requisite for his majesty's affairs. There was one great difficulty in both cases, arising from the want of money; but the main and insurmountable obstruction was, the rule which the supreme council had laid down for their conduct, to make an advantage of his majesty's necessities, and to suffer nothing to be done for his service but by the joint act of their whole body, upon the grant of such graces and conditions as they should think fit to insist on in a treaty of peace. Hence, when P. Rupert^h desired them to supply him with five thousand arms, three hundred barrels of powder, and a proportionable quantity of match, for which he promised ready payment, and the marquis of Ormond offered to allow the price of this warlike ammunition to be deducted out of the money they were to pay upon the cessation, theyⁱ excused themselves from doing it, as not having enough to spare, after supplying their own army that was to be drawn into the field to oppose such as violated the cessation, and furnishing what the marquis of Antrim wanted for his undertaking. Hence they would allow no men to be carried out of the nation, except for that enterprise, which they hoped would be a means of recalling the Scotch forces out of Ulster, whom they wished removed thence at any rate. There was not so likely a means to that end as the making a diversion in Scotland by a consi-

^g See Collection of Letters, No. CCIV. ^h Ibid. No. CCXVIII. ⁱ K. 15.

derable body of forces, which they might easily have done, and got rid at the same time of great numbers of the old Irish, who having nothing to get by a cessation, and little to hope from a peace, had shewed themselves averse to the former, and always opposed their measures for the latter expedient of putting an end to the troubles and miseries of the nation. Those Ulster men were the fittest troops that could be sent into Scotland, as agreeing perfectly with the highlanders in their manners and language, and might have been employed there with less offence and better effect than any of their forces could in England; but either out of an unwillingness to deliver his majesty out of his troubles, till he had been forced to comply with them in all their desires, or out of an apprehension of a present danger from Monroe's army, they would not send any considerable force out of the country into Scotland.

- 69 The earl of Antrim had in the May before the cessation been taken by Monroe near Newcastle, as he was landing in order to take measures for the execution of an enterprise which he had formed of sending forces into that kingdom to the assistance of the marquis of Montrose, to enable him to oppose the covenanters, and prevent their invasion of England. He^k was confined in the castle of Carrickfergus, but after about eight months' imprisonment he made his escape thence, and was by the lord Chichester's keeper convoyed on foot through Ulster to Charlemont, where he was well received by Owen O'Neile. From thence he went to Kilkenny, where he was pressed by the supreme council to take the oath of association, and to accept of a command; but he refused both, as destructive at present to his project; in order to which he resolved to wait upon the king. He was infinitely vain and ambitious, ever swelled with hopes, and full of confidence in all his un-

^k The Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 612.

dertakings, yet always unsettled in his judgment, and irresolute in his measures. Hence he thought no dignity above his merit, nor any command too great for his abilities, which were very mean; and as he never foresaw⁴⁷⁸ any difficulties in the way of what project soever he formed, so when such unexpected difficulties occurred, he was for laying it aside as lightly as he had entertained it inconsiderately. He¹ sent his propositions before him to Oxford, and following himself, arrived there on Dec. 16, 1643.

70 He flattered himself that by his services he might be advanced to^m the lieutenancy of Ireland; but till he had executed his projects, he thought it proper to keep this view secret. He avowed more openly his design of being chosen generalissimo of all the popish party in Ireland, to which the king was very averse, and directed the marquis of Ormond to traverse his measures for obtaining that command. He proposed no less than the bringing over ten thousand men of that party to serve the king in England, and the sending at the same time three thousand more to invade the marquis of Argyle's country in Scotland. The first of these was consideredⁿ as a ridiculous project; but the latter was hearkened to as more feasible. He was originally of the clan of Macdonnell, the most numerous and powerful of any in the highlands of Scotland, from whence his grandfather had come in queen Elizabeth's time to settle with a great body of his followers in the county of Antrim in Ireland; and by his relation to them, and the correspondence he had constantly kept with them, he was likely enough to engage that and other clans to take up arms in the king's cause, to which they were otherwise well affected. Montrose had assured the king of their readi-

¹ See Collection of Letters, No. CCIV, CCVIII, and CCXXXVIII.

^m Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 613.

ⁿ See Collection of Letters, No. CCLIX.

ness to take the field, if supplied with arms and ammunition; and the marquis of Huntley had given the like assurances in behalf of the family and clan of the Gordons. The king was not without apprehensions that this attempt upon Scotland might draw Monroe and his forces out of Ulster, where he was desirous to have them kept; however, hoping to prevent that event by other means, it was resolved to go on with the enterprise. To encourage Antrim to proceed in it with greater zeal, by flattering his ambition, he was promoted to the dignity of marquis, and was allowed to hope he might be made duke of Argyle, if he could suppress the marquis of that name and his adherents.

- 71 To shew his ability of executing it, the marquis of Antrim bragged of his great credit and power with the supreme council. He had indeed some interest with several of the members who composed it, particularly with lord Iveagh and the Ulster deputies. By his sister's marriage to the late lord Slane, he was allied to Mr. Thomas Fleming; and fancied that he had a great sway with the clergy that sat in it, who were the titular bishops of Dublin, Tuam, Clonfert, and Down; but these considering him, through the weakness of his understanding, and the bigotry of his sentiments, as a proper instrument for their purposes, to which they might easily draw him by flattering his vanity, only made use of him to serve their ends, which the greatness of his fortune and the elevation of his dignity might enable him to promote. He owned, however, that he could not answer for the supreme council without the assistance of the marquis of Ormond, but with his concurrence he could do every thing. There were indeed in that body Dr. Gerald Fennell and Mr. Richard Belling, who had always before the troubles considered him as their particular patron, and were ready upon occasion to follow his directions. The lord Mountgarret, the president, was nearly related

to the marquis, and lord Muskery had married his sister. The earl of Castlehaven, Nicholas Pluncket, Geoffrey Browne, and Patrick Darcy, had a great esteem for his wisdom and integrity, and were not wanting in affection to his person, having been formerly very intimate with him, the first in a way of friendship, and the three last being consulted by him as lawyers, and employed in his 479 private affairs. These were much the wisest, as well as the greater part of the council, and the lord lieutenant was ordered to use all his influence upon them to further the enterprise upon Scotland; which he did with all the zeal and earnestness imaginable.

- 72 Antrim left Oxford about Jan. 21. in company with Daniel O'Neile, who being agreeable to him, was thought the properest person to keep him steady in his resolution, and prevent his falling into follies and extravagances in the management of the affair. °The lord lieutenant was directed to give him all the credit he could for the providing of arms, ammunition, and victualling for the expedition, by mortgaging the customs, or any other security that the king could give to raise money in that kingdom. Antrim arrived on Feb. 23 at Kilkenny, and made his propositions to the council, as well in relation to the ten thousand men to be sent into England, and the arms and ammunition for the use of prince Rupert, as the three thousand men to be employed in Scotland. They took five days' time to consider of them, and on the 29th returned an answer, absolutely rejecting the first, and putting the second upon a condition, which could not be complied with without starving the garrisons and forces which held for the king in Ulster. Instead of an acquittance for the two thousand eight hundred cows which that province was to furnish, the marquis of Ormond offered to pay for the arms, &c. by assignments

° See Collection of Letters, No. CCXXIII.

upon Leinster; which they declined accepting, as they did lord Taafe's offer of engaging his estate for payment; and so the proposal dropped.

- 73 In regard to the last proposition, upon Antrim's undertaking to raise the men, they resolved to assist him with two thousand muskets, two thousand four hundred weight of powder, proportionable match, and two hundred barrels of oatmeal, by the first of May following; upon knowledge first, that all other accommodations be concurring, and a safe and convenient port provided in Ulster for receiving the said arms, ammunition, and victual; and upon this further provision, that the said port be commanded by Walter Bagnal, and the men there to be by him appointed, such as in his judgment should be thought faithful and observant of just commands. This last restriction seemed to be made with a design, of which the marquis of Ormond was already suspicious; so that his answer to it was general, assuring them, that when he should be advertised that their arms, ammunition, provisions, and shipping were ready, and whither it was held most convenient to have them sent, there should not be wanting a place to receive and secure them to their satisfaction. This was an answer that could neither give them colour to retard their preparations, or to challenge any promise that such a place should be put into their hands without equivalent caution. The reason of the lord lieutenant's jealousy was, that before Antrim's arrival, he had notice given him of a design which the Irish had to possess themselves of a port in Ulster, and was desired to be particularly careful of Carlingford and Greencastle, the only places in that province which he could be said to have in his power. It appeared afterwards, that these were the very places^r which lord Antrim had named, as desired by the council; and the jea-

^p J. 207. ^q See Collection of Letters, No. CCXLII and CCXLIX.

^r Ibid. No. CCXLIV.

lousy conceived was not a little confirmed by their designing to have them put under the command of colonel Walter Bagnal, who had some pretensions to the government thereof, as also of the Newry, to which Antrim, when at Oxford, had desired he might be appointed. Bagnal was undoubtedly a man of honour, was cousin-german to the marquis of Ormond, and had given strong assurances that he would be for the king with all his power, in case of a rupture with the Irish; but it would have been a great prejudice to the king's affairs in Ulster⁴⁸⁰ to put those ports into the hands of a Roman catholic, nor was it prudent to confide them to any one who had such particular pretensions. The lord lieutenant easily found reasons to divert Antrim from that request; and the parliament ships coming soon after upon the coast, made them very improper places for the end to which they were designed.

- 74 The marquis of Ormond^s, if he had been supplied with arms, provisions, and ships, could have sent from the ports in his majesty's obedience from time to time considerable numbers of Irish with little noise, and without the assistance of the Irish council: but the king being unable to supply these, it was necessary to make use of their help in that affair. The marquis of Antrim, who had always a view to his private interest in whatever he undertook, thought himself entitled on this occasion to ask the government of Colerane and Derry, and to have the lord lieutenant's assistance for the enjoyment of his estate in the north. The latter request was just, and easily granted; but the former being of a dangerous nature, endeavours were used to divert him from it, which, by Daniel O'Neile's credit with him, succeeded, and he went on eagerly enough in his design. Resolving to stick at nothing to carry his point, and to ingratiate himself the more with the Irish, he took the oath of associa-

^s See Collection of Letters, No. CCXLIV.

tion, and was sworn of their council. He had a commission from the king to raise men for the service he undertook; but not satisfied with that, he 'got another from the supreme council to be lieutenant general of all their forces in the kingdom, professing, when he received it, that he would never make use of any other commission, nor transport men abroad without their consent; and renouncing all pretensions to the command of the earl of Castlehaven's army. That army was raised to reduce some of their own party, who had set up for themselves in the county of Mayo, and had possessed Castle-carroe and Castle-bar, and to take in some garrisons in the county of Roscommon, who had violated, and openly declared against the cessation. Antrim undertook to persuade all these castles to surrender, as soon as he came before them; but his eloquence had not the effect he expected, and he was forced to leave that work for Castlehaven's army to accomplish. Not discouraged with his ill success in that affair, he "engaged in another negotiation with Monroe, imagining, that by mighty but empty promises (for he had not the money wherewith he proposed to buy him) he could prevail upon that general to submit his forces and all that he held in the north of Ireland to his lordship's direction; but soon found his endeavours fruitless.

75 He had better success in raising the men designed for the Scotch expedition: they were almost all of them levied in Ulster, and consisted chiefly of his own tenants and neighbours that served in the Irish army; and were commanded by discontented officers, who had been disbanded as being averse to the cessation, and desirous to renew the war; so that the carrying of them out of the kingdom was no ill piece of service. He had done this with a good deal of expedition, having raised two thousand men before the end of April, and marched them

^t K. 49 and 53.

^u Ib. 188 and 256.

into the counties of Longford and Westmeath, which were by the supreme council assigned for their quarters till they embarked. It was not however early enough to keep his promise with Montrose, to whom he had engaged to make a descent in Argyleshire with a much stronger army by the beginning of that month. In expectation of the performance of that promise, Montrose about that time, with about one thousand horse and foot, had entered the borders of Scotland, and seized upon Dumfries; and the marquis of Huntley had risen in the north of that kingdom, and taken possession of Aber-⁴⁸¹deen. But the marquis of Argyle returning out of England to oppose them, and strong armies drawing down against them, they were both forced to retire, Huntley into the fastnesses of the highlands, and Montrose back into England.

- 76 There was still a want of the arms, ammunition, and provisions promised by the supreme council, who pleaded scarcity and inability on all such occasions; an excuse^v which they might make with the better colour, because though they had great plenty of all sorts of warlike stores, yet they were dispersed confusedly over the kingdom, and not kept in particular magazines. The marquis of Ormond was in great want of powder at Dublin, and colonel Barry, whom he had employed to the council then at Galway, had prevailed with them to furnish him with two thousand pounds weight; but upon a particular charge of secrecy, and with great precautions in the delivery, either because they had denied prince Rupert, or else on account of some of their own party. He renewed his instances for their supplying the marquis of Antrim immediately with the arms and ammunition which they had promised, and for which he was ready to give them acquittances for the value thereof, to be deducted out of

^v Colonel Barry's letter to the marquis of Ormond, April 18. K. 181 and K. 159.

the money due upon the cessation. ^vUpon advice of the seizure of Aberdeen and Dumfries, he pressed them in the most earnest manner by all the arguments proper to move them, to make no delay in a matter of such consequence to the king's service in Scotland, and to their own security at home, and in a juncture when every moment was precious. Yet they still proceeded slowly in the affair, which gave Antrim^w occasion to make grievous complaints of the excessive charge he was at in maintaining his men. They on the other side complained of the depredations made by his men in the parts where they were quartered; at which, or else at losing his point before the council in his competition with the earl of Castlehaven for the command of the army, he took such distaste, that he declared he would desert the expedition, and his men should not go to Scotland.

- 77 There had been no failure or delay on the lord lieutenant's part in this affair. He had provided ships in time; and when the owners refused the king's customs for the security of their freight and pay, and indeed all other kind of security, but from gentlemen of the country, and of their own party, he had engaged his brother, colonel Richard Butler of Kileash, and his agents Mr. Comerford and Mr. Archer, to assure them of payment according to agreement, and had given those gentlemen a counter security on his own estate. The ships were hired in April, and ready to sail on the 12th of May, had every thing else been ready. But in a few days after, captain Swanley came with two parliament ships into that sea, committed ravages on the coast, and intercepted all ships that traded about Dublin, to the great distress of that city and the garrisons thereabouts. The marquis of Ormond had sent captain Anthony Willoughby with one hundred and fifty men, which had formerly served in the fort of Galway,

^v Marquis of Ormond's letter to Mr. Belling, April 22.

^w See Collection of Letters, No. CCLXXXVIII. CCCII.

from thence to Bristol. The ship which carried them was taken by Swanley, who^x was so inhuman as to throw seventy of the soldiers overboard, under pretence that they were Irish, though they had faithfully served his majesty against the rebels during all the time of the war. This struck a great terror into all the neighbouring coasts, and scarce a ship durst stir out of harbour; though these ships, which no entreaties or importunities of the lords justices in all their distresses before the cessation could prevail with the parliament to send to their relief^y, made it their business chiefly to block up and infest Dublin and other harbours in the king's hands, whilst they left⁴⁸² those of Wexford, Waterford, and other ports, belonging to the rebels, free and unmolested. It was at these two last mentioned ports and that of Dungarvan that the lord lieutenant had hired the ships for the Scotch expedition; and as it was proper for them all to rendezvous together, and was difficult for a ship of burden to get out of Wexford, let the wind be ever so fair, by reason of the bar, which was very troublesome and tedious to pass, Passage was the place appointed for that purpose. They might from thence, whenever the wind served, get out to sea at low water without any difficulty; and to prepare matters for the embarkation, the council allowed the forces to remove thither, and be quartered in the adjoining country.

78 The marquis of Ormond had been so zealous in promoting the expedition, that lord Antrim was perfectly satisfied with his proceedings in it, and was easily prevailed on by him to resume the resolution of sending away his men. Some ^zpowder being wanted, the lord lieutenant supplied him with it out of what he had lately bought at Waterford; but the arms were so slowly furnished, that they were not all on board on the 19th of June. The men however were at last embarked to the

^x See Collection of Letters, No. CCC.

^y Ibid. No. CCCIII. and L. 10.

^z L. 142.

number of near one thousand six hundred, and set sail on the 27th very indifferently stored with provisions. They had a free passage, the parliament ships having left those seas upon the taking of Liverpool by the king's forces; and on the third day of their sailing took a Scotch vessel with about fifty kirk ministers deputed to preach up and administer the covenant in Ulster, and (what was more useful for their service) two parliament ships laden with provisions for their forces in that province. They put on the 5th day into a bay in Isla, and came to an anchor: but having advice that there were within a day's sail two strong castles negligently kept and weakly guarded, they sailed thither; and landing, had both surrendered to them the next day. The commanders of these troops were Alexander Macdonnell, called Colkittoe, a native of Scotland, James Macdonnell, a near relation to Antrim, and colonel O'Cahan. They put garrisons into the castles, which the two prizes they had taken helped them to supply so well with provisions, that they held out afterwards a siege of six months; and were soon after joined by the marquis of Montrose, who by this reinforcement was enabled to take the field, and by a series of wonderful victories for two years together, not only diverted the covenanters from sending any further supplies of men into Ireland or England, but obliged them to recall some of their forces out of this latter kingdom to defend themselves in their own country.

- 79 The third point recommended to the lord lieutenant was, to prevent the breaking out of the rebellion during the cessation; which it was conceived might be done by entertaining the Irish with hopes of good conditions in the things which they had most at heart, and by gaining upon the affections or flattering the ambition of their principal leaders. The marquis of Ormond allowed these to be very fit means for attaining the end proposed, if used in a proper manner: but he was not of himself qua-

lified to do that with effect, without a concurrence of measures from the court of England. He was sensible that the Irish were ready to make an advantage of the king's necessities; and as the armies were greatly distressed for want of provisions^a, he desired a supply of victual might be sent immediately from Bristol, that he might not be forced to depend upon the Irish for subsistence; persuasions or remonstrances having little effect, when coming from persons in a state of dependance. The king was not able in his present difficulties to remove that inconvenience, but to alleviate it despatched away five hundred pounds' worth of provisions to Dublin, and as much to Cork.

80 The Irish, even those who were best affected to the king, and most desirous of the peace of their country, were still very solicitous for their own safety. Nothing was more natural, and it was absolutely necessary that some provision should be made to give them satisfaction in so essential a point. He desired for this end that he might be empowered to receive to mercy, and grant pardon for life and lands, to such of the rebels as should return to his majesty's obedience. By this means he did not question, in case any disturbance should be endeavoured by the worst affected, to divide them so as to defeat their attempts and preserve his majesty's protestant subjects. He did not pretend to judge how agreeable such a power was to the adventurers' act, nor how it might affect his majesty's affairs in England; but he was entirely convinced, with regard to those of Ireland, that if the war broke out again there, it could never end either prosperously or seasonably, without such a course were taken. All histories shew the fatal effects which follow the making of a whole nation desperate, and the event of things related in this fully demonstrate the justness of these sentiments and the reasonableness of this advice.

81 It was the king's constant misfortune, that his counsels

^a See Collection of Letters, No. CCXIV.

were never kept secret from those who ought least to know them. The^b Irish agents coming to Oxford found means of getting intelligence that the marquis of Ormond had sent the king this advice, and in their letter of April 7 following, to the supreme council, advertised them, that he had desired a commission might be sent to enable him to warrant the submission of such as would desire it, and to pass them pardons. "This (say they) is a dangerous way to break our association." They had reason to say so; for it was the very method by which Henry IV broke the *holy league* in France. This letter, which was sent by Mr. Chr. Bryan, came by an odd accident, related in the^c volume of letters annexed to this history, into the lord lieutenant's hands, who keeping a copy to himself sent the original to Mr. Belling, secretary of the council, assuring him at the same time, that whether there were any foundation or no for the information which their intelligencer gave them, he should still hold on his way, the best he could light on, to bring the kingdom to his majesty's perfect obedience, and thereby to the blessings of peace and plenty, which were the principal ends of all his endeavours. It will not lessen the world's opinion of the marquis of Ormond's wisdom and dexterity, that under the disadvantage of having his measures known, and notwithstanding the council was thus forewarned, he yet found means to divide them, and (as will be seen hereafter) to break the force of that power, which, united, would have been able in very few weeks to have crushed the protestants and drove all the king's adherents out of the kingdom.

- 82 Next to the insecurity of their estates, there was no grievance which before the troubles so much affected the Roman catholics of Ireland as their utter incapacity for preferment, and the exclusion of them from all places of

^b See their letter. K. 100.
No. CCLXXX.

^c See Collection of Letters,

honour and trust. The marquis of Ormond was satisfied that it was this grievance which disposed them most effectually to take up arms, and was persuaded, that unless it were in some measure removed, it would be the point on which they would break in a treaty of peace; though in such case they would (as they had done in the other) impute the breach to want of satisfaction in matter of religion, which was the only motive that weighed with the people. Men of spirit, such especially as by their dignity, families, and estates, seem born for power, can never bear to be inconsiderable in their own country, and to live exposed continually to the insults and contempt⁴⁸⁴ of their equals or inferiors. Nothing therefore was more proper than to give the principal leaders of the confederate Irish some hopes in this respect: but it could not be done with success, if their persons were harshly received at court, or such discountenance shewed them as would make them justly apprehend they should not be the better for any capacity that was granted them. There were at this time many considerable posts either vacant, or likely to be so, by the impeachment of the four counsellors, and the open malignancy, disloyalty, and disobedience of others; which were already devoured by persons about the court of England, who sued for and expected them. The disposal thereof in such a manner could not fail of reviving the heavy complaint, which ever had been, and it is to be feared (such is their unhappy fate) ever will be made by the natives of Ireland, that all their preferments are given to strangers, who having no natural affection to the country, nor any concern therein but for the raising of their private fortunes, are little solicitous for its general welfare. The keeping of these places vacant was a silent and inoffensive way of flattering the hopes of such as imagined themselves qualified to fill them; and therefore the lord lieutenant wished they might be so kept, or at least if it were

needful, to dispose of them out of hand, that they might be filled with such Irish protestants as had not been for the extirpation of the popish natives ; which was the likeliest method to give satisfaction to both sides, and could not be justly excepted against by either.

83 He was sensible how much the king's pressing necessities disposed him to hearken to any overture or expedient that afforded hopes of relieving them ; and that there wanted not persons ready for the advancement of their own private ends, to pretend that they were very powerful with the Irish, and could work mighty matters with them for his service. He apprehended great inconveniences would arise from these pretenders, who to achieve what they had confidently undertaken, would not scruple to promise the Irish such high conditions as might lessen the just esteem they ought to have of what his majesty might graciously incline or really propose to afford them. It would make them think they had a nearer and more easy way to their ends, than by the mediation of those in whom the king had placed his authority, and upon whom he depended for their being contained in obedience and made useful to his service. It would make them insist obstinately upon all the terms which such undertakers should suggest to them that his majesty was inclined, or would be forced to grant, however unreasonable in themselves, and however dangerous or prejudicial to his majesty's affairs : and when a necessitated denial or suspension came to dash their expectation, they would presently deem it to be the work of the governor, and thence entertain such prejudices against him as must of course render every thing that he should propound suspected and fruitless. He knew the Irish in their temper to be the pronest people in the world to this suspicion, and to a credulity in any man who came never so little countenanced, if he offered any thing to them that was pleasing to their hopes or agreeable to their wishes.

These apprehensions of his were very reasonable, and already justified by fact, there having been some persons dabbling in that way, who had assured the Irish, that money given at court would be of more advantage to them than any they could give in Ireland; which had wrought upon them so, that they were dilatory in making the payments stipulated by the cessation, to the great prejudice of the king's service. But they were so abundantly warranted in every particular by after experience, that the wisest person who had lived through all the course of these troubles, and made the exactest and justest observations on all the passages thereof, could not have given his majesty better and more useful advice, than not to listen to such undertakers.

- 84 The marquis of Ormond was indeed entirely satisfied⁴⁸⁵ that none of these men could do the king any service; and that there was nothing to be done in Ireland without the supreme council, who were resolved to defeat all the endeavours of particular men for his majesty's service. Thus they had prevented the levies of men, which lord Taafe, sir J. Dongan, and colonel Barry intended, and which the gentry of the pale, in consequence of sir J. Reade's negotiation, promised to make in order to serve against the English rebels. Thus they had used all possible endeavours to frustrate the like design in lord Inchiquin. Thus they refused the marquis of Antrim leave to raise the ten thousand men he had undertaken for the same service; and when their agents at Oxford were alarmed with a flying report of that lord's being made lieutenant general for the carrying over of that body of men, they immediately wrote over to the council to put a stop to that affair, whether it was with their allowance, or otherwise, signifying to them in the letter abovementioned, that they ought to employ all their care to prevent the coming over of any men from Ireland, until there was such a settlement made as they intended to rely on; and

that it was the very thing which would give life to their affairs, that their men should not come from thence without their consent. The marquis of Ormond was in his judgment against those applications to them for assistance, because it elated them with the thoughts of its being necessary to the king's affairs, and emboldened them to ask unreasonable things in confidence of the merit of such assistance : at least he thought it his duty to advise his majesty, not hastily to grant them any thing that might be considerably to his detriment, in hopes of that condition ; for if peace were once made, he could either get it into the bargain, or be able to do the business without them. Had this advice been followed, and no ear been given to undertakers of this kind, the ruin which befel the king's affairs in England, and the miseries which afterwards overwhelmed the Irish nation, might probably have been prevented.

85 The lord lieutenant however, notwithstanding all the disadvantages and difficulties under which he laboured, provided for the peace of the kingdom which remained in his majesty's obedience, and for preventing the Irish from renewing the war, much better than could be expected. The cessation was submitted to by all the Irish party, and by the generality of the English. There were some disputes between them about the extent of their quarters, and some depredations committed on both sides, through the habit of rapine which the English soldiers, for want of pay and discipline, and the Irish by common practice, had contracted : but these were at last settled by commissioners without any further consequences, such as those of both parties, averse to any pacification, probably wished. All was quiet in Ireland, except in the county of Roscommon and some parts of Ulster. Sir Rob. Newcomen and sir G. St. George, who commanded in the former of these countries, observed the cessation, and were well satisfied with the quarters assigned them

by the commissioners ; but nothing would content captain Ormesby and those who commanded in Castle-Coote, and two or three other garrisons in that county. The Laggan forces about Derry and Donegal under sir W. and sir Robert Stewart ; the old Scots under the lords of Ardes and Claneboyes, and sir James Montgomery, and all the English regiments in Ulster, readily submitted to it : nor did any body there oppose it, but Monroe with his forces, distinguished by the style of the New Scots. As soon as that general had received an authentic account of its being concluded, he fell upon the Irish peasants, who were getting their harvest in great security, as no longer thinking of an enemy, and made a slaughter among them : but thought fit to retire immediately afterwards to Carrickfergus, giving out that he would do nothing further in violation of it till he received directions for his conduct⁴⁸⁶ from the state of Scotland and the parliament of England. He soon after received orders to break the cessation, and thereupon publicly declared his resolution of carrying on the war against the Irish. The king was not sorry at that declaration, because he hoped that it would prevent his being recalled home, and was persuaded that without the assistance of those forces in Ulster the Scots could not raise an army strong enough to make an invasion of the north of England.

86 This was the reason of the last instruction given to the marquis of Ormond, recommending to him, above all things else, to prevent the Scots drawing their army out of Ireland. All the commanders of that nation were supposed gainable by interest, and he was directed to try them in that way ; but wanted means to offer them proper temptations. They had large arrears of pay due to them, and had no prospect of receiving those arrears, or of getting subsistence, but by means of the state of Scotland and parliament of England, whose orders, in case their demands were complied with, they resolved to ob-

serve. The parliament had, on Sept. 25, 1643, taken the covenant with great solemnity, and afterwards passed an ordinance, ordering it to be taken by all persons throughout the kingdom. On Nov. 4 they despatched captain Owen O'Conally (the discoverer of the plot upon Dublin) with letters to all the British colonels in Ulster, recommending to them to take the covenant, and to carry on the war, assuring them of sufficient supplies for their maintenance, upon complying with those conditions. The London adventurers sent over an agent with letters at the same time, pressing the same things, and giving the like assurances.

- 87 These were very welcome to the officers of the Scotch army, who had lived much at their ease in Ireland, had been engaged in little service besides taking preys of cattle, and did not care to leave the country. They were very apprehensive of being recalled home, and^d sent over a messenger into Scotland to press the state for a present supply, and security for the rest of their arrears, protesting that otherwise they would not stir, nor let any part of the army go out of the kingdom. Monroe himself was not inclined to go, being on the point of a marriage with the widow of the late lord Ardes. The inhabitants of Down and Antrim petitioned the state, and the old Scotch officers of the Laggan forces wrote to the chancellor of Scotland, that the army might not be removed. The state was a good while irresolute what to do in the case; but on^f Nov. 28, to give some satisfaction to their Ulster army, they resolved, in conjunction with the commissioners from the English parliament then at Edinburgh, that all their accounts should be made up and settled; that ten thousand suits of clothes and shoes, ten thousand boles (making fifteen thousand barrels) of oatmeal, three thousand muskets, one thousand five hundred pikes, five hun-

^d Letter of sir James Montgomery, Oct. 27, 1643.

^e H. 158, and G. 238.

^f G. 387.

dred pair of pistols, with other furniture for horsemen, and ammunition suitable to the service, should be sent them over for a present supply; that ten thousand pounds (part of the sixty thousand pounds formerly promised them in part of their arrears) be immediately paid them in money, and the other fifty thousand pounds be delivered at Carrickfergus or Leith before the first of February following; that the two houses of parliament should take care for their maintenance, as long as the army continued in their service, and the general of it should command all the British forces in Ulster. That army was at this time in some distress for want of provisions, so that they resolved to desert their out-garrisons; and lieutenant colonel ^gHenry Sinclair treated with the Irish to sell them the Newry for one hundred and forty cows; but the marquis of Ormond causing eighty pounds to be paid him, which he pretended to have disbursed in fortifying the church and castle, it was upon his quitting it taken possession of by the English.

88 The English regiments in Ulster were now in a very⁴⁸⁷ unhappy situation: they had received no pay from the beginning of the war; their commanders had exhausted their own fortunes in maintaining their men, and were no longer able to support them. Both officers and soldiers were generally well affected to the king, but they had no hopes of supplies unless they joined the Scotch, and complied with the orders of the parliament. The Scotch had resolved to put them to the test, to see which they would serve, even before Conally arrived with the letters of the parliament, pressing them to continue the war and take the covenant, but were much more importunate in requiring from them a declaration of their intentions after his arrival. The king had by a proclamation on Oct. 9 declared that covenant to be a traitorous and seditious combination against him, and against the

established religion and laws of the kingdom, in pursuance of a traitorous design and endeavour to bring in a foreign force to invade England, and had commanded all his subjects not to take it. ^hThe marquis of Ormond sent directions to all the officers in those parts that were under his command to refuse it, shewing the iniquity of the oath, and advising them, since they were not able to oppose the power of Monroe, to follow at least his example in regard of the cessation, and desire time to consider of it till they had acquainted the state and received directions for their conduct. The lords justices and council wrote the same day to Monroe, charging him not to suffer the covenant to be taken by any of the officers or soldiers under his command; and four days after (on Dec. 18) published a proclamation, condemning it as a seditious combination against his majesty, contrary to the municipal laws of the kingdom, destructive to the government of the church established, inconsistent with the liberty of the subject, and tending to create great unquietness and distraction in the kingdom; and forbidding all persons either to tender or take it. This was followed soon after with a longⁱ declaration from the same authority, wherein, for the information of the people, they entered into a particular examination of all parts of the covenant, fully demonstrated the unlawfulness thereof, and renewed their charge upon all persons to refuse it.

- 89 These orders and arguments were too weak to oppose the passion with which the covenant was received in the north, where most of the old Scotch officers were inclined to it, and the inhabitants were so eager for it, that they had despatched a messenger to Scotland, expressly to desire it might be sent them over. The colonels of all the regiments under the marquis of Ormond's command were averse to it, but thought it prudent^k not to publish the

^h See Collection of Letters, No. CCVII. and CCX.

ⁱ H. 244.

^k H. 324.

proclamation against it, as they were ordered, at the head of their regiments, for fear of irritating Monroe; who, content with his own forces taking it, and recommending it to the others, did not offer to press it upon them by force. If he had, they were not able to oppose his power, there not being provision enough in any English garrison in those parts to hold out a siege of ten days. They agreed to have a meeting at Belfast to consider what was to be done on this occasion, and to draw up letters in answer to those of the parliament and the committee of adventurers. There met on Jan. 2, the lord Montgomery, sir Robert Stewart, sir James Montgomery, sir W. Cole, the colonels Chichester, Hill, and Mervyn, and Robert Thornton mayor of Derry; sir W. Stewart was absent, but approved their resolutions. ¹They all agreed privately among themselves in resolving to preserve their allegiance to his majesty, to obey the orders of the marquis of Ormond, and not to accept the covenant, nor any commander over them. They made no mention of these particulars in their answer to the parliament, which they endeavoured ⁴⁸⁸ to frame in such a manner as might engage that body to send them some relief for their subsistence, and persuade them of their great willingness to prosecute the war, with the consent of king and parliament. ^mThe reasons which determined them to send an answer were, as well to prevent the drawing of the Scotch army out of Ulster to oppose his majesty in England, as to be able to keep their own regiments on foot, that in case of the departure of the Scots, the natives of Ireland might see the king had still a sufficient force on foot to maintain his ground in the kingdom, till the affairs of England allowed him more conveniency to compel them to their due obedience.

⁹⁰ The marquis of Ormond had given them a general direction to labour all they could to keep the Scotch army in the country; and they used their best endea-

¹ H. 324.

^m J. 113.

vours for that end, though against their inclinations, the Scotch straitening them much in their quarters, and ruining their estates. ⁿBut in the beginning of February orders came from Scotland for recalling the army, which was wanted there, as well to reinforce that which had been sent into England, where they met with a stronger opposition than was expected from the marquis of Newcastle, as to overawe such as were well affected to the king's service, and the boroughs of the kingdom who opposed the excise which had been imposed by the convention for the maintenance of their forces. These orders were not agreeable to Monroe or any of his officers, who thereupon resolved to quit Mountjoy, Dungannon, and all the places they held on the Bann from Colerane to Toome. The general determined to be the last man that went over, and the rest of the officers cast lots to decide what regiments should go. The earl of Levin had sent for his life-guard of one hundred horse some time before; and now the lot fell upon lord Lowdon's, lord Sinclair's, and another regiment. There were not vessels to transport more at a time, and the rest were forced to stay till either the ships returned, or others were sent to transport them. They had not at this time above five days' provisions in their stores, none of the victuals or other supplies, promised (as hath been said) by the state of Scotland or the parliament of England, being yet arrived, which gave great discontent to the soldiers. The three regiments embarked on the 20th of that month; but before they went on board, they all joined in a band and oath to one another, that when they should arrive in Scotland they would not be disbanded, nor obey any order from the general or any other, till they had full satisfaction for all their arrears; and then they would have it in their option whether to continue in the employment or not; resolving, till their terms were complied with, to garrison themselves upon

ⁿ J. 162, 166, 159, 117, 118, 113, 125.

the lands of such as had then the greatest power in the kingdom ; to continue constant to one another ; and if opposed, to join themselves with those who were faithful and affectionate to his majesty's service, and who (they imagined) would declare themselves, when assured of such a support. It was found necessary to content them ; but the apprehension of the disturbances they might raise in that kingdom was probably the reason why the chancellor of Scotland wrote to Monroe to stay the army till further orders, and to give him hopes that the clothes, meal, and money promised, should be with them soon. The general sent directions accordingly to his officers to settle all things in their former posture : but they were in such a fury at the delay of their supplies, that several of them still resolved to be gone and join their comrades in Scotland. Sir Frederick Hamilton, who had gone over to concert measures for bringing the covenant into Ireland, and colonel Campbell were sent over to stop them. °They found a great part of Campbell's own regiment embarked on some boats which they had pressed ; but no entreaties⁴⁸⁹ could prevent their sailing for Scotland.

⁹¹ This humour of the soldiery made the country very uneasy, and put the inhabitants of the north, who were most of them Scotch by original, and covenanters by principle, into a distracted condition. They had, upon the first news of the orders for recalling the army, petitioned the state of Scotland to allow it to stay ; and now they resolved to forsake the country. That state had with their orders sent over persons to list all the men they could of what nation soever, and to bring them over with their army. Hereupon great numbers of the country people listed ; many of the English regiments were decoyed away by hopes of better pay and maintenance ; and ^Pabundance even of the Ulster rebels, who had em-

° J. 322. P L. 56. and 58. See Collection of Letters, No. CCCIV.

brued their hands the deepest in protestant blood, were taken into the service, transported to Scotland, and sent to fight against the king in England. The English regiments were afraid that the country would be drained of its inhabitants, and themselves be deprived of all subsistence, which at present they got in their quarters among them, and be starved for want of corn; for such of the country people as remained left off their husbandry, and resolved neither to till nor sow the ground; so that there was no likelihood of a new crop, and that of the last year was already wasted by the censing of the Scotch forces upon the country; and what was left unconsumed before they went, they designed to transport with them at their departure.

- 92 To prevent^p their soldiers being enticed away with hopes of better pay and preferment, the colonels of the English and old Scotch regiments, in the county of Down, by a general consent, drew up warrants of restraint, and caused them to be published at all the seaports, and in their respective garrisons and quarters. They had reason to fear these would not have all the effect they wished upon their soldiers, who were very sorrily accommodated in their exhausted quarters, having, for meat, drink, and clothes, only one peck of meal allowed each man for ten days, and in many places falling short of that allowance, their commanders being in no quarter able to get a fortnight's provision beforehand, and now likely to be quite starved by the country's being either forsaken or left untilled. In this situation the officers, though they had no visible means of providing them with victuals and other necessities for their livelihood, did yet by their persuasions prevail with their men to promise to stay as long as they could subsist there. To remove the jealousies and fears of the country people, a general meeting of the colonels and chief officers was

appointed, on Feb. 20, at Newtown, whither deputies were appointed to be sent out of each parish to meet them, and to represent their jealousies, as well as their desires for security and satisfaction. Their chief apprehensions were, that if the Scotch army went away, they should be left without defence, and should have some oath imposed upon them contrary to the covenant. To remove these fears, the officers assured them that they would apply to the parliament and adventurers for continuing that army in the country; that themselves would assist them in disciplining their men, if they would list and furnish them with arms and ammunition; that they would take care of securing all the forts in their several quarters, would raise others on the frontiers, if furnished with workmen and tools, and did not question of providing effectually for their preservation; that there was no cause to fear the protestants of the country would be pressed to any thing against their conscience in the profession of their religion, and themselves were resolved to protect them in their several quarters from any hurt on that account; and if commands to the contrary were sent, they would forbear the execution thereof, and join⁴⁹⁰ in representing to the state the inconveniences that would thence ensue to the country and his majesty's service; and if after all they could not prevail, (which yet they did not doubt,) they would not execute their orders till they had allowed them convenient time and opportunity to transport themselves and their goods wheresoever they pleased. These assurances quieted the minds of the country people (who went on as usual with their tillage) and of the old Scotch soldiers raised in the country; and would have been of great service, if the Scotch army had departed, by keeping at home (as was computed) about fifteen or sixteen thousand better men than they; who else would have gone along with them, and joined in all their undertakings against his majesty.

93 The country continued quiet till the beginning of April, ⁹when ten thousand pounds arrived out of Scotland, with clothes and meal for the army, and four kirk ministers to press and tender the covenant. There arrived about the same time two ships from Holland, laden with provisions, being the charitable contribution of some people there for the relief of the distressed protestants of Ireland. One of these came directly from Zealand, and being unloaded at Carrickfergus, Monroe seized it for the use of his soldiers, alleging that they were the most distressed protestants. The other touched at the Downs, and was thence convoyed by a parliament ship, which brought orders from the parliament, that the provisions should be distributed to none but such as opposed the cessation. The covenant was taken on the 4th of that month with great solemnity in the church of Carrickfergus by Monroe and his officers, and in two days afterwards by all his soldiers. Major Dalzeel of his own regiment was the only person that refused. The ministers afterwards divided themselves into the country to tender it to the rest of the army, and passing through the several parishes of the counties of Down and Antrim, recommended it everywhere; the country people, as well as soldiers, taking it with as much zeal, as if it were the only means of preserving both their souls and bodies. The inhabitants were so violent for it, that they refused maintenance to the soldiers that would not take it; and there was such inclination to it in the officers of the old Scotch regiments, that they took it privately without the knowledge of their colonels, who had declared against it; and when they came to know and inquire into the matter, found the number of those thus engaged so very great, that they wanted power to suppress or stop their progress. They were likewise informed, that an order was daily expected from the English parliament to enjoin all

the British forces and subjects in Ulster to take it, or to be treated and proceeded against as enemies. In this exigence, they represented their condition to the marquis of Ormond, desiring his directions for their conduct, but proposing at the same time some expedients of their own. They imagined, since they were not able to oppose the storm, that it was their best way to weather out the time by seeming to entertain a treaty with the parliament for convenient supplies to their regiments; which had been promised, in case they would join with the Scots in prosecuting the war, and would take the covenant. By this treaty they proposed to keep both the Scots and country people in suspense, and their own soldiers in hopes of great matters, and in some better obedience for a time; till they might either be more useful to his majesty than they could be at present, or be a little better enabled to make their retreat to subsist in some other place, which for the present they were altogether unable to do.

- 94 Before this proposal reached Dublin, the lord lieutenant and council, upon advice of the arrival and proceedings of the Scotch ministers, had, on April 15, ^rsent ⁴⁹¹ positive orders to all the colonels in Ulster and to the mayors of Derry and Carrickfergus to delay no longer publishing the proclamation against the covenant, at the head of their regiments, and in the most public places of the towns and garrisons. The two houses of the Irish parliament, which had met on the 6th of that month, and still continued sitting, sent down to them likewise a letter and declaration against the covenant, enjoining them to render due obedience to the proclamation. The lord lieutenant and council thought ^sthat the readiness, so generally expressed in taking the covenant, was owing in a great measure to the delay of publishing that proclamation seasonably; and complaining of the abuse

^r K. 135.

^s K. 184.

made of their calmness and moderation in allowing that delay, required an immediate execution of their orders; and by way of directions, which the colonels had desired for their conduct, told them, that the covenant was so full of treason, sedition, and disloyalty, that no pressure whatsoever should prevail with them to blemish their former merits by the taking of that oath, or the admitting of any others to take it, so far as it was by any means in their power to be prevented. With regard to the proposal of the officers, which had been made in the name of them all by sir James Montgomery in a private letter to the marquis of Ormond, his excellency told them his sentiments, "that he could not observe any advantage that might arise to persons loyally affected, from holding a treaty with the remaining part of the parliament at Westminster; nor yet that it was safe for such to entertain a treaty with them. For certainly they would part with nothing, but upon such conditions as could not consist with duty and loyalty to perform with them; and to delude them with seeming compliances should never be either his advice or practice." He added, with regard to sir James in particular, "that he must acknowledge he was in a great strait, but his own courage and virtue would better dictate to him what course he should take, than any thing that could be offered by another; and for his own part, he apprehended the greatest danger was, that persons who wished him ill might take occasion to traduce him, and represent the disobedience of his soldiers as his connivance, or something worse; and must with his old freedom confess, though he had no manner of doubt in his case, yet he should in any other of his parts and power have found room for suspicions of that nature."

- 95 Those 'commanders had represented the state of affairs in those parts very truly, and had acted according

^t K. 215, 232, 235.

to the best of their judgments in delaying the publishing of the proclamation; which however they had notified to their respective officers and soldiers, and had used their best endeavours to keep them from taking the covenant. They were much embarrassed at the receipt of these positive orders, and dreaded the consequences of putting them in execution. All the officers and soldiers of the lord Ardes's and sir James Montgomery's regiments had taken the covenant already, and they could not obey the orders without the hazard of their lives. Sir Frederic Hamilton, who had lately a regiment of horse given him in Scotland, and was sent from thence to manage this affair, had drawn in a manner all the officers of sir W. and sir Robert Stewart's regiments to enter into the covenant, whilst those gentlemen were absent, the former in England and the latter at Dublin; yet sir Robert Stewart bravely read the proclamation at the head of his regiment. Sir John Clotworthy's officers had all taken the covenant by his direction; but colonel Chichester, colonel Hill, and the commanding officer of lord Conway's regiments, published the proclamation according to the orders. When colonel Chichester read it, one of his ⁴⁹² captains, a lieutenant, and about thirty common soldiers, protested publicly against it, and declared, that if no public act had been done by their colonel against the covenant, they would never have taken it, (as now they would,) nor have deserted him or his commands. The colonel could not but take notice of this insolence: but all that he could do to punish it was to suspend those officers from their commands for the present, not daring to proceed with greater rigour, because he was not provided for defence, and every bit of bread that his men eat came through the hands of the Scots. The case indeed of these colonels, who thus discharged their duty, was very hard, and they must have been ruined, had Monroe acted in this affair with the same violence as the

Scotch ministers. These "men preached up the covenant in all places to be as necessary to salvation as the sacrament, and would allow this to be given to no man who refused the other. They carried all before them wherever they came, every body complying with it, except at Colerane, (a place which had been almost ruined by a Scotch garrison,) where the chief of the town refused to take that test.

- 96 Colonel Audley Mervin had at this time distinguished himself in parliament by his zeal in promoting the declaration of the two houses against the covenant, and the petition to his majesty, complaining of the parliament of England's neglect of supplying the army, (which made the cessation necessary for the preservation of the protestants,) and of their endeavours to starve them since, by the sending of ships upon the Irish coast to intercept all vessels carrying provisions to Leinster and Munster. The marquis of Ormond confiding in his loyalty, and considering him as a man of a voluble tongue, popular in his country, and capable of doing service, made him governor of Derry^v. As soon as he had taken possession of his government, he joined with the mayor in writing to the preaching ministers a letter desiring them to forbear visiting that place, which was but too much disposed to receive the covenant. The town was full of factious and seditious persons, who had on former occasions tore the Book of Common Prayer, and thrown libels about the streets, threatening every body who should dare to use it; so that the mayor, when he went to church, was forced to take a strong guard of English soldiers of his own company, and plant them about the reader's desk, to secure himself from being insulted, and the book from being tore (as they threatened) before his face. Sir Fred. Hamilton (who had a design to get the command of the

^u K. 204, 242.
L. 1 and 30, 274.

^v K. 230. G. 104. K. 242, 260, 266, 470.

place into his own hands) sent for two of the Scotch ministers, introduced them into the town with a great company, and demanded leave of the mayor for them to preach in the church. This being refused, he caused them to preach two seditious sermons in the market-place, and then made an oration himself to the people, exhorting them to take the covenant. He had brought with him a good number of Scotch officers, and most of the garrison being of that country, and the generality of the inhabitants inclined the same way, he sought an occasion of quarrel; but that, by the prudence of the mayor and colonel Mervyn, (who had posted his own regiment, which was not yet infected, under the walls,) was happily prevented. Mervyn however, who had declaimed more against the covenant in parliament than any other person whatever, soon after took it himself, either because he saw he could not enjoy his government peaceably, or be able to subsist, without complying in that point, or else (as he wrote to the marquis of Ormond) because he had altered his opinion, and was convinced that those who took it had really good intentions to the honour and happiness of the king, as well as the peace and safety of the three kingdoms; and that it was conceived in very innocent terms. He might, if he had been a Roman catholic, have said as much of the oath of association; the great difference between them being only in the different religions which they proposed to establish upon the ruin of the church of England, which both of them were calculated to destroy. 493

- 97 Before the end of May there was scarce an officer left in Ulster but who had submitted to the covenant, except sir James Montgomery, sir Robert Stewart, and his major James Galbraith of the old Scots, and those of the three English regiments before mentioned. These last were in a very distressed condition, and colonel Chichester having represented it to the lord lieutenant, desired his

assistance. The marquis of Ormond^w raised three hundred pounds upon his private credit, and sent it him for a present relief to his garrison of Belfast, to be employed for the security of that important place against the covenanters; assuring him farther, that he had wrote into England to procure him supplies, and would engage himself to the utmost of his ability and credit for his relief. The colonel had desired directions how to proceed with the protesters against the proclamation; but as he was so much concerned in the place, and best knew the constitution of those under his command, the marquis left him entirely to his own judgment in that point; only observing to him, that he had found round dealing with some Scots to be full as available as connivance, and that he should be bold with them if they were at Dublin. Very few days passed before the colonel, with all his lenity, suffered as much mischief as ever he apprehended from severity, and found by experience that connivance at public insolencies is the most improper method in nature to procure obedience, and that impunity, instead of engaging offenders to a greater fidelity, only emboldens them to commit new crimes.

⁹⁸ Monroe was a man of great temper, and not thought disaffected to the king: he was about to marry lord Ardes's widow, and had manifestly discovered his inclinations to stay in Ireland. When the orders came for recalling the army into Scotland, the marquis of Ormond thought it a seasonable time to try to gain him. Sir James Montgomery, brother to the deceased lord Ardes, was employed to sound him on the subject: he found him very ample and full in his professions of duty to his majesty, and of a desire to serve him; but withal, so fixed in his resolution of adhering to the state of Scotland, and of observing their orders, by whom he was put into the command of the forces under his care, that there

^w His letter of May 2. K. 296.

was no removing him from it. He nevertheless still continued in his moderate way of proceeding, never so much as proposing the covenant to any body, after the ministers had taken it in hand, nor offering to use any force against the English who refused it, till after he had received a commission from the English parliament, under their new broad seal, to command in chief all the English as well as the Scotch forces in Ulster. This commission he received on April 27, and sir James Montgomery having notice thereof, sent to desire the rest of the British colonels in those parts to meet him at Belfast to consider of an unanimous answer to be returned to him, when he should propose to them the submitting to his command.

- 99 *Monday, May 13, was fixed for the day, and there met sir James himself, the lords Montgomery and Blaney, sir Robert Stewart, colonel Hill, major Rawden, sir Theophilus Jones, and major Gore, besides colonel Chichester, who commanded in the place. They met in the evening, and adjourning their consultation to the next morning, had retired to their lodgings, when a soldier of colonel Chichester's regiment coming from Carrickfergus, brought 494 advice, that Monroe had given orders for the garrison of that place, Colonel Hume's and other Scotch regiments, to be ready to march at two of the clock the next morning towards Belfast. The guards hereupon were strengthened, and every officer, as well those of the field as others, ordered upon duty. This being done, some horse were sent as scouts to make discoveries, who, returning about six in the morning, positively affirmed that they had been within three miles of Carrickfergus, and that the whole country was clear, without a man to be seen. Upon this advice the guards were all discharged, except the ordinary watch; and the officers, who had been all night upon duty, retired to their rest. About an hour after, Monroe was

* L. 11, and K. 390, 393.

descried within half a mile of the town, advancing with great speed towards one of the gates, which (before the drums could beat and the garrison be drawn together to make opposition) was opened to him by a sergeant of captain Mac Adams's and the soldiers of the guard; so that he marched orderly through the place till he came to the opposite or south gate leading to Lisnegarvy; and then directed his men in several parties to possess themselves of the bulwarks, cannon, and guards. Colonel Chichester prevailed with the other colonels to repair to Monroe, and ask what he meant by surprising the town. He replied, that as colonel Chichester had published a proclamation against the covenant, by which such as had taken it conceived themselves to be declared traitors, discountenanced his officers and the townsmen who offered to take it, and had formerly refused to suffer some of the Scotch to garrison there, he did not think himself safe without having a garrison of his own in the place; and so ordered colonel Chichester's men to depart, except such as he would leave for a guard to his house. Thus was Belfast lost by the treachery of the scouts, who meeting Monroe, had been ordered by him to return and carry that false intelligence, of there being no forces to be seen in the country.

100 Monroe, as soon as he had secured Belfast^y, marched with colonel Hume's and three other regiments towards Lisnegarvy, whither sir Theophilus Jones had gone the night before (upon the first intelligence of the Scotch general's design) to take care of the place. The garrison was all under arms, and ready to receive the enemy, who demanded admittance into the town, but were refused. Monroe quartered his men all night in the villages about the place, and threatened to seize the cattle which were grazing near the walls: but after a conference with lieutenant colonel Jones, finding that he could not be ad-

^y K. 383, 390. See Collection of Letters, No. CCCIII.

mitted without force, and that the soldiers were faithful to their officers, and both of them resolved to obey the marquis of Ormond's commands, (whose late relief out of his own purse and credit they considered as an extraordinary instance of his particular affection to them,) he at last drew off his men, wishing the English peaceable enjoyment, both of their out-garrison and the town, and marched back to Belfast. He allowed colonel Chichester's own company to remain in the castle, which the colonel quitted himself, though it was his own house, and went to England to complain of the injury done him. His regiment was expelled the place, and appointed quarters at Malone and in the neighbouring villages. Lieutenant colonel Matthews and major Chichester, under colour of leading them thither, marched out with the men; and the former went with a party to the Newry to strengthen the garrison, resolved to defend the place against all attempts of the Scots; which he was enabled to do by the seasonable supplies of money and provisions, which the marquis of Ormond raised by his private credit, and sent to that and the neighbouring forts of Carlingford, Greencastle, Narrow-water, and Dundalk.

101 This action of Monroe was the more extraordinary, 495 because the officers of the English regiments, not knowing how to subsist without the help of his provisions, had already given him assurances, that whenever he marched out against the Irish they would be ready to join him. The surprise of Belfast destroyed all confidence between the English and Scotch forces; and it was necessary to restore it in some measure, to prevent those jealousies which else would put them into a state of war with one another; a situation that could not but be very prejudicial to the service. Hereupon a formal stipulation was drawn between them, and signed respectively by Monroe and the commanding officers of Hill's, Conway's, and

Chichester's regiments^a. The instruments expressed, that provided the English were not forced in point of conscience to take any oath contrary to the fundamental laws of Ireland, till they had first made their addresses to the parliament, representing their reasons and scruples to the contrary; and that they should be furnished with provisions out of the magazine as the Scotch regiments, and have the same settlement of their quarters and privileges for carriage horses and other accommodations, they would join with the Scots in the vigorous prosecution of the war against the Irish rebels; in the justice of which they declared themselves to be fully satisfied in their consciences. The English added, by way of restriction to their resolution of joining in the war, that they should not be obliged thereby to the performance of any thing when his majesty's commands should contradict their further proceedings therein. This stipulation was signed four days after the taking of Belfast; yet it did not stop the Scots from endeavouring to debauch the English soldiers by offering money and clothes to tempt them to desert their own officers and to list in their regiments, and seizing the arms of single companies in their marches as opportunities offered.

- ¹⁰² Monroe, not long after, to make an experiment whether they would effectually join him^c, drew out his army into the field, and appointed a general rendezvous of the Laggan, the old Scotch and English forces, on June 30, at Armagh. This expedition was undertaken chiefly to content the state of Scotland, who expected that something should be done, after they had sent over a considerable quantity of provisions. The Irish were not in a condition to oppose them; their forces (since none of the great towns of their party, except Kilkenny, would admit

^a K. 406, 407. and L. 81, 152.
274, and 276.

^c L. 181, 190, 197, 237,

a garrison) being all dispersed in country villages at a distance from their commanders as well as one another, never exercised in their quarters, and scarce better than so many new raised men when summoned into the field. They set out however a body of six thousand foot and one thousand horse under the earl of Castlehaven, who was to be joined by Owen O'Neile with four thousand foot and four hundred horse; and this was thought a sufficient force to oppose the Scots. They did not expect that either the Old Scots or the English, who were subject to the orders of the lord lieutenant, would march against them in breach of the cessation; which^d O'Neile had observed so religiously, that when some of the garrison of Eniskilling made him an offer of betraying the place, he would not embrace it, though great preys had been taken from the Irish in the excursions made by that garrison in their distress for want of provisions. But those forces joining Monroe, he made up the strongest army that had been seen in Ireland during the war; it amounting to at least ten thousand foot and one thousand horse. It was unfit however for any great undertaking, not being furnished with above three weeks' victual. Monroe advanced with it into the county of Cavan, from whence he sent parties into Westmeath and Longford,⁴⁹⁶ which burnt the country, and put to the sword all the country people that they met. Lord Castlehaven posted himself at Portlester; and Monroe, not being able to drive him thence, thought fit to return with his forces.

¹⁰³ In his way home^e he passed by Dundalk, and depending upon a party within the place, desired leave to march through it with his army, but was refused passage. The next day (July 12) he marched to the Newry, and drew up his forces on an hill little more than musket shot from the town, towards which he went himself, with lord Montgomery and some other officers. Lieutenant colonel

^d See Collection of Letters, No. CCLXXIII.

^e L. 258, 263.

Edmond Matthews, who commanded in the place, seeing him come, as he conceived, in a peaceable manner, ordered the gates to be opened. Monroe being admitted, met him on the parade, where the garrison was drawn up, and demanded passage for his troops through the town. The other replied, there was an high road full as convenient by the town side. Monroe in a rage demanded how he durst deny him a passage through his own garrison, as lying in the province of Ulster, attempting to lay his hand on his pistol, and riding up to the musketeers, with his cane commanded them off their duties. Matthews thereupon gave them orders to cock their matches and present; and captain Perkins being in the head of a party drew his sword, and gave order to fire. Monroe cooled in a moment, and very calmly desired leave to march with his artillery (of which he had eighteen pieces) through the place, because the waters were so high that they could not pass over. The colonel, having ordered his men to return their matches, said, that he had sufficient warning from the fate of Belfast, and would suffer neither the artillery nor any thing else to come within the gates as long as he was able to defend himself; yet, notwithstanding the affront which he had so indiscreetly offered him in his command, he would not be so rash as to imitate him, but would give him liberty to go out as freely as he had come into the town. Monroe, within an hour after he had joined his army, sent a drum with a message, wishing the governor and the rest of the officers to advise by the next morning whether they would allow his army passage, and threatening, in case it was denied, to force his way. They returned him a resolute denial, and immediately stuck up their colours on the top of the castle, the church, and the principal guards, and manned the walls as well as they could, both officers and soldiers being unanimous in the defence of the place. Lord Blaney and other English officers were sent in to per-

suade Matthews to allow a passage; but he was proof against their entreaties as well as Monroe's threats, resolutely telling them, that it was to no purpose, he and his men being determined to lose their lives rather than run the hazard of such an affront as had been given lately at Belfast. Monroe seeing nothing was to be done, marched off next morning very peaceably, but threatening to return within a fortnight with artillery that should fetch down their colours from their castles.

- 104 Upon the news of the Scots seizing Belfast^f, the council of Kilkenny sent to the lord lieutenant, pressing him to declare the Scots rebels, and to join his forces with that army, which they were drawing out into the field to oppose them. Their affairs were in great distraction^g by reason of the competition between the marquis of Antrim and the earl of Castlehaven; the one having the supreme command of all their forces, the other having one independent on any but the council; the first desiring the benefit of his commission, which the council would not grant, the latter endeavouring to preserve his possession. Neither of these would yield to his rival, but 497 both were ready to submit to the marquis of Ormond, if he could be prevailed with to accept the command of all the Irish forces. Mr. Belling and Dr. Fennel, the marquis's particular friends, were strangely surprised to hear the thing moved, and to find such a likelihood of its being received. They wrote to his excellency, to learn if it was as new to him as it was to themselves, and to receive his instructions for their own conduct, in case the motion should be made in form to the council, which they had as yet prevented, to get time to know his sense of the matter, being apprehensive that the bare offer of such a command, unless he might accept it, would be to his prejudice. Daniel O'Neile pressed the marquis of Ormond

^f K. 416.

^g See Collection of Letters, No. CCXCVIII. CCCXI. and K. 471.

to receive the army, if offered him ; conceiving it to be the only way, as well to secure himself, as to preserve the kingdom in unity and obedience to his majesty.

105 The arguments for it were, that he might draw the dependence of the Irish forces upon himself, and be able to dispose of them for his majesty's service, which could scarce be expected if the command were put into other hands ; that it would put an end to the contention between two great men, and their factions, which was likely to frustrate all their designs against the Scots, and embroil them in unseasonable and destructive quarrels among themselves ; that his majesty's authority, countenancing their actions against the Scots, would draw many of the best affected protestants to join in the service, and deter others from appearing actively against it ; that, if he accepted the command, the Irish council would provide for the English army under his charge ; and that it was to be feared his refusal of it might disoblige his kindred, allies, and friends of that party, and so lessen his power to serve the king, and hinder the Irish from paying the rest of the supply due to his majesty, they having a pretence to refuse it, on account of their being damnified, as much as it amounted to, by the preys of the English garrisons since the cessation.

106 The marquis of Ormond did not think these motives sufficient to be put in balance with his majesty's honour and service ; which could not but suffer by the lord lieutenant's mixing the king's rightful power and unblemished forces with the wild usurped authority and unlawful arms of the other party ; without which the thing desired could not be done. He could not take it upon him without his majesty's command and approbation, which would give such offence to all his subjects in England and elsewhere, as would have fatal consequences on his affairs. These were reasons more than sufficient to hinder the marquis of Ormond from complying with the proposal, if

he had not picqued himself on the honour of his family; the greatest glory of which, he thought, consisted in this, that from the first planting of it in Ireland, it had never been tainted with disloyalty in the chief of it, except that in the dispute for the crown between the houses of York and Lancaster (where the variety of success, at one time or other, involved all men of action under the charge) one of his house suffered for the cause of Henry VI. He knew himself already proscribed by the parliament for his loyalty; yet he would never do any thing to justify such proscription, though it might carry an appearance of present security and future advantage.

107 Such were the reasons upon which he refused the command proposed to him; and the same held in some degree against their desire, that he would immediately proclaim the Scots rebels, and declare war against them. That step he was sure would not reclaim them, and he feared it would afford the ill-affected so specious a pretence for their own defection, and furnish them with such plausible arguments to seduce others, that he was confident he should be suddenly and totally deserted by all the protestants. For such of them as were left in the 498 kingdom, having lost their estates and fortunes by the rebellion, were reduced to such extremity of want and despair, that seeing no likelihood of being restored to them by a peace, they would be tempted to seek subsistence, and become adventurers with those that carried on the war, and would offer them present relief, and shares in the booty. John ^bWalsh was deputed by the Irish council on June 8 to treat with him on these heads; and such was the distress of the army and protestants about Dublin, by the failure of the excise, the blocking up of the harbour by the parliament ships, and the utter exhausting of all credit both public and private, that the lord lieutenant did not think it prudent to give them a

^b L. 84, 156, 165, 183, 193. See Collection of Letters, No. CCCXI.

short and flat denial. All his hopes of subsistence depended at that time entirely upon the Irish; they had promised to send an immediate supply of six hundred barrels of corn and four hundred beeves, and were actually preparing it. An absolute breach with them might provoke them to stop that supply, (for which they did not want a colour,) and to hinder the commerce and freedom of the markets, which now the freedom of the port was destroyed, would starve them in a moment.

108 In this situation he chose to entertain them with a treaty tending to the same end as that which they proposed, but very different in the manner, till he could have the king's directions for his conduct. The Irish pretended they had received advice from their commissioners in England, that his majesty had actually sent orders to the lord lieutenant, that he should join in the service against the covenanting Scots; but he absolutely denied the receiving, and in fact never did receive any such orders. He proposed to them as a preliminary, that they should supply his majesty's armies under his command, and that the charge might not be uncertain, he stinted the number to six thousand foot and six hundred horse; whereof, in Leinster, three thousand eight hundred foot, and three hundred horse; in Munster, one thousand two hundred foot, and two hundred horse; in Connaught, seven hundred foot, and one hundred horse; and in Ulster, three hundred foot. In case a proper provision were made for the maintenance of those forces, the times and manner of payment settled, and good assurance given thereof, he undertook to keep them from annoying the provinces, or breaking the cessation, and to maintain them in obedience to his majesty's authority. He made the like engagement for the garrisons of Carlingford, Grenecastle, the Newry, Dundalk, Drogheda, and all others in Leinster; and that the earl of Clanrickard should have authority from his majesty and directions to act in Con-

naught, pursuant to what should be undertaken for the advantage of the service. This he thought would be best promoted, not by such an useless and dangerous declaration as they desired against the Scots, which would hazard the fidelity of his own troops, but by drawing them down to the frontiers towards the Scots, where without any declaration he did not question but to draw from them many of their best armed soldiers, horse and foot, and to divert a great part of their forces, which else would be entirely bent against the Irish. These propositions he made the ground of a treaty, which the council of Kilkenny were not fond of entering upon, but still insisted on a declaration against the Scots, being either deceived by the flattering accounts sent them out of England, or buoyed up with hopes, that the distress of his majesty would force him to comply with a demand; which whatever it promised in its first appearance or might procure from them, would in the end be ruinous to his affairs, or make him necessarily dependent upon them for the footing which he yet held in Ireland. This was a consequence to be avoided at any rate, and the marquis of Ormond constantly persisted in his resolution of not issuing a declaration, which might have made many of the old Scotch and English officers desperate, who 499 had only submitted to invincible necessity in their joining with Monroe, and waited a favourable season to shew their affections to his majesty's service.

109 Whilst these things passed in Ireland, a treaty was carrying on at Oxford for settling the peace of that kingdom. The Irish were by the articles of the cessation allowed to send agents to his majesty; and in the^h November following the general assembly met at Waterford for that purpose. The choice fell upon the lord Muskery, Alexander Macdonel, Nic. Plunket, sir Robert Talbot, Dermot O'Bryen, Rich. Martin, and Geoffrey Brown.

^h G. 303.

This was on the 19th of that month notified to the marquis of Ormond, in order to their having safe-conducts from the state, as well as from his majesty, for their repair to court and return home. The king had wrote to the lords justices and council of Ireland, to recommend to him some able and fitting persons well versed in the affairs of the kingdom to be sent over to assist in the treaty, which was to commence upon the arrival of the Irish commissioners. They recommendedⁱ archbishop Usher, sir W. Ryves, justice of the king's bench, sir Thomas Tempest, attorney general, sir W. Sambach, solicitor general, and the lord Ranelagh, who were then in England, and the lords Kerry, Inchiquin, and Lambert, sir Gerard Lowther, sir W. Stewart, sir Cha. Coote, and Mr. justice Donellan, out of which his majesty might choose such as he thought most fitting. The king out of those who were in Ireland sent particular letters to summon the lord Kerry, sir Gerard Lowther, sir W. Stewart, and Mr. justice Donellan. He sent the like letters to sir Paul Davys, clerk of the council, than whom none was more proper; but his presence being absolutely necessary in Ireland, sir Philip Percival was sent in his stead. Some particular protestants were desirous to have agents of their own, and by a petition to the state moved that they might have leave to send over in that capacity captain Mac William Ridgeway, sir Francis Hamilton, captain Michael Jones, and Fenton Parsons. This petition being transmitted to the king, he graciously condescended to their request; which being notified to those agents, produced that^j speech of Michael Jones delivered in the name of the rest at the council-board the day after the marquis of Ormond was sworn lord lieutenant.

110 The lord Muskery^k, soon after he was chosen agent for the Irish, applied to the marquis of Ormond for advice

ⁱ Letters of the lords justices, Sept. 28 and Nov. 18, 1643.

^j See Collection of Letters, No. CCXXV.

^k *Ib.* No. CCIX.

touching his deportment in that weighty employment. The marquis being utterly ignorant as well of the instructions as of the powers of those agents, could only recommend to him in general to be careful of paying to the king, both in form and substance, that respect which is due from subjects to their prince ; to make satisfaction as far as might be for the injuries sustained by the king and his protestant subjects ; and, whatever demands they should be directed to make, yet to content themselves with such as his majesty should think fit to grant : an advice which (he protested solemnly) should be his own practice if he were in their case. The Irish were not well agreed among themselves what to ask, and as little resolved about the manner of securing what should be granted ; for though they had reason to suspect the present parliament as unfit to be trusted with the settlement of the kingdom, yet the wisest and most moderate of their party¹ were apprehensive of several inconveniences that might attend the calling a new one, from the heats of some of their own side, and the tumultuous elections likely to be made in their favour. These fears, the diversity of opinions, the difficulty of adjusting as well the propositions⁵⁰⁰ to be made in the name of the whole body, as the instructions to be given to the agents, or perhaps some hopes of making advantage of the king's difficulties, and of wearing out so much of the time allotted for the cessation, were the occasion that, though the lords justices sent the safe-conducts necessary on Jan. 24, the agents did not leave Ireland till the March following, nor reach Oxford^m till the 23rd of that month. The gentlemen whom the king expected from Ireland were not yet arrived, being detained there by the parliament ships interrupting all passage from Dublin to Chester.

¹ See Collection of Letters, No. CLXXIV. and K. 64.

^m *Ib.* No. CCLIV. and CCLXII.

III The Irish agentsⁿ presented their propositions on March 28, but they were so very unreasonable, that it was even scandalous to treat about them; and instead of offering to give them any satisfaction upon the particulars thereof, it was thought proper to break off entirely with them the most popularly that could be done. The agents, to prevent that consequence, agreed to withdraw and suppress them; and on April 2 presented others, which, though in many points unreasonable for the king to grant, contained nothing very scandalous for them to ask. In the first propositions, which gave such offence, they had insisted on the repeal of the two acts in the 17th of the king passed for the encouragement of adventurers, and that all grants and other acts in pursuance thereof should be declared void. They had demanded, that no standing army should be kept up in the kingdom, and that their supreme council and the government which they had formed in Ireland should continue and be maintained within their quarters, not only till their grievances should be redressed by acts of parliament, but for some convenient time after the execution thereof. They insisted that all offices, whereby any title to lands was found for the crown, since the first year of queen Elizabeth, and all attainders since that time, and all grants, leases, and estates thereupon derived from the crown, should be reviewed in a free parliament according to justice and conscience. These were the propositions which had like to have produced an immediate rupture, and the omission whereof in the second draught gave occasion to lord Muskery to write to the marquis of Ormond^o, that they had therein made their demands so moderate and reasonable, that the nation could not subsist in the condition of free subjects if their desires were not granted; that the highest of them was not such a rock but the king might

ⁿ See Collection of Letters, No. CCLXII. and CCLXIII. K. 28.

^o Ib. No CCLVII. and CCLXXVII.

find a way to satisfy his people in Ireland without prejudice to his affairs in England ; and that they had sunk to the very lowest they could devise, and there were no hopes of receding from any of the demands which they had made. The marquis in return advised him and the other agents to submit themselves to the king's judgment with regard to the reasonableness of their demands, and to prefer (like the good subjects they said they were) his majesty's honour and safety, much wounded by false rumours raised of him touching the business of Ireland, before the present satisfaction of such of their desires as might perhaps in themselves be so just, that his majesty might hereafter grant with more safety than he could as yet hear them propounded.

- 112 Their moderated demands were^p, “the freedom of their religion, and repeal of the penal laws; the calling of a free parliament and suspension of Poyning's act during its sitting; the annulling of all acts and ordinances of the Irish parliament since Aug. 7, 1641, the vacating of all indictments, attainders, outlawries, and grants depending thereupon, or in prejudice of the Irish Roman catholics, found and passed since the said days; the release of all debts, or putting them in their former state, notwithstanding any grant or disposition thereof; and a general⁵⁰¹ act of oblivion, extending to all persons and goods; the vacating of all offices for his majesty's title to lands found since 1634, and an act of limitation for the security of estates, like that of 21 Jac. in England; that the marks of incapacity upon the natives to purchase lands, leases, or offices be removed, an inn of court erected, and the university and schools to be free; that places of command, profit, and trust be conferred upon Roman catholic natives, equally and indifferently with other subjects; that no person, not estated, or not resident in the kingdom, be admitted to sit and vote in either house of parliament;

^p K. 164.

H 2

that the court of wards be taken away ; that an act be passed declaring the independency of the kingdom and parliament upon those of England ; that the jurisdiction of the council-board be limited to matters of state ; that a new book of rates be settled by a committee of both houses ; that no governor should continue above three years, and, during his government, he should [be] disabled to purchase lands in the kingdom, except from his majesty ; that an act should pass for the raising and settling of trained bands within the several counties of the kingdom ; and as they had been taxed with many inhuman cruelties which they never committed, they, to manifest their desire to have such heinous offences punished, and the offenders brought to justice, desired that all notorious murders, breaches of quarter, and inhuman cruelties, committed of either side, might be questioned in the next parliament, if his majesty so thought fit, and such as should appear to be guilty, to be excepted out of the act of oblivion, and punished according to their deserts. Upon the grant of these propositions, they professed themselves ready to contribute ten thousand men towards suppressing the unnatural rebellion in England, and further to expose their lives and fortunes to serve his majesty, as occasion should require."

- 113 There were at this time in Oxford sir Charles Coote and some other persons, who called themselves agents of the protestants of Ireland ; and in their name presented, on April 18, several propositions to his majesty. Some of these were to ask future graces of his majesty, upon supposition of a peace, as, that he would abate his quit-rents for a time, to encourage and enable protestants to replant the kingdom, and cause a good walled town to be built in every county of the kingdom for their security, no papist being permitted to dwell therein. Others were directly levelled at the propositions of the Roman

catholics. Such were the desires “that the penal laws should continue in force, and be put in execution; that nobody should execute the office of a magistrate in any corporation, or of a sheriff or justice of peace in a county, nor any lawyer be allowed to practise, without taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; that a competent protestant army should be established in the kingdom; that nothing might be done in any respect derogatory to Poyning’s law; that the present parliament might be continued; that there be a present dissolution of the assumed power of the confederates; that all persons legally indicted of treason and other heinous crimes might be proceeded against, outlawed, tried, and adjudged according to law, and such as were or should be convicted or attainted for the same might be punished accordingly; that the attainders had by outlawry for treason done in the rebellion, might be confirmed by act of parliament, and that such rebels as were not yet indicted, nor convicted or attainted by outlawry or otherwise, might, upon proof of their offences, be, by the like acts of parliament, convicted and attainted, and their estates forfeited.” Some were for procuring benefit to themselves; such as, “that⁵⁰² the great arrears of rent due to his majesty out of the protestants’ estates at or since Michaelmas 1641, should be paid by such of the confederates as had either destroyed the same, or received the rents for the public use of their party; that the protestants should not only be restored to the possession of the estates which they enjoyed before the war, but have all the mean profits thereof made good to them from the time of their being put out of possession till they should be restored; that all their losses should be repaired out of the estates of the confederates, who were likewise to rebuild all the plantation houses and castles destroyed by them, and put them in as good a state as they were before the war; that they should have all their money, plate, goods

and chattels whatsoever, that had been either taken from them, or delivered upon trust, since the contriving of the rebellion, restored to them again, or the value thereof, if the same could not be had in kind; and that his majesty would not allow any act of general oblivion to be transmitted into Ireland, for the release of any actions or suits, which the protestants might have by law for any wrongs done to them or their ancestors by any of the confederates since the contriving and breaking forth of the said rebellion." To these articles, for the satisfaction of injured particulars, it was added, in favour of the public, "that all churches and chapels destroyed on occasion of the war, and all his majesty's forts destroyed by the confederates, since the rebellion, should be reedified at their charge, and put into the hands of protestants; that all the arms and ammunition of the confederates should be speedily put into his majesty's stores; and that the confederates should give satisfaction to the army (and such as had raised forces and maintained their houses) for the great arrears due to them since the rebellion." This was not all that those agents thought fit to demand: they insisted farther, that "popery and popish recusants should be suppressed; that all popish priests should be banished out of Ireland; that no popish recusant should be allowed to vote or sit in parliament; and that the king would take all forfeited estates into his own hands, and, after making satisfaction to such as claimed by former acts of parliament, dispose of the rest to British and protestants to plant the same upon reasonable and honourable terms."

- 114 These propositions, for putting the Roman catholics of Ireland under greater hardships than any they had ever complained of before, incapacitating them from all offices whatever, disabling them from sitting in parliament, (a privilege which they had always enjoyed, and from which alone they could expect any redress of future griev-

ances,) forfeiting all their estates real and personal; and yet obliging them, when their all was taken from them, to make impossible reparations and satisfactions for losses sustained and devastations committed in the war, suppressing their religion, banishing all their clergy, and new planting the kingdom, were evidently calculated to hinder any peace at all, and certainly came from some of that party of men which first formed the design of an extirpation of the Roman catholics, and, by publishing that design, made the rebellion so general as it proved at last. They all breathed the same spirit, and ^sthough extirpation both of nation and religion was not expressly mentioned, yet it seemed to be contrived effectually in all the propositions. They appeared so monstrous and unreasonable, that it was thought they could proceed from nothing but an high degree of madness or malice; the first, if proposed with the thought that peace could be procured upon conditions of any affinity with those; but if the proposers in presenting them believed that they could have no effect towards peace, it was evident ⁵⁰³ that the effect they aimed at was only scandal upon the king and his ministers, in case they should conclude a peace upon conditions (as needs must be the case if any were concluded) so remote from those which they presented in the name of the protestants of Ireland. This was the sense of the marquis of Ormond, the lords Digby and Clanrickard, and the opinion of all prudent men that considered the matter.

- 115 It does not appear how sir Charles Coote and his brethren, who took upon themselves the style of agents for the protestants of Ireland, came to be authorized to act as such, and to propose these particular demands. They were entirely attached by interest and affection to the cause of the English parliament, and probably were

^f See Collection of Letters, No. CCLXXXII, CCLXXXVII, CCXCV, and CCCI.

directed in their measures by the heads of the faction which governed there, and to carry their point in England, thought it necessary to use their utmost endeavours and employ all persons that they could to break the peace expected in Ireland. It is very certain that they were neither employed by the Irish parliament, nor by any committee thereof, though Dr. Borlase and other writers, without any authority from the journals, or any other foundation that they are pleased to mention, have thought fit to assert they were, in order to give some weight to these propositions. That assertion is false in fact; but if we inquire further what colour those men had for their acting as agents, we must have recourse to a petition formerly mentioned to have been presented by a number of protestants to the lords justices and council, and transmitted by them to the king, whose letter of Nov. 6, 1643, in answer to it, was communicated to Michael Jones and others on Jan. 22, the day after the marquis of Ormond received the sword. That petition was drawn up in October, soon after the cessation, and was signed by the earl of Kildare and other considerable persons, who did not know at that time that his majesty intended to call over some of his council, and other protestants well versed in the affairs of the kingdom, to assist him with their advice at the treaty. This induced them to desire leave to send over agents to represent their own condition and that of the kingdom to his majesty; but sir C. Coote and captain W. Parsons, acting as such at Oxford, are none of the agents so named. When it was known that the lord chief justice Lowther, Mr. justice Donellan, sir W. Stewart, and sir Philip Percival were to go over, those men of quality and fortune, who had signed the petition, were entirely satisfied, and gave themselves no farther trouble about the matter.

116 It was judged however, by those who were enemies

to all peace, an excellent handle to carry on measures to obstruct it, and defeat the design of the treaty. Some few protestants about Dublin accordingly, when the time of the treaty drew near, presented to the board a paper of instructions proposed to be sent to agents in England, desiring their approbation thereof. There was nothing offensive in these 'instructions, so that the lord lieutenant and council only made a scruple about what was said of the *universal obedience* of the protestants to all his majesty's laws and gracious government, (which could not be said of those of Ulster, who defied his authority by breaking the cessation and taking the covenant,) and made some additions to the expressions therein used, in favour of the church of England, either out of a jealousy of the designs then formed to destroy it, or out of a suspicion of the character of the persons who presented those instructions. The agents were thereby directed to refute "the allegations of the remonstrance delivered at Trym; to represent the cruelties of the Irish, the universal obedience of the protestants, and the condition of the kingdom at the time of the breaking out of the 504 horrid rebellion; to desire that the great losses of the protestants might be repaired in such manner and measure as the king in his wisdom should think fit, whereby they might be enabled to subsist and reinhabit in the said kingdom; and to desire likewise the preservation and establishment of the true protestant religion in the realm, (to which the council added these words, *of Ireland, in doctrine and discipline, according to the laws and statutes in the said kingdom established and now of force,*) and the suppression of popery, according to the laws and statutes to that end established." This was the sum of these instructions; only there was a general article added, directing them "*to present to his sacred majesty all other things that might conduce to the glory of God, the ad-*

vancement of the true protestant religion, according to the laws, (to which the like addition was made as before,) the honour and profit of his majesty, the preservation of the laws and just liberties of the subject, the securing of the kingdom to his majesty and posterity, and future safety to his majesty's protestant subjects in their religion, lives, and fortunes." Upon this general article of the instructions were grafted all the extravagant propositions presented by those who called themselves the protestant agents at Oxford.

- 117 Two days after they had been presented, (viz. on April 20,) the lord chief justice Lowther, and the three other commissioners sent from the state of Ireland, arrived at court; and having sir W. Sambach, solicitor general, and sir G. Radcliffe, then at Oxford, joined to them, were consulted upon the subject of the propositions tendered on both sides. The matter was examined before a committee of the privy council for Irish affairs, consisting of the earls of Bristol and Portland, the lord Digby, Mr. secretary Nicholas, sir John Colepepper, and sir Edward Hyde. The committee were apprehensive of ill consequences that might arise from these unreasonable demands; which if they came to be divulged would certainly be made use of by the fiery spirits among the Irish, "who had formed a design to renew the war, and wanted only a person of quality at their head to begin a commotion. They could not think them to be the general sense of the protestants of Ireland, or warranted by any instructions given to the agents. It was impossible to comply with those demands, and yet grant a peace to the Irish. For these reasons they proposed to sir C. Coote and his brethren to withdraw their propositions, or to propose some way how their desires might be effected, either by force or treaty, considering the condition of the king's affairs in England. Those agents were not

^u See Collection of Letters, No. CCLVI.

pleased to withdraw their propositions, conceiving them (as they pretended) to be agreeable to the sense of the protestants of Ireland, and to the instructions received from them; and as to the way of effecting their desires, they left that matter to the king's council. In short, they constantly demanded that the cessation should be dissolved, the war carried on with the utmost vigour, and no peace made with the Irish on any conditions.

118 It was very evident^v that those propositions were not at all warranted by the instructions from a few particular protestants, which the agents had produced for their vindication; and it was thought proper to inquire how far they agreed with the general sense of the Irish protestants. The marquis of Ormond was directed to inquire into this particular, which was difficult to resolve, because there was no such body of protestants together at Dublin as could reasonably pretend to the declaring of any sense binding to the whole. The parliament had sat one day after he had received those propositions; but it had been resolved before to prorogue it, and it would have taken up more time by debate there, to have se-505
 vered the fit and reasonable from the unfit and unreasonable part thereof, than could consist with his majesty's other affairs to suffer them to sit. There were indeed seven persons in Dublin who had put their names to those instructions which served the agents for a colour to their demands, and who took upon themselves, as well to receive accounts from those agents of their proceedings, as to send them advices on that subject. These were Dr. Henry Jones, dean of Clogher, (afterwards bishop of Clogher, and scout-master general to Oliver Cromwell's army in Ireland,) Peter Wybrants, and Theodore Schout, (Dutch merchants settled in Dublin, and employed formerly during the war by the parliament of

^v See Collection of Letters, No. CCLXXXII and CCCIV.

England,) W. Colley, W. Usher, Ant. Dopping, and W. Plunket. These were on June 4 summoned before the council, where appearing on the 8th, they declared, they conceived the propositions to be agreeable to the general article of the instructions before mentioned; but how they stood with regard to the present condition of the kingdom was a thing far above them to resolve.

- 119 The truth is, they did not care to give a clear answer, being unwilling to disavow under their hands those employed by them. The marquis of Ormond talking afterwards apart with one of the ablest of them, and asking him whether he was really of opinion that the protestants estated and interested in Ireland would choose a war rather than peace, if all those propositions were not assented to, he frankly answered in the negative. The same was the concurrent opinion of all that the marquis ever spoke with concerning them, which were the council together and apart, and all others of any consideration for fortune and judgment that he could find. Some even thought, that if they were as absolute conquerors of the Irish, as any people can be imagined to be over another, it would hardly be fit, and perhaps not wisdom, (the present state of England weighed,) to impose upon them the terms expressed in those propositions. It was therefore with great reason that the proposers of such conditions to the acceptance of a people, possessed of good towns, and store of arms and ammunition, were deemed unwilling to have any peace, or very unknowing how to propose conditions for it. The first plainly appeared in the end to be the case, for those agents would not recede from any, even the most unreasonable, of their demands; and when his majesty asked them how the war could be carried on in the condition he was, they told him he had nothing to do but to submit to the terms imposed by the parliament of England for peace, and then there would be no want of supplies for the Irish war.

120 With regard to the propositions of the Irish agents^k, most of the lords of the council were unwilling to deliver their opinion, not caring to advise the king to do that, which, in their private opinions, they thought he must do for the necessity of his affairs. Every body that was faithful to the king's interests saw plainly that his affairs could not be supported in England, nor the protestants be preserved in Ireland, without a peace; but such were their apprehensions of the danger of scandal, for his majesty to grant the Irish almost any thing more than private promises, that nobody durst advise him to grant them any thing at all; much less such conditions as wise men could accept, and answer to those that trusted them. There was the greater difficulty in this case, because the commissioners from the state of Ireland insisted on some things which the Roman catholics would not submit to, at least in the manner proposed. They thought it necessary, for the security of the kingdom, that all the Irish should be disarmed; which, considering the jealousies raised in that people of their utter extirpation being designed, the wild demands of the protestant agents, and 506 the condition of the three kingdoms at this time, could not be expected at present. They moved, that all the damages sustained by the war should be paid by the Irish; a matter which would require a tedious time to adjust, which would keep the nation still in a flame, which surpassed the ability, not only of those particularly concerned in spoiling the protestants, but of the whole body of the Irish, and consequently what they would never consent to or undertake; and this perhaps might be the reason, why the parliament of England afterwards, when they had entirely subdued the Irish, never took any care in that matter. The commissioners desired likewise, that the penal laws might be put in execution against all re-

^w See Collection of Letters, No. CCLXXXV. CCLXXXVII. CCCV. and CCLIII.

cusants, particularly the clergy; and that those who had been most remarkably concerned in the massacres and barbarities at the beginning of the rebellion, might be excepted from pardon, and prosecuted with the utmost rigour of law. This last the Irish agents were ready enough to consent to, provided the protestants who had been concerned in the like cruelties and massacres, after quarter given, might be punished in the same manner. They were also willing to relax something of their demands as to the freedom of their religion; but could never agree to the execution of those laws which would bring upon them a persecution odious in all nations, and force them either to renounce their religion or abandon their country. The commissioners themselves owned it to be impossible for the Irish (if they sold all that they had in the kingdom) to make satisfaction for the damages sustained, and therefore said that particular might be mitigated. They thought that the Irish, superior as they were in power, and possessed of above three parts of the kingdom, would not consent to be disarmed, and thereby put themselves absolutely at the mercy of those whom they had so much provoked; but could not find any other way to provide fully for the security of the protestants.

121 The king was certainly in a very hard condition, not able either to maintain a war or justify the making of a peace, so far as to say he did it by the advice of his council. It was however necessary for him to give some answer to the propositions of the Irish agents; which was not difficult in those points, wherein by the advice of the council of England (then composed chiefly of the puritan party) he had determined before the rebellion to give them redress of their grievances. These were in relation to the offices found for lands since 1634, the court of wards, the jurisdiction of the council-board, the book of rates, the votes of absent peers by proxy, and the sitting in parliament of either peers or commoners not estated in the

kingdom. In regard of the first, he declared himself ready to release all his right to lands found by those offices, (except to such as lay in the counties of Kilkenny and Wicklow,) and to pass an act of limitation, as desired. He consented that the book of rates should be settled by an indifferent committee of parliament, and would take care that his Irish subjects should not be oppressed by the court of wards for the future, and was ready to redress any past oppression upon proof of its being done. For the other points of the council-table, and the votes of absentees, and persons not estated, he referred himself to his answers given formerly to the committees of parliament. Nor was there any great difficulty in agreeing, that the chief governor of the kingdom should be inhibited from making any purchase (other than by lease, for the provision of their houses) during the time of their government, which should not be continued longer than he should find it for the good of his people.

122 The other points were of a more tender nature, and it was scarce possible to give a satisfactory answer to the proposers, without at the same time giving offence to others. The independency of the kingdom was contended for by 507 the protestants of Ireland with as much zeal as by the Roman catholics; but the parliament of England very warmly opposed it. "The king thought it very proper to be referred to the debate and expostulation of both parliaments, and would take care to the utmost of his power that both should contain themselves within their proper limits, he being the head of both, and equally interested in the privileges of either. He knew not any incapacity upon the natives to purchase either lands or offices; but if there were, when all other things should be concluded, he would willingly consent to an act for removing it; and also to the erecting of an inn of court, university, or free schools." In this last case he made a proviso, "that they should be governed by such statutes and orders as he

should approve, and were agreeable to the custom of the kingdom ;” and possibly by the erecting of such places under proper regulations, the convenience of the natives might have been consulted, and the evils of a foreign education (to which, for want thereof, they are necessitated) in some measure prevented. His majesty peremptorily “refused to declare the acts or ordinances passed in parliament since Aug. 7, 1641, to be void ; but was ready to take care, that neither the proposers nor their party should receive any prejudice thereby, on account of the insurrection. He denied as positively to annul any indictments, attainders, or outlawries, legally taken and regularly prosecuted ; but was ready to grant a general pardon to all persons, (except such as were proper to be excluded, who should be tried by the known laws of the land,) and to consent to such an act of oblivion as should be prepared and transmitted to him by the advice of his lord lieutenant and council, who were fittest to consider in what state debts were to be left, and particular actions and remedies to be waved ; in which his majesty, for the peace of the kingdom, was content to release what concerned himself. As to the trained bands, he thought the proposition wanted to be explained, and some particular ways proposed for doing it ; and then, upon due consideration of the safety of his protestant subjects, he would return an answer. As to a new parliament, he wished all matters might be agreed on, and ratified in the present ; but as there were some doubts about the legality of its continuance since the lord deputy Wandesford’s death, he was content to call a new one, upon condition that all particulars were previously agreed, and the acts to be passed first transmitted, according to custom (for he would by no means consent to the suspension of Poyning’s act) ; the proposers giving his majesty security that there should be no attempt in that parliament to pass any other act than what was agreed

on, or to bring any other prejudice to any of his majesty's protestant subjects."

¹²³ The main point still remained, viz. the repeal of the penal laws; and to this his majesty answered, "that as they had never been executed with rigour, so if his recusant subjects should, by returning to their duty and loyalty, merit his favour and protection, they should not for the future have cause to complain, that less moderation was used to them than had been in the most favourable times of queen Elizabeth and king James, provided they lived quietly and peaceably according to their allegiance; and such of them as manifested their duty and affection to his majesty should receive such marks of his favour, in offices and places of trust, as should plainly shew his good acceptance and regard of them."

¹²⁴ These answers, such as the king could give, came far short of the propositions. The Irish agents behaved themselves to his majesty with great show of modesty and duty; they confessed, "that as his majesty's affairs then stood, they believed he could not grant them more, and they hoped that their general assembly, when informed of the truth of his majesty's condition, (which was un-⁵⁰⁸ known when their instructions were given,) might be persuaded to depart from some of their demands; but as for themselves, they had no authority at present to recede from any of them." The king dismissed them with a pathetic admonition, "to consider his circumstances and their own; that if upon those conditions, which were all he could grant without prejudice to himself, and which were sufficient for the security of their lives, estates, and exercise of their religion, they lost no time in returning to their duty, and assisting him to recover the rights and power of his crown, he should never forget the merit of such a service, and might think himself bound to gratify them in some particulars, not seasonable to be now granted; but if they should insist on others, which he

could not in honour or conscience comply with, they would in the end have reason to repent this their senseless perverseness, when it would be too late, and when they found themselves under a power that would destroy them, and make them cease to be a nation." The agents, dismissed with this admonition, which after-experience shewed to be very just, departed for Ireland, and arrived at Waterford on June 23, in order to give an account of their commission to the general assembly, which was to meet on the 20th of the following month.

125 The king's council in England, possessed with a dread of the parliament, and declining to give their advice, or speak their sentiments in the affair, thought fit, to ease themselves of the burden and odium thereof, to lay it upon the marquis of Ormond, and to refer all further proceedings in the treaty of peace to his management, as best able to conduct it to the desired issue. He was already involved in difficulties great enough to confound the best capacity, and^y had too just reason to complain of this additional hardship. He found himself at Dublin ready to be devoured by want, almost hopeless of relief, blocked up at sea, encompassed with powerful armies, Scots and Irish, having no strength to oppose them but a very small, indigent, unsatisfied army, unfortified towns, unfaithful inhabitants for the most part, and upon the matter empty magazines and stores. He could not forbear on this occasion to represent his condition, and how hard it would be to find commissioners in Ireland, that would take upon them to conclude what his majesty, assisted by his council of England, and by selected men from the state of Ireland, found too much difficulty to adjust. He thought it could not escape consideration, that if the people of England (and of them, such as were most concerned in the good success of the king's affairs) had such a reluctance to a peace with the Irish, out of compassion

^y See Collection of Letters, No. CCCXI.

to the sufferings of their countrymen, or a jealousy of the honour of the English nation, it could not possibly be expected that the English in Ireland, who for the most part had felt those outrages, which the others so much pitied and resented, should be induced to acquiesce in a settlement, not held fit to be avowed in England, but concluded by a derived authority in Ireland; for which reason they would be more apt to question it, and venture to disobey it with the greater boldness. He judged himself the unfittest person alive to be intrusted with transacting this affair of the peace, because his conduct must needs be more liable, than any others', to misconstruction, and his commands more likely to be disputed. A person who had no interest in the kingdom, nor any kindred amongst the Irish, might without offence allow them great favours, there being no possibility to asperse such a man of favouring them for any other reason than for his majesty's service, and the preservation of the kingdom. Whereas all his estate lay in Ireland, and he could not enjoy it without a peace; he had an infinite number of relations and friends among the Irish, and consequently 509 could scarce make them any concession, but what was capable of being imputed to his affection or partiality to those relations, nor take a step towards peace without being charged with too great a fondness for it, out of a view to his own particular interest. It was likewise probable that the Irish, notwithstanding these restraints he lay under, might expect greater favours from him than they would from a stranger, and finding him steady in refusing them, would be more apt to resent that refusal at his hands, and reproach him as a person who had no natural affection either to his relations or his country; which notion and resentment once entertained would defeat all his endeavours to bring them to compliance. He had for his majesty's service already gained the ill-will of the English parliament and the Scotch nation,

and was by this affair exposed to the danger of incurring the hatred of the Irish.

126 The king^z was very sensible of the hard task put upon the marquis of Ormond, by referring to him the business of the peace of Ireland; but he was necessitated to that course by the condition of his affairs in England, which would not permit him, without great hazard, in that conjuncture of time, to act any thing himself in that affair. Lord Digby endeavoured to flatter him with hopes that the work might prove easier, and less inconvenient in its consequences, than was apprehended; if there were reality in those great professions which the Irish agents, when they went away, made of their sense of the king's condition, and of their resolutions to suit their conduct to it, and to apply themselves rather to merit advantageous conditions for their party hereafter, than to extort them from him at present. It was no encouragement to him that the king had referred the whole business of the kingdom of Ireland so absolutely and so unlimitedly to his fidelity and judgment upon the place, that he was to expect little direction from England. The greater and more implicit a trust is, the more cautious is a generous mind in using it; and frank as the lord lieutenant was in delivering his sentiments upon all occasions, where his advice was necessary, he yet as constantly desired that his prince would first take his own resolutions, and then send him directions for his conduct. He knew the temper, the maxims, and the situation of the Irish too well, to be buoyed up with hopes that settling a peace would prove an easy work. The difficulties attending it were indeed too evident to be denied; and it was with a better effect that the noble peer above-mentioned represented to him, that notwithstanding all appearing hazards, which might deter vulgar spirits, his excellency had nothing to fear but in the ruins of his

^z See Collection of Letters, No. CCCXVIII.

majesty, and of monarchy itself; with which (he was confident) the marquis of Ormond would rather perish than subsist after it. These were in fact the marquis's own sentiments, and the very resolution which he had formed, and adhered to in all his conduct throughout the course of his government of Ireland. This, and nothing else, besides the duty he owed his prince, made him undertake the province assigned him, in spite of the dangers which he foresaw, and the ruin it was likely to bring upon himself and his family.

- 127 The difficulties under which the king's affairs suffered in Ireland were much increased by the defection of lord Inchiquin. This nobleman had been vice-president of Munster in the lifetime of sir W. St. Leger, (whose daughter he had married,) and upon his death had all the forces of that province put under his command. The civil government was soon after vested in him; but not with the title or commission of president, which he much desired. He was a man of great spirit, which disposed him to great resentments; he was very well affected to the king, and zealous for the rights of monarchy; and no⁵¹⁰ man was more averse than he to the measures of the parliament of England, or readier to treat their orders with contempt as well as neglect. But ^ahe had an unsettled mind, a vast ambition, and in cases where they chanced to interfere, the strength of his passions overruled his judgment and his principles of acting. He had done great services during the war, and upon the cessation had sent over a considerable body of forces to the king's assistance in England. He followed himself in the beginning of this year, and waited upon the king at Oxford, not questioning but his merits and services would easily procure him a grant of the presidency of Munster. He was certainly the fittest person for that charge, and the

^a K. 99. See Collection of Letters, No. CCXXXIII.

marquis of Ormond had recommended him for it, representing that the investing of him therewith would be much for the advantage of the king's service in those parts. But he was traversed in that affair by the pretensions of Hierome Weston earl of Portland, who had married the lady Frances Stuart, sister to James duke of Richmond and Lenox, and by his grace's interest had not only obtained some years before a promise from the king, but had got also a fiant under his majesty's privy signet for the passing of a patent to constitute him president of that province. Means might have been found out to have contented the earl with something else full as agreeable to him, and to have gratified the lord Inchiquin with a post which he passionately desired, and in which he was the best qualified to serve the king. But instead of using those means, lord Inchiquin was absolutely refused, not only an immediate grant of the presidency, but even the survivance of it, after the demise or cession of the earl of Portland; for which no reason occurs, but that the king, seeing the inconveniences of grants made without any regard to the circumstances of affairs in the time when they are to take place, had determined to make no more of that nature. It was proposed in favour of lord Inchiquin, that all the forces which he had sent over from Munster should be united into one body, and being joined with a considerable body of horse, should form an army, of which he was to be the general, and in that capacity serve his majesty in England. He would have been well satisfied with that employment; but the king not being able to assign his lordship the command of any county for the subsistence of those forces, nor to draw them together without weakening those under the lord Hopton and other commanders, this scheme was found impracticable.

128 Lord Inchiquin returned into Ireland much discontented; but undetermined what party to take. His re-

ception at court had been such, that he made but a short stay at Oxford; where ill offices were done him after his departure^b; to which a stratagem of his either gave occasion or furnished matter of provocation to his enemies. He had employed Edmond Fitzgerald of Bally-Martir, to shew lord Muskery the error of his proceedings, and bring him back to his duty. On this account, as well as to bring him intelligence of the enemy's designs, Edmond had license to go often to Blarney, and brought thence such private advices, as were not to be communicated to any of the officers, for fear the author should thereby be discovered. Lord Inchiquin understood this to be a device, as well for the advantage of the rebels' designs, as the prevention of his, and in order to gain the knowledge of his power and strength; yet he dissembled the matter. In July before the cessation he received intelligence from Fitzgerald that the Irish army was advancing in great numbers to Capoquin and Lismore, intending afterwards to fall upon the other towns and quarters which he yet held. Lord Inchiquin had under him forces that were not contemptible to the enemy;⁵¹¹ but he had not a penny of money to pay them, nor one bit of provision in his stores. The country too, and any place that he could have appointed for a rendezvous, was so bare, that it could not afford one day's victual to his forces, being all together; so that there was no means for his soldiers to subsist, but by billets upon the almost starved inhabitants for diet. So many of them as could not be thus provided for, he was forced to send, under the command of colonel Mynn, to seek a living in the enemy's country, which then afforded some corn that was ripe, upon which one thousand two hundred foot and two troops of horse depended for sustenance. They had many of them only knives to cut it with, and no means

^b Lord Inchiquin's letters to the marquis of Ormond, June 17, &c. L. 128, 144, 312, and Collection of Letters, No. CCCXVII.

to dress it, but burning it in sheaf, and grinding it in a few hand mills; which was the reason they could never dress two days' provision in one day. In this condition he thought it good policy to make Fitzgerald believe he would do wonders, if the enemy came into his quarters, knowing well it would be carried to lord Muskery; and expressed himself sorry that his lordship, having professed an unfeigned affection to his majesty's service, did not consider how his party had addressed themselves to his highness to beseech a gracious interpretation of their actions, and that their professions of loyalty could never find credit, if they endeavoured the ruin of the king's army and subjects. For his own part, he said, he was hopeful to see an accommodation between his majesty and his people of Ireland; and should be loath to disturb those who (he hoped) would shortly be willing and useful to serve him.

129 Fitzgerald communicating this to lord Muskery, brought back in answer, that he found his lordship desirous to avoid bloodshed, but unable to find any pretence to divert the course of that army, unless lord Inchiquin would consent to let them attack Capoquin or Lismore, without interruption of the forces in other garrisons. Lord Inchiquin finding it impossible to take the field, if he had never such a mind to it, seemed to close with the proposal, and made answer, that if they would retreat by such a day, whether they took those places or not, and would attempt no other prejudice to him, he would condescend thereto; threatening that if they failed thereof, he would fall upon and destroy them. The matter was agreed; the enemy invested those places, being confident of taking them in time; but lord Inchiquin, judging that if they took them they would make good no more of their promise than they found advantageous to themselves, had taken care to provide them with garrisons well able to withstand any of their at-

tempts. He next used all the means he could to prevail with the several garrisons to victual the soldiers for four or five days, to be able to make head against the enemy, who else would certainly be able to take both their substance and their lives from them. The inhabitants complied with his demand, though they found great difficulty in doing it; and he presently marched with all the forces he could draw together to Tallowe, giving out that the rest of the army were to join him there by such a day, which was that whereon they were to retreat. He had indeed ordered colonel Mynn to come to him with his forces, but they were not able to obey for the reasons before mentioned. The day agreed on being come, the enemy not removing according to promise, but still continuing the siege, and his own officers declining to fight without Mynn, he thought it necessary to use this further policy. He sent John (son of Edmond) Fitzgerald to let lord Muskery know that it was happy for him, all the forces were not come up as yet; but as they would be with him in two days, he could not keep them from falling upon him, if he did not quit the siege, which the forces already in the field were able to raise without Mynn's body, and were so eager for the attempt, that he had much ado to restrain their ardour. As the earl of Cork had just then brought him a message from his majesty about the intended cessation, he desired a conference with lord Muskery in the presence of that earl and his brother the lord Broghill; and acquainted him with the hopes his majesty conceived, that his people of Ireland would repent of their errors, and apply themselves to his royal service. This (lord Inchiquin said) had induced him rather to persuade him to withdraw those forces of his (as an act proceeding from his own readiness to comply with what might conduce to the king's service) than be obliged to drive them thence with loss. Muskery thereupon promised to draw off his forces, if

they might return without any offer of hostilities on lord Inchiquin's part; for which purpose a cessation of six days was concluded, and soon after followed with another for a longer time.

130 This is lord Inchiquin's relation of the fact, which caused a resentment in lord Muskery, when he discovered how he had been overreached in that transaction, and induced him to do ill offices to that lord with the king, by putting the affair in a wrong light. The earl of Cork was incensed at it, as thinking it a design of lord Inchiquin's to deprive him of those places which were part of his estate, and to lessen his power in the province by suffering them to be taken by the Irish. He gave in the more readily into this suspicion, because of an old animosity between their two families, which had commenced in the time of the late earl of Cork and sir W. St. Leger, (the latter imagining his authority as president lessened by the former's great power in those parts,) and had been continued in their descendants and allies. Lord Inchiquin had no friend at Oxford to plead in his behalf, and it was easy to persuade the king that he was inclined to the parliament, and ready to espouse their cause. This notion was encouraged by the character of the persons^c to whom he had intrusted, in his absence, the command of the army and forts in Munster. They were really by their principles and affections attached to the parliamentary faction; and yet lord Inchiquin seems to have acted without any such design in putting them into those commands; for sir Hardress Waller was the superior officer of all that were left in Munster, and had a right to command the army in the general's absence. The officers most to be confided in had been sent with the forces into England; great care being to be taken in that respect, to prevent the desertion of the soldiers to the parliament party. Of those that were left there was

^c See Collection of Letters, No. CCLXXXIII.

little choice to be made; but he pitched on such as were best affected to his own person, and inclined to follow his fortunes; who (he imagined) would take no step without his concurrence. This was the best provision he could make in the case; but it was represented as done with a design to have the province and all the garrisons in his power, when he should find it time to declare for the parliament. There were so many appearances looking this way, that the representation was easily credited.

¹³¹ Advertisements about these persons and places were sent over to the marquis of Ormond; but it was much easier to see than to prevent the danger. The only method that could be taken in the case was the sending over of the earl of Portland immediately to take upon him, as president, the command of the forces and garrisons; but this, instead of preventing, served only to hasten the evil apprehended. It is a consideration not unworthy of a prince, when he is about to displace a great man, to reflect, whether he has it in his power to take from him his charge. Lord Inchiquin had the province in his hands; and seeing himself lost with the king by the jealousies entertained of his fidelity, hearing that lord Portland was coming over to take possession of his command, being resolved never to serve under his rival, nor indeed under any man but the marquis of Ormond, and not bearing the thought of being, after so many proofs of ⁵¹³ his capacity, and such eminent services as he had done, reduced to a private and inconsiderable condition, determined at last to maintain his power, to break the cessation, and to carry on the war under the direction of the English parliament.

¹³² The marquis of Ormond, knowing him discontented, and having observed him wavering, (as he passed by Dublin in his return from Oxford in the beginning of April,) was apprehensive that he would at last take this resolution, and had employed the bishop of Cloyne and dean

Boyle to dissuade him from those measures, but in vain. Lord Inchiquin in the July following alleging that he had not satisfaction made him by the commissioners as to his quarters, and pretending that the Irish intended to break the cessation, declared open war against them. He had in the distress of his affairs made an agreement formerly with the mayor and corporation of Cork, that if they would advance two thousand pounds for the army, and pay two thousand pounds more upon receiving from his majesty a mortgage of the customs of that port, they should not be troubled with any more payments to the soldiery. They had advanced the first two thousand pounds, and were ready to pay the other upon receipt of the instrument^d, which being dated May 30, was not arrived, when^e lord Inchiquin had a mind to cess some soldiers on the town. Robert Coppinger the mayor opposed it as contrary to the agreement; upon which his lordship committed him to prison. He soon after pretended that the Irish had a design upon Cork from an information made by some English women of the common talk of some Irish at Kilmallock; which the lord lieutenant told him he should have given little credit to, if it had not been attended with his lordship's positive assurance that there was such a plot; an assurance which, he conceived, was founded upon better grounds and concurrent circumstances. He pressed the marquis of Ormond for supplies, which he knew it was not in his power to give, expressing great jealousies, not only of the Irish inhabitants in his garrison towns, but also of the English, lest they should betray them to the parliament. At last, on July 17, he declared his resolution openly, addressing himself, with his officers^f, to the king, to send to the parliament for procuring a peace in England, and, by sir T. Wharton, to the parliament for supplies of all things necessary to

^d L. 37.^e His letter to the marquis of Ormond, June 1, 1644.

L. 52, 93, 200.

^f L. 292, 312, 320, 323, 325.

carry on the war against the Irish. He made use of the mediation of colonel W. Jephson, governor of Portsmouth, to settle his agreement with the parliament, assuring him that his brother lieutenant colonel Henry O'Bryen should deliver up Wareham into their hands, and come away with his whole regiment for Ireland; which was done accordingly. He used all his endeavours to draw back thither sir J. Pawlet, colonel Mynn, St. Leger, and all the other officers and soldiers whom he had sent into England for the king's service; and soon after pretending that the Irish had applied to foreign princes for supplies, and would not make peace on reasonable terms; and that they intended to surprise all his garrisons, he drove the magistrates and all the Roman catholic inhabitants out of Cork, Youghall, and Kinsale, allowing them to take none of their goods with them but what they could carry on their backs, and seizing all the provisions and effects in their houses. The case of these poor people was certainly very hard, being forced to abandon their habitations, without any thing whereon to subsist, and to retire into the Irish quarters, which in the eye of the law exposed them to the penalties of high treason; his lordship thinking it necessary for his own security not to suffer them to remain in the English quarters.

- 133 Lord Inchiquin was received with open arms by the English parliament, and was promised large and immediate supplies, which not coming with that expedition or 514 in that abundance which he expected, he as easily repented his engagement with them as he had hastily made it in the height of his discontent. But he was now engaged too far to retreat: the parliament shipping filled all the ports under his command; his officers in general eagerly swallowed the covenant, according to the example set them by sir W. Fenton and the commanders in Youghall^s. But his lordship openly expressed his dislike

^s M. 45, 95, 111, 395, 404, and 262.

of that proceeding, though contended for, as necessary to engage the assistance of the parliament, and declared, that, for his part, he would not take it till the cessation was expired ; still affecting a regard to a treaty which he had so earnestly pressed in the distress of his affairs : and then, if there was no peace concluded upon honourable terms, he would join heartily with the parliament, and take their assistance. To engage his forces in the same measures which he intended to take himself, he caused an oath to be administered to the soldiers, whereby they obliged themselves to endeavour the extirpation of popery, to carry on the war against the Irish, notwithstanding any command, proclamation, or agreement, to the contrary, and to submit to no peace or conditions with them without the consent and allowance of the king and parliament of England.

- ¹³⁴ The form of this oath he sent to the lord Esmond, governor of the important fort of Duncannon, pressing him to tender it to his soldiers and to engage himself in the same cause ; and offering to send him a parliament ship for his assistance. The lord Esmond had received considerable supplies from time to time both from the king in England, and from the marquis of Ormond in Ireland, and made the strongest professions of loyalty and duty to his majesty, and of resolution to obey the orders of the lord lieutenant. On this occasion he gave lord Inchiquin's messenger an answer in the presence of major Capron, the next commanding officer of the garrison, and zealously affected to the king's cause, importing a refusal to enter into any measures with his lordship, or to deviate in the least from the orders of the state ; but privately encouraged lord Inchiquin to send him some shipping. A parliament frigate came accordingly into the harbour, and immediately all the soldiers and inferior officers (in Capron's absence) went on board and took the covenant. Lord Esmond pretended this was done against

his will, and complained to the lord lieutenant of the unruliness and disaffection of his soldiers, whom he wanted power to control, and means to supply. The marquis of Ormond immediately ordered a quantity of provisions on board a ship, with two companies of soldiers, upon whose fidelity he could absolutely depend; and to encourage his lordship to continue constant to his professions of loyalty, sent him a commission to raise and command a troop of horse, which he had long solicited. Lord Esmond had now got all he could expect from the king, and fancying he should be better paid by the parliament, pretended that he could not command his men, and had not power to receive the two companies. For his better security in that respect, he still kept the parliament ships in the river before the fort, who by the advantage of that port and Milford-haven, infested the neighbouring seas, and intercepted the ships which traded between England and Dublin.

135 All this while he was renewing his declarations of inviolable duty to the king and good affections to his service, and ascribing all the exceptionable part of his conduct to the disobedience of his men; which served him for an excuse, though there were various circumstances which shewed that disobedience to be only the effect of his connivance, if not of his secret encouragement. The marquis of Ormond knew this very well; but wanting power to remove him from his command, he thought fit⁵¹⁵ to acquaint lord Esmond with the suspicions of others, who were not so well assured as himself of his loyalty; and therefore, whatever colourable circumstances there were for those suspicions, he would not give so much advantage to them as to call away his lordship from thence, where (he was yet confident) it might be in his power, either then, or at some other time, to reduce his men to obedience, or to dispossess them of the fort. There was another reason which restrained the marquis of Ormond

from taking a step which might by the malevolent world be construed to be taken with a view to his private advantage. The king, considering the importance of the place, which required it should be committed to a person of honour and trust, had, on the last March 23^h, made him a grant for life of the government of Duncannon fort, to commence upon the death of lord Esmond, or other avoidance of that command, with an allowance for one hundred warders, two cannoneers, and a lieutenant. The removal of lord Esmond would have put the marquis into immediate possession of all the emoluments of that charge; and what might possibly have had a different effect upon another, not altogether so regardless of his own interest on all occasions, was an effectual motive to deter him from either actually displacing the present governor, or running any hazard in making the attempt. Thus lord Esmond being continued in his government, soon after left off all correspondence with the state, andⁱ declared himself openly for the parliament.

- 136 Lord Inchiquin, to call in help from all quarters, applied himself to the estates of Scotland, and the commanders of the Scotch forces in Ulster; assuring them of his resolution to concur with them in carrying on the war against the Irish. Monroe had in the beginning of July retired to his quarters and dismissed his forces; upon which the Irish army had advanced to Charlemont. The^k earl of Castlehaven, who commanded it, finding no enemy in the field to oppose him, marched towards the county of Down, and posted himself at Tanrage. Monroe thereupon drew out his Scotch forces, and encamping with them and colonel Hill's horse about Dromore, till the other regiments of that province joined him, had his quarters beaten up on Aug. 12 by the Irish. Castlehaven, advancing with one thousand horse and two thousand

^h J. 353.ⁱ M. 333.^k See his Memoirs, and M.

59, 69, 186, 206, 231, and 278.

foot to take a view of the enemy, discovered an ambush of the Scots, and causing his dragoons to light, (for his foot were left at a pass about three miles off,) attacked them, cut off a whole troop of horse, and followed the execution of the rest to the very walls of the town, killing above one hundred of the foot, with the loss only of six or eight of his own party, and some few wounded. Monroe, being soon after joined by the Donnegal forces, advanced with an army of twelve thousand foot and one thousand five hundred horse to Armagh: and Castlehaven, not strong enough to fight him, retired to Charlemont. This was a very convenient post, there being a large plain joined to it, the Blackwater running on the one side, with a bridge over it near the fort; and the rest surrounded with bogs and moorish ground, so that it was in a manner impossible to be forced. The two armies lay thus within three miles of one another for six weeks together, without any action, except a few skirmishes between the outguards and scouts. It may be proper however to take notice of an attack made upon three troops of Owen O'Neile's horse, posted at a pass on the Blackwater between Benborbe and Kinnard, to keep the enemy from spoiling the country on Dungannon side, who were beaten off with the loss of some men, captain Charles Hovenden and Art Oge O'Neile killed, and Con Baccagh O'Neile wounded. This being done before the face of lieutenant colonel Fennel, who with a strong squadron of the Leinster horse⁵¹⁶ looked on, and flatly refused to relieve them, exceedingly disgusted Owen, (who was sick at this time,) and seems to be the first occasion of the jealousy between the Ulster Irish and those of the other provinces, which afterwards proved so detrimental to the affairs of the confederates. Castlehaven at last, being distressed for want of provisions, decamped suddenly, and marching forty miles in twenty-four hours, retired with his army to Clunnies on the borders of the county of Cavan, where he was better sup-

plied. Monroe followed him, but not being able to draw him to an engagement, returned on Oct. 7 to his garri-sons, and dispersed his army, as Castlehaven did likewise, after fetching off his cannon which he had left at Charlemont. This was the only attempt which the Scots, ever furious in their declarations and ever dilatory in their proceedings for carrying on the war, made towards doing any important service against the Irish, either in this or the following year. Whether their desire of being continued longer in pay, and in possession of a good part of Ulster, made them play the good husbands in the management of the war, or whether this inaction were owing to their weakness and inability, is hard to say. It is certain that about three months after this campaign the state of Scotland recalled twelve men out of each of their companies to oppose Montrose, and they complained heavily of not being supplied with necessaries, as promised by the English parliament.

137 Whilst these things passed in the field, the treaty of peace was carrying on at Dublin. The marquis of Ormond had¹ on July 26 received a commission for that purpose, and having notified it to the lord Muskery, the general assembly of the Irish, then met at Kilkenny, did, on Aug. 11, appoint commissioners on their part to treat of and conclude both a peace and cessation. Among these they had named Thomas Fleming titular archbishop of Dublin; but the lord lieutenant excepted to him, adhering to his resolution of admitting none of the clergy to treat on that subject. There being no restriction of that nature in his commission, (a copy whereof had been sent them,) they justified their choice, but to remove the difficulty, thought fit that the prelate should stay at home, with three laymen, who did not care, or were hindered, to attend at the treaty, (viz. the marquis of Antrim, sir Richard Everard, and Richard Martin,) and desired safe-

¹ M. 39.

conducts might be sent for the rest, who were the lord Muskery, Alexander Macdonnel, sir Robert Talbot, Dermot O'Bryen, Geoffery Brown, Patrick Darcy, John Dillon, and Nicholas Pluncket. These set out on Aug. 31 for Dublin, which the marquis of Ormond had appointed for the place of the treaty; it being for his majesty's honour that his subjects should repair to him on such an occasion, and that being the usual and constant residence of all his vicegerents. Upon their arrival, the cessation was readily renewed to Dec. 1, and afterwards continued to a longer time; but the business of peace was a work of greater difficulty.

138 The treaty for it was opened on Sept. 6, by the Irish commissioners presenting the same propositions which had been offered to his majesty at Oxford; to which the same answers were returned. The Irish endeavoured to support the equity of their demands by certain reasons, which they delivered to the lord chancellor Bolton, sir M. Eustace, and the other commissioners appointed by the lord lieutenant and council to confer with them. The chief of these related to the act of oblivion, the abolition of the court of wards, the reversal or annulling of outlawries and attainders, and the repeal of the penal laws. The Irish desired the act of oblivion might be general, and extend to all, because by the practice of England, in the wars of the barons and of the houses of York and 517 Lancaster, and in the late Scotch troubles, and by the experience of all nations and ages, such a general act seemed necessary to extinguish all animosities, and to put an end to the troubles of a kingdom. They urged against the court of wards, "that it was a new court, never known in Ireland till 14 Jac.; that it had no warrant from any law or statute, whereas that of England was erected by act of parliament; that the subject was extremely oppressed thereby, through the multitude of informations against all freeholders, from the highest to the

lowest, without any limitation of time, the frequent courts of escheators and feodaries, the destruction of the tenures of *mesne* lords by illegal finding of them to be *in capite*, the sale of wards, the want of provision for the portions of younger children, whereby they perished or took ill courses, and the nonpayment of debts; that the wards were neglected, and whilst the officers of the court raised vast fortunes to themselves, the king did not receive one shilling advantage for twenty times the damage done his people; that they did not desire any diminution of his majesty's profit, but were willing that the personal service should on all occasions be performed, and a course taken as well for securing that service and the king's revenue, as for the preservation of heirs and orphans, and the satisfaction of creditors." With regard to the annulling of indictments and outlawries, they insisted on the "time of their being found or promulged, when the kingdom was governed by persons who plotted the total extirpation of the Roman catholics, and, as much as in them lay, did for that end increase the troubles, and shut up the gates of his majesty's mercy against those of their religion, even such of them as were undeniably innocent, as might appear by many instances; the manner of appointing sheriffs who returned the jurors, and the persons appointed; the jurors' condition and affection; the infinite number of persons indicted and outlawed, being never called to answer; and other circumstances touching the said records, being so generally destructive to the said Roman catholics, that they could not but insist on the taking of them off from the file." For the repeal of the penal laws, they urged "the arbitrary power and great oppression of the high commission court, the incapacity thereby contracted for all offices and employments, their being disabled to sue out livery of their estates without taking the oath of supremacy, the severe penalties of various kinds thereby inflicted on all of their religion;

so that if they were put in execution, no Roman catholic could subsist in a nation, the bulk whereof consisted in the professors of that religion, there being in it an hundred Roman catholics to one of any other religion; in which respect the case of Ireland was very different from that of England or Scotland, where there was scarce one Roman catholic to one thousand protestants."

- ¹³⁹ The several propositions were debated between the commissioners of both sides^m on the 13th, 14th, 16th, and 17th of that month. The first point disputed was the dissolution of the present parliament, which the Irish pressed on account of its being determined by the death of the lord deputy Wandesford, and of the illegal order made since Aug. 7, 1641, excluding Roman catholics from the house. Being asked how they could have the new one, which they so much desired, when such numbers of their party, lords, gentlemen, and freeholders, were outlawed and attainted, they proposed to have all the records thereof taken off the file, and vacated by directions from his majesty, or by order of the house of lords. The lord chancellor answered, that this was not to be done in the way proposed; and if it were, yet that⁵¹⁸ course ought to be taken which was most warrantable for the king, and the safest for them who were to receive the benefit thereof; that the regular and ordinary way was, either by a plea before, or by a writ of error after attainder, either in the same court or in parliament; but as there were very many concerned in the case, this would be a tedious course; so that to proceed by bill in the present parliament was much the speedier and safer way, warranted by authority in print, and advised by all the judges of England in the like case, 1 Hen. VII, fol. 5. To this the Irish agreed; but yet desired a more speedy way might be thought on for removing attainders. They agreed likewise to qualify their demand of annulling all

^m M. 173.

the ordinances of the present parliament since Aug. 7, 1641, but insisted strongly on the suspension of Poyning's act, so far as related to the ratifying of the matters to be agreed upon in the treaty, as the more expeditious way of enacting them. It was replied, that by 11 Eliz. c. 8 no bill could be certified into England for the repeal or suspension of that act, before it was first agreed on by a majority of both houses of parliament in Ireland; and the sending of such a bill into England (which was necessary) would take up as much time as the transmitting of all the other bills to be agreed on in the treaty; and there was no manner of reason to fear any alteration of the bills there, because it could not be done without breach of the articles.

140 As to the proposition of leaving all debts in *statu quo*, or of releasing them mutually, it was said, that it could not be done but by act of parliament, and his majesty could not in justice or honour assent to an act which should release the debts due to his protestant subjects, who had not offended. But as to the debts which came to his majesty by their attainders, he would shew his grace to them by remitting all that had not been received; as indeed none of them had, except one, of one thousand two hundred pounds due to Mr. Archbould, which had been applied to the use of the army. To this the Irish commissioners had nothing to oppose, nor indeed to the answers given to their sixth, seventh, and eighth propositions. They had made no calculation of the profits accruing to his majesty by the court of wards, and were not prepared to propose any method of preserving the tenures, or settling an equivalent revenue in lieu thereof. They pressed much for an act of parliament to assert the independency of the parliament and kingdom of Ireland; to which it was replied, that a declaration of both houses (which was in their own power) would be as effectual as any act; that if it was not their right already,

an act of parliament could not make it so, for it would not bind the parliament of England; and that what they desired was already done by several acts passed in Ireland, which the chancellor mentioned. The Irish allowed all this; but considering how their independency had been hurt by the late acts in England, to which his majesty (the proper judge of the power of both parliaments) had assented, they still thought a new act necessary: but had nothing [to] reply, when it was said, that, however it was to be wished, it was by no means seasonable to desire it in the present time. The other points about the jurisdiction of the council-board, the book of rates, and limitation of the time of the chief governors, and restraining their purchase of lands, admitted of little debate. Nor was there much about the proposition for repealing the penal laws; the Irish being only desired to specify such as they wanted to have repealed; and the chancellor only observing in general, that no blood had been spilt in Ireland on occasion of any of those laws, and that most of the statutes complained of had been made when the whole nation was of one religion, and did not really concern religion, so much as the suppression of a foreign jurisdiction, which could not by any means be admitted again into the kingdom. More was not said⁵¹⁹ upon this subject, it having been before agreed by the chancellor and his assistants not to dispute it, but only to hear and report to the council.

¹⁴¹ There were some additional propositions of lesser moment made by the Irish in this treaty; some relating to the disabling of the great officers of the crown from being farmers of the customs, the suppressing of monopolies, the limiting of the court of castle-chamber, and some other matters, in which his majesty had proposed in the seventeenth year of his reign to extend his grace to them. To these the like answers were returned as had been advised by the council of England at that time.

Others, being matters of mere grace, were referred to his majesty's own determination. Those for a new method of appointing sheriffs, and for proclaiming the Scots, and all that opposed the cessation, traitors, were absolutely rejected.

¹⁴² The marquis of Ormond in his turn thought it necessary to make some demands in behalf of his majesty, the protestant clergy and laity of Ireland. For the king, he demanded a present restitution of all the cities, towns, castles, forts, lands, artillery, arms, and ammunition possessed by the Roman catholic confederates, and that the jurisdiction and government assumed by them should be immediately abrogated. They agreed to restore the former and relinquish the other, upon a full settlement of the affairs of the kingdom. He insisted on their answering to the king all the rents, compositions, subsidies, and customs due before Oct. 23, 1641; and they professed themselves ready to pay all that they had received and were due before Aug. 7 in that year, on which day (they said) happened that fatal and enforced adjournment of the parliament, from whence all the distractions of the kingdom sprung. He demanded payment of the residue of the thirty thousand eight hundred pounds stipulated by the cessation, and of the customs of Waterford and Ross since that time; but they maintained, that the first had been overpaid, as should be made appear upon account, and that the latter belonged to them by the articles of the cessation, those towns lying within their quarters. The demands about the custom to be laid on tobacco, and the profits of wine and aquavitæ licenses, &c., to be settled by act of parliament upon the crown, towards supporting the charge of the kingdom, according to the resolution in his majesty's late graces in A. D. 1641, they thought proper to be determined upon the conclusion of the treaty. They made an answer not much different to the lord lieutenant's demands in favour

of the protestant clergy, that they should be immediately restored to all their churches, jurisdictions, and possessions, and be allowed one half of the tithe corn of this year's harvest for their present subsistence, and that all their houses and churches, as well cathedral as parochial, which had been demolished or defaced by the Roman catholic party, should be repaired by them with all convenient speed, and put into as good a condition as they were on Oct. 23, 1641. These they deferred answering till the determination of their own proposition for the freedom of their religion.

- 143 The demands in behalf of his majesty's protestant subjects were, that present restitution should be made to them of all the castles and estates of which they were possessed in the beginning of the rebellion; that all goods, evidences, and writings delivered to Roman catholics in trust, or pillaged by them, be restored, or the proprietor be left to his remedy for the recovery of his goods or damages; that such castles and houses, as being surrendered were afterwards demolished by the Roman catholic confederates, contrary to articles, should be rebuilt by those who destroyed them; and that the protestant proprietors of lands lying in the confederates' quarters, and possessed by them since the cessation, might have the fourth sheaf of the corn of the present harvest, or the value thereof. The Irish commissioners answered to these, that after a full settlement reciprocal 520 restitution should be made to the possessors thereof on Oct. 22, 1641, of all estates, except the territory of Idough, and some lands in the county of Wicklow, whence the natives were by an high hand extrajudicially expelled since the year 1633; that they thought themselves more damnified by pillaging and rapine than the protestants; but to prevent endless suits and troubles, they conceived this matter fit to be seriously debated and finally ended upon the settlement; that they knew of no castle

or fort demolished contrary to articles, but when the particulars should appear, they would give particular answers; and that as themselves received no profits out of their estates in the protestant quarters, they conceived it not equal that the protestants should receive the profit of theirs until after a settlement; and then the profits of both were to be reciprocally received by all parties respectively.

- 144 Such were the matters debated in this treaty, which broke off in the beginning of October, the commissioners not being able to adjust the principal matters in dispute relating to religion and the act of oblivionⁿ. The king graciously offered the Roman catholics an allowance of the free exercise of their religion, as in the most moderate time of queen Elizabeth or king James's reign; a general pardon for all crimes, which should extend to their lives and estates, wherein some special offences were to be excepted, for the satisfying of the justice of the kingdom; a discharge of all his rents, customs, and other duties, which became due from any of them since October 1641; and his royal word and promise that they should be admitted to all places of honour and trust in the commonwealth equally with his other good subjects, if they should by their loyalty and duty merit the same. But these offers would not be accepted, unless the statutes of 2 Eliz. and all the other laws penal to them might be repealed. They insisted likewise upon the suspension of Poyning's act, as to such things as should be agreed upon in the treaty, and that there should be no exception in the pardon; the admitting of any exception being (as they said) inconsistent with their oath of association. The lord lieutenant sent the lord Brabazon, sir H. Tichburne, and sir James Ware to give his majesty an account of all the proceedings in the treaty, and to know his pleasure in the particulars which remained to

ⁿ N. 12.

be adjusted. To allow time for their return, the treaty was adjourned to Jan. 10, and, upon the accident which befell them, was farther put off till April 10, 1645.

- ¹⁴⁵ The marquis of Ormond found in this treaty, what he had always apprehended, that the Irish commissioners, on account of his relation to some of them, and his interest in the peace of the kingdom, expected greater favours from him than they could either hope to obtain, or perhaps presume to ask of a stranger, and particularly that he should use his credit with the king to persuade him to yield to what he justly thought unfit for his majesty to grant, and unreasonable for them to demand. He imagined, that when they found themselves disappointed of what they wished, they would be apt to lay the blame upon him, and be less disposed to hearken to those advices and motives which he might offer to engage them to lower their demands, and submit themselves to his majesty's pleasure°. Hence, upon colonel Barry's repairing to the king about this time, he gave him instructions to represent this and other inconveniences peculiar to himself, and humbly to desire his majesty to be pleased speedily to appoint some other more fitting person for the government of the kingdom. That gentleman was charged to assure his majesty, that it was not either weariness of the trouble, fear of the danger, or unwillingness to serve him further in that post at his own⁵²¹ charge, which moved the lord lieutenant to desire that he would otherwise dispose of that government and his own service; but a plain foresight that he must shortly quit it for want of bread, or become subject to the insolencies of the Irish or covenanters, from either of which dishonours he humbly desired to be seasonably relieved. The colonel was likewise to inform the king how the means that hitherto had supported the marquis of Ormond, and in a great part his majesty's army in Leinster,

° No. 101. See Collection of Letters, No. CCCXXXIX.

must necessarily and suddenly fail, and to acquaint lord Digby with this humble suit, and desire his assistance for obtaining it.

- 146 The king himself and every minister about him were too well persuaded of the necessity of the marquis of Ormond's being at the head of the government of Ireland, and of the impossibility of supporting the king's affairs in that country by the credit or management of any other person, to comply easily with a request of this nature. He was still continued in his charge, and lord Digby came over, not long after, to bear a share of the odium, which his refusal of some of the confederates' desires occasioned. The king was very sensible of the great burden lying upon the lord lieutenant, and the vast expense in which that charge involved him, to the inconceivable prejudice of his private fortune. This he hoped some time or other to be able to repair, and in the mean time was desirous to shew his sense of the marquis of Ormond's losses and services by such grants and favours as were at present in his power. He^p had on May 10 this year sent him orders to confer the honour of knighthood on his eldest son Thomas lord Ossory, whereby the wardship and marriage of that young nobleman's body (in case he survived his father) was discharged. He^q now considering the vast sums of money expended by the marquis of Ormond in his service in Ireland, since his entrance into the government thereof, for which he had mortgaged and engaged the greatest part of his own estate upon terms much to his own disadvantage, for the support of his majesty's service; and thinking himself bound in justice and honour so to secure the same to him that he might receive it again, ordered a commission to be issued out under the great seal to the lord chancellor Bolton, the earl of Roscommon, the bishop of Cloyne, lord Lambert, lord

^p K. 356. See Collection of Letters, No. CCCXL.

^q N. 259, 264, 263.

chief baron Bolton, and sir James Ware, to receive and examine his accounts of what he had disbursed in his service ; and upon certificate made to the council, and their approbation thereof, directed effectual grants to be made to the said marquis and his heirs of so many of the manors and lands of the crown as should amount to one hundred pounds a year for every thousand pounds which he had expended in the service, or were due to him for his entertainments. His majesty, though he would not consent to the lord lieutenant's quitting the government, was yet pleased to send him a license for repairing into England, when and as often as he should think fit, leaving deputies to govern in his absence.

147 For the better enabling of him to go on in the course of his government, the king sent over orders^r for the lord lieutenant to proceed with the advice of the judges against all absentees according to the laws in force, and to seize their estates ; which would lessen the mischiefs arising from their absence, and contribute something to the public charge. Orders were also sent that no wardship should be granted by the court of wards, but to such persons and on such conditions as the lord lieutenant should think fit. A power likewise was given him to determine all custodiams formerly granted, and to apply the profits thereof to the support of the army ; to sequester disaffected persons from the council-board, and to remove and change the governors of counties, cities, castles, and forts at his⁵²² pleasure. And, that nobody might in such troublesome times suffer any inconvenience by having paid obedience to his majesty's orders, a warrant was sent for a general pardon of all offences under the great seal to the chief governor, the privy counsellors, ministers, and others, that had been employed and acted in any part of his service.

148 The king having received from the privy counsellors before mentioned a full account of all transactions on the

^r N. 261, 331, 333, and 345.

late treaty^s, was pleased to signify his approbation of all the marquis of Ormond's proceedings therein, and particularly of the answers given by him to the several propositions of the Roman catholics; and to require him to insist upon the said answers, so far as he should find it likely to prevail with them to rest satisfied therewith, and to settle a peace upon just and reasonable conditions. But if a war was unavoidable without yielding to further terms, his majesty, upon a most careful inquiry, and a full consideration of the true state of the kingdom, and the protestants there being so weak, and indigent of all things necessary to a war, as there was not the least hope that they could be able to maintain themselves against the power of the Irish, unless supported by such extraordinary supplies from England, as all the world knew to be impossible for him in his present condition to afford them; and in pious and tender care of the preservation of his protestant subjects, for which no visible means offered but a peace, thought fit to authorize the lord lieutenant to conclude a present peace in that kingdom, upon such further degrees of concession to the Roman catholics, as he should find could not be denied without relapsing into a war. There were two points in which this discretionary power given to the marquis of Ormond was limited; the one was the repeal of the penal statutes against recusants, in which he could not, either with his own honour or the safety of his protestant subjects, (for whose sake he had yielded so far,) consent to more than was expressed in the marquis's answers to their propositions concerning religion. The other was the suspension of Poyning's act: however, as to this last, if upon debate in Ireland any expedient could be found to prevent the danger apprehended from such a suspension, his majesty ordered the lord lieutenant rather to yield in that point also, than to fall back into the extremity of a war,

^s See Collection of Letters, No. CCCLV.

wherein he was so little able to maintain and protect his subjects of that kingdom.

149 The marquis of Ormond had formerly recommended to the king, as a proper measure to prevent the Irish from breaking out into a new war, that he should issue out an authority for receiving to mercy such of the rebels as were desirous to return to their duty, and to grant them pardon for life and estate; not questioning but by advantage thereof so to divide their counsels, that they should never be able to unite more in carrying on a war against his majesty. The^t king at this time, fearing the unreasonableness of the confederate party would prevent the conclusion of a peace, empowered the lord lieutenant to issue out commissions to receive the submissions of such as were willing to embrace peace upon the conditions he was pleased to grant, and to restore them to their blood, estates, and possessions. To pave at the same time the way to peace, by reconciling the Irish to the continuance of the present parliament, he thought fit to express his dislike of an order made, under the administration of sir W. Parsons, by the house of commons, for excluding all such members thereof as should refuse to take the oath of supremacy, it being an encroachment upon his royal authority, without which, no such oath ought to be imposed upon his subjects, whose liberty he conceived him-523 self bound by all ways and means to preserve. For these reasons he ordered the lord lieutenant to call before him the speaker and members of the house, and require them to vacate that order, there being no law or statute of force in Ireland to support the same. This was an act necessary to vindicate his own prerogative, which had been invaded by that order, as well as to give some satisfaction to the Roman catholics, who were thereby aggrieved in a point which they had most at heart, and on which depended all their hopes of redress, either of present or

^t N. 332.

future grievances : but he parted with his own rights and revenue to oblige and ease his protestant subjects. With this view he returned a^u bill which had been transmitted to England by the lord lieutenant and council, for remitting to the protestants of Ireland, as well of the clergy as of the laity, all rents, compositions, services, twentieth parts, and first-fruits, due unto his majesty at Michaelmas 1641, or at any time since, or to be due to him at Easter 1645. This was accordingly passed in parliament on the 6th of May following, as an earnest of those further graces and favours which they might with confidence expect from his majesty afterwards, as occasions should offer and require.

- 150 The great difficulty apprehended in the treaty was in the point of religion, upon which the king could relax no farther at present than he had done : ^vbut the lord Muskery, N. Pluncket, and G. Brown had given assurances, that if the answers to their other propositions, in which there was less danger, were satisfactory, their party would be more moderate upon that article, because of the prejudice which some concessions at present might bring upon his majesty's affairs. The king was much pleased with so seasonable a complaisance and regard to his interests ; and to return it in a proper manner, he gave them his royal word, that the penal statutes against them should not be put in execution, if the peace were made, and they continued in their due obedience. But, as they might lay too great a merit upon the assistance which they had promised him, and expect more hereafter than he could possibly grant, he thought fit to express himself clearly in that point. The statutes against the Roman catholics were either such as obliged them to come to the public churches, under the pain of twelve pence Irish for absence every Sunday or holyday, or such

^u See Collection of Letters, No. CCCXLVII.

^v Appendix XV, and Collection of Letters, No. CCCXLVIII.

as were made against appeals to Rome, and the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction within the realm. Of the first sort was the Irish statute 2 Eliz. cap. 2. *for the uniformity of divine worship*; and as the penalties of this act lay equally against the presbyterians, independents, and other protestant sectaries, (in whose favour the English parliament were for abolishing it,) as well as the Roman catholics, and had never been levied but on particular occasions, and for the private gain of ministers, and then had always occasioned a clamour abroad of a terrible persecution, he thought he might well enough consent to a repeal of the penalties of that act, which, if rigorously executed, would be a force upon the consciences of the poor ignorant people, as they stood informed. Of the latter sort were the statute of 2 Eliz. cap. 1. *for restoring the ancient jurisdiction of the crown over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual*, and those of Henry VIII against appeals to Rome, &c., which were by this last statute revived; and these, that the Roman catholics might not deceive themselves with a vain expectation of their repeal, he declared must stand in force. Thus the king thought he had made a sufficient provision for the satisfaction of the more moderate part of the confederates, who really wished for peace; and conceived great hopes that the treaty would end in an happy conclusion, and be followed with those powerful forces, which that party had often promised for his assistance.

- 151 These several instructions and powers were first sent⁵²⁴ to the lord lieutenant in December by the lord Brabazon, sir H. Tichburne, and sir James Ware, and were afterwards transmitted by colonel Barry in the January following, upon those gentlemen being intercepted in their passage from Caernarvon to Dublin. Captain Bartlet was ordered to fetch them; but contrary winds hindering his sailing, they hired a small vessel, and putting to sea, were taken on the last of December by a ship of captain

Richard Swanley's squadron, and carried into Milford haven. That squadron was employed by the parliament to block up the port of Dublin, and intercept all ships going thither with provisions. Swanley^w, whilst he lay in the bay, had held a correspondence with the disaffected inhabitants, and had formed a design to surprise the city. But his force was not thought sufficient; so that he was forced to apply to the parliament for three or four more ships, with some land forces on board, to be sent him; undertaking with that supply to make the attempt, and assuring them that he had above two hundred persons within the place, who would concur with them in the design. Secretary Nicholas, by the king's command, sent the marquis of Ormond notice of this plot, requiring him to use all possible care to prevent the mischief, and to cause severe inquiry and punishment to pass upon the conspirators. The lord lieutenant had before received from the governor of the Isle of Man, and other persons, intimations of such a design, and had taken effectual care to prevent it by such measures as are proper to be taken in cases where a multitude of persons are concerned, and clear proofs are wanting to convict any of them. He had been always apprehensive that the wants of the army, and the distress of the inhabitants in places subject to his authority, would dispose them to be seduced from their due obedience by the promises and hopes of relief from another quarter, and had therefore been particularly vigilant in using all fitting means, as well to discover as to defeat such designs upon the garrisons under his command. It was impossible to help the forming of such designs, as long as the wants of the soldiers, which they had long endured, and the necessities of the impoverished inhabitants continued, and furnished pretences for any undertaking that might help to relieve them. These could not indeed either justify or even extenuate offences

^w See Collection of Letters, No. CCCLVII.

of so high and treacherous a nature: but the heavy complaints continually expressed thereof, afforded occasion to disaffected officers and others to insinuate, that there was no hope of relief but by a change of government, and emboldened them to engage in conspiracies for the surprise of several garrisons. Of these none were carried so near to execution as those upon Drogheda and Dundalk.

- 152 That ^xupon Drogheda was first formed by the captains John Ponsonby and John Wentworth, the lieutenants Graham, Hatton, and Draper, quarter-master Tench, and Thomas Graham, surgeon to the garrison; Alice, widow of Charles the late viscount Moore, being a great encourager of the enterprise. Whilst the treaty of peace was carrying on at Dublin, these officers, being alarmed with mistaken accounts of its being concluded, and fearing that there would be no payment made of their arrears, nor any satisfaction given for their losses, nor any further employment for them, unless perhaps to serve against the Scotch covenanters, to which they were very averse, met, together with captain Heyfield of the garrison of Dundalk, to consider what party to take in case of that event, obliging themselves by oath to keep the matter of their consultation secret. Their first resolution was to go into England, to make conditions with the parliament, and to return again to serve against the Irish, and if it might be, under lord Inchiquin in Munster. Money was wanting for such a journey, and to remove that difficulty it was proposed to make an inroad into the Irish quarters in the county of Louth, and to sell it to the Scots. This was proposed to Monroe, who promised them his protection and assistance; but six weeks afterwards, in the month of November, being jealous lest the Scots should take away their booty without making them any consi- 525

^x See their examinations, N. 188—195, 220, 222, 227—231, 234; and 377.

deration, they altered their resolution, and determined to surprise the town of Drogheda. This was to be attempted when Ponsonby's company mounted the guard at the Mill Mount; and to ensure success, the affair was communicated to Anthony Townley, high sheriff of the county of Louth, Worsley Batten, and John Hatch, gentlemen who had a great interest with the discontented townsmen, and who readily engaged in the design. A difficulty was still made about their ability to maintain the place after they had seized it; in answer to which, captain Wentworth undertook to bring a good number of men from Dublin to their assistance. That force was judged either not fit to be depended on, or not sufficient for the purpose; and it was resolved to send to Monroe for succours, till they could be supplied with all necessaries from England. For these they applied to the parliament, and lieutenant Christopher Love was despatched at their common expense with letters to sir John Clotworthy, by whose mediation they hoped to obtain them. The propositions made to Monroe were, that they would seize the town, plunder and turn out all the papists, and such as would not adhere to them, and keep the entire command of the place to themselves; but if he would assist them with his forces till they received succours from the parliament, he should have half the plate, jewels, money, and goods of the papists that were to be plundered, except of bedding, corn, and other things necessary for the garrison. Christopher (son of Worsley) Batten, a lieutenant, was sent with these propositions, and being convoyed to Dundalk, was carried from thence by captain Fulk Martin of that garrison to Carrickfergus. Monroe readily closed with the proposal, but could not be ready against Dec. 22, the day first fixed for the execution of the enterprise. He promised however, that if they would defer it to Jan. 22, he would be that day with two or three thousand horse

and foot at Carrickmacrosse, and, leaving his foot there, would advance to Drogheda with his horse at the hour appointed.

¹⁵³ There was in Drogheda one lieutenant ^y George Stroude, some of whose relations and friends were leading men of the faction in the parliament of England, and on that account he was presumed to be well affected to the interests of that body, from which he had good reason to expect preferment. The affair was communicated to him; and he was present when the instructions, given to young Batten for the treaty with Monroe, were read and approved by the conspirators. Their meeting was at the Greyhound in Drogheda, and major Seafoule Gibson, accidentally hearing of those officers being there to spend the evening, came up stairs so suddenly, whilst the foul draught of the instructions lay upon the table before them, that Batten had only time to throw it into the fire. Whether Gibson took notice of the paper burning, or observed any signs of hurry, surprise, or confusion in any of the company, and afterwards questioned Stroude thereupon, or whether Stroude really detested the design out of a sense of his duty to the king, it is certain that he discovered the whole matter to Gibson, who sent an account of it to the marquis of Ormond^z. The marquis thereupon ordered major Edward Billingsley, who in sir H. Tichburne's absence commanded the garrison, to be very vigilant for the security of the place; to take particular care of the Mill Mount; to watch the motions of the officers, but to do it in such a manner as to give them ⁵²⁶ no cause of jealousy, nor any room for exception. Batten was at this time upon his journey, and directions were given to talk with him upon his return, and, if necessary, to secure him, in order to discover the whole secret of the measures concerted with Monroe. Batten returned about Dec. 9, and finding by major Billingsley that the

^y V. 39.

^z N. 18, 27, 215, 221, 226. O. 29.

plot was discovered, presently confessed the whole matter, and agreed to go with him to Dublin, to give a perfect relation of it to the lord lieutenant.

154 Monroe, about a fortnight before Christmas, sent captain Dunbar (a son of sir John Dunbar) with captain Martin to Drogheda, to concert measures more particularly. Dunbar went from thence to Dublin, where, with captain Ponsonby, he communicated the affair to sir P. Wemyss, who expressed his utter dislike of it, but did not reveal it out of regard (as he said) to the lady Moore, to whose children, by her late husband's will, he was left a guardian. The conspirators went on with their design, and for fear any accident should prevent their seizing the Mill Mount, they resolved upon another method of letting in the Scots. Ponsonby took in wax impressions of the keys of St. Lawrence and Duleeke; and these being delivered to lady Moore, she got false keys made by one James Berkeley, gunsmith to her son's troop. They had still some fears lest the Scots, when they were admitted, should not keep the capitulation with them, but make themselves masters of the place. To prevent that inconvenience, they sent captain Martin again to Monroe, desiring that instead of two or three thousand which he proposed, he should send only five hundred foot and two hundred horse to their assistance. He returned the Tuesday after Christmas-day, and all things were preparing against the day appointed, when major Gibson, taking an unexpected journey to Dublin, made them apprehensive of some discovery. This produced a meeting on Jan. 5, in the evening, and a resolution to hasten the execution of the enterprise, and attempt it only with their own soldiers and the townsmen. Another meeting was appointed for the next night to agree upon the day; but this was prevented by major Billingsley, who, finding how far the matter had gone, seized them every one in the morning without any disturbance. They were carried

prisoners to Dublin, (whither lady Moore was also sent under a guard that had the name of a convoy,) and being examined before the council, confessed all the particulars here mentioned.

155 There were some circumstances which looked as if Henry lord Moore was privy to this design, but he was very strongly suspected of being concerned in that upon Dundalk, which was chiefly carried on by the captains Martin and Heyfield. Lord Moore was governor of the place^a, in which, captain Charles Townley sent the marquis of Ormond word on Dec. 7, no guard had been kept for above three weeks past, so that it lay open to any body who had a mind to surprise it; of which he was very apprehensive, by reason of messengers passing to and from Carrickfergus, and some other points of management, which convinced him entirely that there was some design in hand, and that it would be put in execution very suddenly. The marquis of Ormond had a mind to keep measures with that young nobleman, and did not care to throw a slur upon his character, by putting him under an arrest upon suspicions of disloyalty to his prince, and of unfaithfulness as to his charge. Lord Moore had left Dublin after the discovery of the plot upon Drogheda, and came down to Dundalk on Jan. 13, in the evening. The first thing he did was to give orders for the seizing of captain Townley and captain Constable, the two principal commanders, and best affected to the king of any in the garrison. His next step was to despatch away his cornet 527 to Strangford, where a party of Scots had been providing vessels, and were ready to be shipped for those parts. Constable got away, and Townley, being seized and confined to his chamber, made his escape in the night, and breaking open one of the gates of the town went in all haste to Dublin, to give the lord lieutenant an account of these proceedings. The marquis of Ormond, considering

^a N. 17, 273, 277, 278, 284, 307, 309, 312, 313 and 314.

that Jan. 22 was not yet past, wrote immediately upon this advice to the lord Moore, "that having brought the discovery of the late design upon Drogheda to perfection, and the matter being ready for judgment, he held it necessary to have his lordship's assistance therein; and therefore desired and expected his lordship's coming to Dublin with all possible speed; and that his government might not suffer in his absence, he had directed major Gibson of his lordship's regiment to supply his place." He sent this letter by captain Townley to Gibson, who was then at Drogheda, with orders "to deliver or send it (as he should judge fittest) to the lord Moore; and in case his lordship took no notice of the contents to him, or did not prepare for his immediate coming to Dublin, then to acquaint his lordship that he had orders from the lord lieutenant to take upon him the government of Dundalk and other places under his command; if lord Moore refused to put the government into his hands, Gibson was then, by force, or any other means he could use, to possess himself thereof, and secure his lordship's person." Gibson had a discretionary power given him in the execution of these orders, it being referred to him to judge when and how far to make use of them, according as he heard how matters went on [at] Dundalk. To enable him the better to execute them, the marquis of Ormond sent him a sum of money to be disposed of as he saw cause, and ordered major Billingsley to furnish him as good a body of horse and foot as he could spare from the garrison of Drogheda.

156 Gibson was a man of great prudence, diligence, fidelity, and resolution, well beloved by the soldiers, and had his own company quartered in Dundalk, whither he found it necessary for him to go. Lord Moore, upon receipt of the lord lieutenant's letter, told him the contents thereof, and desired to see his commission to command the place in his absence. Gibson producing it, his lordship snatched it out of his hand, clapped it into his pocket, and said he

would put whom he pleased into his own government, and would go presently to acquaint the lord lieutenant with his reasons; but would carry the major with him, to avoid some apparent mischief that might happen in the garrison. Gibson seemed to acquiesce; and his lordship, having left captain Burroughs to command in Dundalk, with orders to admit none into the place but such as he could command, and having given captain Townley's and Constable's companies to their lieutenants, set out for Dublin. Gibson went along with him to Drogheda, but would go no further, resolving either to execute his orders, which he had hitherto concealed, and to make himself master of Dundalk, or else to perish in the attempt. Lord Moore had scarce reached Dublin by the time that Gibson got to Dundalk, where he found his own men and captain Townley's, pursuant to his orders, possessed of two castles; one of them being the magazine where the ammunition and artillery lay. Burroughs finding those castles seized, and the two lieutenants in hold, easily submitted to his major, and gave up to Gibson the command, which he saw no possibility of maintaining. Thus was Dundalk secured on Jan. 19 very seasonably, the Scotch forces being in motion the next day, and drawing towards that place. Lord Moore being young, not yet of age, and liable to be seduced, was suspended from his command; to which he seemed to submit with much readiness. He was treated in other respects with great tenderness, and going soon after to the court⁵²⁸ in England, the king^b ordered livery to be granted him (notwithstanding his minority) of his father's lands, and empowered the lord lieutenant to restore him to his posts whenever he should see fit so to do.

¹⁵⁷ The great bait which drew the officers of the English garrisons to engage in designs of this nature was the expectation of having their arrears paid, and of being well

^b O. 313.

supplied with all necessaries, by the English parliament, upon their revolt. This expectation was not always answered, that body of men being much more ready to promise great matters, than to send even small supplies to those who had renounced their duty to his majesty, and declared in their favour; as some of those revolters found to their cost. Lord Esmond, when he resolved to betray his trust, and put the fort of Duncannon into the hands of the parliament, refused the succours which the marquis of Ormond had prepared to send him, for fear they should be too strong for the disaffected part of his garrison, not questioning but he should be plentifully supplied by his new masters. They failed him in his exigence; and he soon found himself attacked by an enemy, which the excursions of his garrison and the troop of horse he had lately raised, provoked to lay siege to the fort at a very unseasonable time of the year. The supreme council of Kilkenny were much alarmed by the defection of that place, and the towns of Waterford and Ross, fearing that their trade would be utterly ruined by the parliament ships lying in the river under the protection of that fort, offered to contribute largely towards the reducing of it. In consequence hereof, a body of troops was sent in the beginning of January to block it up on the land side; but as the sea was open, and this was a slow way of gaining the place, it was resolved (notwithstanding the extreme badness of the weather) to turn the blockade into a regular siege. Preston, the Leinster general, had the conducting thereof, and carrying on his approaches at two attacks, made at last a lodgment in the ditch. The fort^c, after being beleagured for ten weeks together, in which time the besiegers had spent upon it nineteen thousand pound weight of powder, surrendered on March 19, when some ships sent by the parliament, who had neglected it all that while, and then spared only

^c Register of the Supreme Council, p. 175.

eighty men for so important a service, were come into the river, in order to relieve it. Lord Esmond died about eight days after, worn out with age and grief for the loss of his government; not without some uneasy reflections on his breach of trust and disloyalty to his prince, which had been the occasion of that disaster.

158 Lord Inchiquin, after his defection, was as ill supplied by the parliament; so that he had with his officers scarce made a declaration against any peace with the Irish, when his own necessities, through a defect of supplies, forced him, for the preservation of his forces, and of the protestants of Munster, to make a cessation with the Irish. This expiring on April 10, the earl of Castlehaven was sent with an army of five thousand foot and one thousand horse into that province, and easily reduced all the castles in the baronies of Imokelly and Barrimore. Cappelquin, Dromane, Michelstowne, Castle-Lyons, Mallo, Donneraile, Liscarrol, and Lismore surrendered upon articles; but Mil-town and Coney-castle were taken by storm. Rostellan surrendered at discretion; and in it colonel Henry Obryan, brother to the lord Inchiquin, and lieutenant colonel Courtenay were taken prisoners; the former ^dof which was in great danger of an unhappy end, in revenge for a titular dean whom his brother had lately caused to be hanged, and for his own crime in delivering up Wareham to the parliament. But Castlehaven alleging that for this very reason he ought, for a testimony of their own loyalty, and of their detestation of his breach of trust, to be sent as a present to the king, to be punished as his majesty should see fit, he was saved from present execu-529
tion, and afterwards exchanged. Lord Inchiquin could not make in all above three thousand foot, five hundred horse, and three hundred dragoons, a force too weak to make head against the enemy in the field, if he had been able to subsist there; but that was impracticable for

^d P. 48 and 352.

want of provisions, and he had no party left him to take, but to shut up himself in Cork. Castlehaven wasted all the country up to the very walls of that city, destroying all the harvest within the English quarters, and taking vast preys of cattle. At last he laid siege to Youghall ; but lord Broghill, who had at the opening of the campaign gone with his family into England to solicit supplies from the parliament, returning with succours of men, ammunition, and provisions in the beginning of September, and throwing supplies into the place by sea, Castlehaven raised the siege, and soon after dispersing his forces, returned to Kilkenny.

- 159 The Irish, whilst they were preparing for this campaign, took care to apply to foreign potentates for succours, to enable them the better either to maintain a war or to obtain a peace to their mind. For this purpose F. Hugh Bourke was ordered to go to Madrid to solicit the king and clergy of Spain. To the court of France, the pope, and all the Italian princes and states, as well as to the marquis of Castel Rodrigo, governor of the Low Countries, they deputed a more considerable man, Mr. Richard Belling, secretary to their supreme council, and the fittest person that could be chose to give a perfect account of the state and condition of their affairs. He was esteemed an acute and active courtier and statesman, and capable of discovering clearly the intention and mystery of the large promises and compliments made to their former agents, which he was to convert, if possible, into a substantial settled revenue for a lasting maintenance of their cause. Their design, as they expressed it in their letters, was, “^d that they might know themselves what they had to trust to, and what succours they might really depend upon from abroad, and that, in case they should be forced to serve God again in holes

^d Register of the Supreme Council, p. 145, and Collection of Letters, No. CCCLXIX.

and corners, the world might know they had laboured all they could to prevent that misfortune." Belling was charged in his return to bring back with him in a decent way O'Hartegan, their agent at Paris, whose vanity, impertinence, indiscretion, and mischievous designs had given them great offence. He set sail from Galway the last day of the foregoing year.

162 There went with him from that port several ships bound for France, and having on board a regiment of one thousand foot, under the command of Arthur Magenis viscount Iveagh, and a company of one hundred more, commanded by Edward Plunket, son to the earl of Fingal. These were part of the two thousand men which they had allowed to be levied in Ireland for the service of France. They had given a like permission to the Spanish agent, but I do not find any mention made of their embarkation; nor indeed of the rest intended for the French service; except of three hundred which they directed to be transported in the privatest manner possible. The reason of their enjoining this secrecy^e was, that they might with the better grace deny their own sovereign, making the like request. The marquis of Ormond had long and often pressed them to send a reinforcement of two thousand men to assist the marquis of Montrose in Scotland, who had by the former supply, obtained by lord Antrim's means, been enabled to gain several wonderful victories, and reduce a great part of that kingdom. They knew very well the importance and necessity of the service, and that it was the only sure way of drawing the Scotch forces out of Ireland; but to excuse themselves from doing it, they affected to be jealous, that the honour and thanks due on that ac-530 count would be attributed rather to a single person than to the nation. The king in January sent over colonel Steward and sir Edmond Butler to second the lord lieu-

^e O. 4, 50, 158 and 171.

tenant's instances upon that subject. This last gentleman was charged likewise to solicit for thirty barrels of powder to be sent to prince Rupert, who was ready to pay for them according to promise. This small service was excused, because they had occasion for all their ammunition in the siege of Duncannon. The consideration of the other was deferred, till there was a fuller council at Kilkenny. This served for a present apology, though the true reason was, ^fthat they had taken a firm resolution to send no men to the king's assistance, till a peace was settled, and such a peace as should shew the world that they had really taken arms for the sake of religion, and to establish it in its full splendour. When that excuse could serve no longer, they tacked to the service two conditions^g, with neither of which (they were well assured) the lord lieutenant would comply; the one was, the putting of the fort of Carlingford into their hands; the other was, the proclaiming the Scots to be traitors, and joining his forces to theirs against them. For assurance of the redelivery of the fort, they offered the public faith of their party, which, they hoped, was not to be drawn into doubt or question; but the marquis of Ormond thought it a confidence too great to be placed in those who were as yet to be considered as enemies, and whatever opinion he had of the honour of some particulars that composed it, he did not think it proper to trust a body of men, acted by different views, and divided into various factions.

- 161 The other proposition was indeed more reasonable, and it appeared so necessary to declare the covenanting Scots to be rebels, that even the earl of Clanrickard pressed it, as a step that would much promote the king's service. But the marquis of Ormond made a different judgment of that matter, and apprehended from it the worst of consequences. He laboured at Dublin under wants of all kinds, and all the money he could raise by

^f Register, p. 151. ^g Letter of Supreme Council, March 14. O. 149.

his own private credit could scarce provide a sorry subsistence to his out-garrisons for a week together; so that if Monroe should attack any of them, they must certainly fall into his hands. An open war must have made his expenses much greater, and he must for means of supplying them depend entirely on the Irish, and put himself absolutely in their power, which he could not think advisable. The hatred which his own troops, and the protestants, that still adhered to the king's government, bore to the Irish was such, that they would have deserted him upon the publishing of such a proclamation. He had seen the little effect which proclamations had produced in the case of the covenant, and had no reason to expect greater benefit from that which was now proposed. It was likewise very impolitic to drive into despair men, whom mere terror and impossibility of subsisting otherwise had obliged to comply with the Scotch measures, to take the covenant, and to join in the war against the Irish. He was very well assured, that not only sir Robert Stewart, sir James Montgomery, and the English officers of Hill's, Chichester's, and Conway's regiments, who had refused the covenant, but that colonel Mervin, the lord Montgomery, colonel Thornton, and others who had taken it, were yet well affected to the king's interests, and would upon a proper occasion do him service, if not excluded from mercy, for their forced compliance, in order to preserve themselves for a more favourable time.

162 There was certainly more room for pity than censure, in their circumstances, and they had given such strong assurances of their resolutions to serve the king, when an opportunity offered, that it was much more prudent to encourage those dispositions in them than to alienate their affections, and drive them into the extremest courses 531 by unseasonable acts, or ineffectual declarations, of seve-

city^h. Even the inferior officers and common soldiers of the old Scotch regiments in the north, who had with the greatest zeal entered into the parliament measures and taken the covenant, not doubting of immediate and plentiful supplies, now finding themselves disappointed, and in a manner neglected by the parliament, (whose promises had as yet been attended with little or no effect,) were much cooled in their affections to that party, and in a likely temper to be wrought upon by proper motives applied to engage them to return to their duty. They had received no part of their entertainments, and but an inconsiderable quantity of provisions from England; and being still oppressed by their wants, all the chief officers of those regiments had lately joined in letters, representing their condition and treatment, and expostulating the matter very freely with the parliament. They told them in that of March 10, “that the great trust which they reposed in the manifold rich promises of both houses, their affection to the goodness of the cause, and their ardent desires to witness their readiness to obey the commands of parliament, had made them for three years and four months past undergo with unparalleled patience all kinds of miseries. But now seeing that, notwithstanding their agent’s tedious solicitations, the fruits of their expectations had proved inconsiderable, and their affections to the cause and continuance in the service of the parliament had ruined them, they were forced at last to declare, that unless subsistence in some reasonable measure, proportionable to their wants, were speedily sent them, a constant way laid down for their future maintenance during the war, and security given them for their arrears, they must desert the service, and look out for some master, under whom they might raise new fortunes in lieu of those they had ruined under the parlia-

^h O. 202, 139, 170.

ment. Their long sufferings, ready obedience, and untainted conduct in the service, would justify this proceeding of theirs at the bar of malice itself; and they took heaven and earth to witness, that their resolutions proceeded only from the sense of the extreme wants they had endured, through the former neglecting of them, the inconsiderable relief (as they perceived by their agent's letters) now intended them, and the uncertainty of future support and reward for their services." Other circumstances and incidents, particularly the king's moderation, and the parliament's obstinacy in the late treaty at Uxbridge, had concurred to lessen their esteem of that body, which not long before they had almost adored.

163 The success also of Montrose in Scotland had some effect in Ulster. The state of Scotland had recalled part of their army from thence; one thousand four hundred had gone over, and were soon after cut in pieces by that victorious general at Stradon near Aberdeen; one thousand two hundred more were sent for, but did not care to go. Monroe himself was courted by a gold chain to bring back with him thirty complete companies; but he did not care to return; nor indeed any of his officers, being apprehensive of nothing so much as that they should be recalled from the good quarters they possessed at present. The factions too in the English parliament, where those heads thereof which were supported by the independent party prevailed over those which favoured the presbyterians, had some influence on the British in Ulster, and corrected in a great degree the intemperate zeal which they had shewn for the covenant. The Scotch commissioners at London were disgusted at the measures there taken, and Monroe's forces, absolutely directed by the sentiments of their countrymen, began to entertain the like discontents. Mr. archdeacon Galbraith, a Scot by original, but well affected to episcopacy and monarchy, a man of very good sense and learning, great prudence, 532

and full as great resolution, well beloved and esteemed by all the British officers and gentlemen in those parts, used his endeavours to bring them to an union that might be of service to his majesty's affairs, and contribute to the good of the country, the state of which he represented constantly and faithfully to the lord lieutenant, recommending to him to improve the favourable juncture, and to offer some allurements to the chief officers of the British forces.

¹⁶⁴ The marquis of Ormond saw very well the expediency of the proposal; but he was in so distressed a condition himself, that he had no temptations to offer to others. That body of the old British forces was certainly the best at this time in the whole kingdom, and it was very well worth while to gain them; but he could not, without deceiving them, promise them either the payment of their arrears and entertainments, or the supplying of them with provisions, the expectation whereof had been the great inducement to their compliance with the parliament, and it was necessary to give them some hopes on that subject, to engage them to return to the king's obedience. He told the archdeacon his condition and unalterable resolution to promise nothing but what he had in his power to perform, and to offer them no inducement but what truth should dictate. Galbraith could not but allow the honourableness of this resolution; yet still thought that something might be done to soothe the passions and flatter the sentiments and disposition of the British officers. With this view he proposedⁱ, "that in any address which the lord lieutenant should make into those parts, by letter, declaration, or otherwise, he would touch gently upon the taking of the covenant, rather as an error than a crime; men being generally aptest to correct those faults for which they may best hope for pardon, and where their reputation seems least to be called in

ⁱ P. 444. See Collection of Letters, No. CCCLXVIII.

question; whereas when crimes of a deeper dye are charged and severely censured, it is frequently seen, that instead of being reclaimed, they put on Cæsar's resolution expressed in Lucan, *gladio exolvere culpam*." As those forces had maintained themselves during the war by the spoils of the enemy, and had found great difficulties in getting subsistence since the cessation, he thought it not unseasonable for the lord lieutenant by letters or otherwise "to make it generally known, that his majesty did not conclude a cessation till he understood that Scotland had determined to send an army into England against him; that by means thereof both England and Scotland had disabled themselves to prosecute the war in Ireland with effect; and that his majesty had offered to Scotland, that if they would not invade England, but prosecute the war in Ireland, he would not make a cessation." This message was sent and delivered by sir James Montgomery, who had likewise published it since upon all occasions, and yet if it were published in a more general way, it might help to fix the prejudices on account of the cessation, and all others flowing thence, upon those who really deserved the blame, and not upon his majesty, who was necessitated to do what he did in that matter. He imagined, that some account from his excellency, "how far the king was pleased for peace sake to yield of his own rights at the treaty of Uxbridge, and by whom it was dissolved, might have a good effect; nothing being so likely to be admitted for so reasonable a cause of the treaty that was going to be entered upon at Dublin, as the breaking up of that at Uxbridge by the parliament party, in so abrupt a manner, and upon so unreasonable demands." He fancied that some general assurances of his majesty's and the lord lieutenant's care and resolution to procure, so far as lay in their power, some considerable satisfaction to the forces for their past and future services, 533 might be serviceable, especially if some of the officers

were sent for to Dublin, and there convinced that nothing should be omitted that was possible for their relief, and proper persons employed (such as sir Robert Stewart, sir James Montgomery, &c.) to talk, not only with the general Monroe, colonel George Monroe, the majors Dalzeel and Gordon, and other moderate men of the new Scots, but with sir John Cuninghame, lieutenant colonel Sanderson, and others of the old British, who had been misled, not so much by their disaffection, as by the easiness of their nature, and the glorious promises of sir Frederic Hamilton, the vanity of which was now seen, and generally resented.

- 165 Sir Frederick^k had been the great instrument of propagating the covenant in those parts; but was now grown universally odious to all the protestant gentlemen and officers in the north. His violence, rapines, cruelties, and insupportable insolencies, which few of them had escaped, was the first occasion of that aversion to him: but it was much increased by the use he made of his credit with the parliament, to lessen their services in order to exalt his own, which were little or none at all, and to supplant them in their commands. He had long desired the government of Derry, and being defeated in his attempts in Ireland to possess himself of that place, he applied for it to the parliament of England, vilifying in order to that end all the British officers in Ulster, and his neighbour sir W. Cole, governor of Eniskilling, to such a degree, that he was forced to go over to England to justify himself, and to publish a pamphlet, addressed to the house of commons, and filled with such particular and authentic relations of facts, as do no honour to sir Frederick's character, and account very well for the odium he had contracted. Sir Frederick however got colonel Chichester to be turned out of his regiment, and himself made colonel of it; but could not prevail to get the

^k O. 234, 274. and P. 29.

government he so much desired to himself, though his representations probably rendered his rival colonel Mervyn so obnoxious to the parliament, that, notwithstanding he had taken the covenant, they resolved to turn him out of his command, and made lord Foliot governor of Derry. They made the lord Blaney colonel of a regiment in the stead of lord Conway, against whom they had taken offence at this time, and committed him to prison. This so much displeased all the officers of that regiment, that they resolved never to let lord Blaney appear at their head, and highly discontented all that belonged to lord Conway in those parts, who had endeavoured to preserve his estate by compliance. In consequence hereof, sir Theophilus Jones made no scruple to assure the lord lieutenant, that being united together, with the island of Lecale on their side, they should (with a very little assistance from his lordship) be able to keep those parts in despite of the Scotch army, to their great annoyance, and even force them either to quit the country or submit to what his excellency should please to command them. In this situation of affairs in the north of Ireland, it is plainly evident how improper a step it would have been for the marquis of Ormond to have published any proclamation against the covenanting Scots, and those that had joined with them in carrying on the war, whereby they should have been declared rebels; much more to have joined in open hostilities against them.

166 The parliament were alarmed at the letters of the British officers, and the disposition in which they seemed to be, and proposed to send over a committee, to view the forces, to know in what condition they were, either for present or future subsistence, or for carrying on the war, and to make several propositions to them on that subject. The colonels and other officers, upon this advice, met at Antrim on May 17, formed an union among

themselves, signed an instrument accordingly, and constituted a general court of war¹, “for receiving the said committee and propositions from the parliament, for answering the same, and for offering to them other propositions and demands for redress of the past grievances of the British regiments, as well as providing for their future subsistence. To prevent all misconstruction of their proceedings, they declared that they intended to do nothing destructive of the covenant; that they would prosecute the war against the Irish till an honourable and safe peace should be concluded by the consent of the king and parliament; and if they were not enabled to do so, they called heaven and earth to witness, that it was not their fault if they were forced to take any other way whatever for their preservation and subsistence.” And as there was in the province an army of the Scotch nation sent over by capitulation with the parliament to suppress the rebellion of the Irish, they professed themselves ready to join with them for that purpose, and even to receive upon occasion orders from their general.

- ¹⁶⁷ To bring that army into the same union, and to unite both under his authority, the lord lieutenant, in the beginning of October following, when he despaired of a peace with the Irish, sent for Mr. Galbraith to Dublin, and employed him to propose to the officers, “^mthat the articles of Aug. 6, 1642, between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, in relation to those forces, should be observed by the Scotch general and the lord lieutenant for their parts respectively; that the other British forces in Ulster should be left, as they were, under the command of the lord lieutenant, but he should, for the better progress of the service, appoint such a commander-in-chief over them as should be approved by the general of the Scotch army; that as the lord lieutenant’s quarters

¹ O. 319.

^m Q. 299, and Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXIII.

lay nearest and most exposed to the enemy, they should supply him with some ammunition out of the Scottish store; that as the covenant was subsequent to the said articles of Aug. 6, 1642, and wanted his majesty's approbation, which had been given to the articles, it should not be pressed either in Ulster or in any other province where the Scotch forces should have power, nor any interruption be given to the established form of divine worship in the church of Ireland, but it might be used by any that pleased without molestation; and on the other side the lord lieutenant should not press the using of the same, where he had power, but the laws should remain suspended, and as a thing indifferent, till the church of England should be settled by the king and parliament; and the like forbearance to be on both sides with regard to church government; that all who had been expelled from their fortunes and dwellings for not taking the covenant, or for adhering to his majesty's government, and, on the other side, all who had quitted them for their affection to the cause of the covenant, should have liberty on both sides to return and enjoy the same; and that none of the forces under either commander should, upon any direction whatsoever, be transported out of the kingdom without the joint consent of the lord lieutenant and the chief commander of the Scotch army."

168 Monroe approved of these propositions, (which the privy-council and officers of either army were to be bound by oath to perform,) and was particularly pleased with the last, which provided for his stay in Ireland, at a time when by reason of Montrose's success he could expect no supplies from his own country, and was very averse to the thoughts of returning thither. The parlia-535
ment, to prevent the establishment and consequences of this union, resolved to send over ten thousand pounds to the Scotch army, and despatched away a quantity of

clothes and provisions for the other British forces in Ulster; but these were not to be disposed [of] till the arrival of their committee, who were to distribute them as they saw best for the service. Sir Robert King and sir J. Temple were at first designed for that committee; but the latter not caring to go, sir Robert Meredith and Mr. Arthur Annesley were appointed in his stead; and colonel W. Beale was deputed by the adventurers for the same service. The committee could not stir till the money, which would give weight to their authority, was ready; sir Charles Coote, lately made by them president of Connaught, was therefore hastened over with the lord Foliot, sir W. Cole, and lieutenant colonel Wingfield, to prepare matters for their coming. Sir Charles, on June 8, brought letters from the earls of Northumberland and Lowdon, in the name of the committees of both kingdoms, to the British colonels, desiring them to send five hundred men with him into Connaught, to be joined with sir Francis Hamilton's regiment, in order to take Sligo, and other places of strength. The officers of the new union met at Belfast to consider the letters, and returned answer at first, that they could not do it, until all the supplies promised them were arrived. But at last, considering that it was proper to second their declaration and union with some action, they resolved to rendezvous on the 17th at Ogher in the county of Tyrone, and march with a body of four thousand foot and five hundred horse to Sligo, which they made no question of taking, being well assured that they should meet with no enemy to oppose them. These forces were composed of detachments out of the old Scotch and English regiments; and having, with their artillery, which was sent by sea, battered down one or two houses in the place, O'Connor surrendered the castle. From thence they advanced in different parties into the counties of Mayo and Galway, burning and destroying all before them, taking

great preys of cattle, of which they carried off three or four thousand, but were forced to leave behind them many more thousands which they could not drive away. Sir Robert Stewart took possession of the government of Sligo, and leaving his lieutenant colonel with five hundred men in the place, returned to his quarters, and dispersed the army. Sir C. Coote stayed in his new government of Connaught, endeavouring to raise one thousand four hundred horse and one hundred and forty dragoons, (for which he had commission from the parliament,) in order to overrun the whole country.

- 169 ⁿThe calamities brought by this expedition upon that province, and those which farther threatened it, had been foreseen long before, at a time when it was much more easy to prevent them. The Irish confederates, through the divisions in the county of Mayo, and the great influence of the lord Clanrickard in that of Galway, were much weaker in that than in any other province; and had often complained of its being harassed, contrary to the cessation, by the excursions of the Scots, and of the English garrisons in the county of Roscommon. When their commissioners were at Dublin, the marquis of Ormond had offered them to undertake the defence of it, if they would contribute to the charge, and obedience were given him according to the post he held: but this offer was rejected, one of them answering pertly enough, "that they did not come to make submissions." He continued still in the same mind, but if he sent any forces to secure the forts in those parts, and to defend the country, he was not able to provide for them; and he resolved to have nothing to do with the confederate party by way of joining, as long as they were so distinguished from the rest of his majesty's subjects. Something however was necessary to be done for the security ⁵³⁶ of the earl of Clanrickard and other gentlemen that had

adhered to him, and continued in their due obedience, whose lands were wasted in this expedition, as well as those of the associated Irish. Upon the death of Roger viscount Ranelagh, the presidency of the province had been granted by commission to Henry lord Wilmot and Thomas viscount Dillon of Costelagh; but the military command having been offered to the lord Clanrickard, he had declined accepting it, because he was by his instructions to receive orders from the lord president. In this exigence the lord lieutenant granted a commission to the lord Taaffe, to levy such a number of forces as should be necessary for suppressing and subduing all such as in breach of the cessation had presumed to enter into any of the quarters allotted in Connaught to such as were obedient to his majesty's government. Some of the English garrisons in the county of Roscommon had, ever since the cessation, infested all the parts about them, and had joined with sir Cha. Coote in the late expedition. The country, universally incensed against them, and hoping now to be delivered from their ravages, flocked in apace to lord Taaffe, so that, being joined with five hundred foot and a party of horse sent him by lord Clanrickard, he soon made up an army of two thousand five hundred foot and four hundred horse, his numbers daily increasing by gentlemen that came in with their followers to help clear the country of those garrisons which subsisted only by the plunder thereof.

170 The first place that he attacked was Tulske^o, which was held by captain Robert Ormesby, in disobedience of the lord lieutenant's commands, notified to him long before, for delivering it to sir George Lane, the proprietor of the castle. It was taken by storm on Aug. 13, and in it two hundred foot and eighty horse, with Ormesby their commander, who, having made himself odious by his ravages of the country, was reserved for an ignomi-

^o P. 248, 165, 272.

nious death by the hands of the hangman. There was not a more fiery, disaffected, virulent, mischievous man in the kingdom, nor one that had behaved himself with greater insolence to the lord lieutenant. He had in the late expedition broke out into such scurrilous and outrageous expressions against his lordship, accompanied with the most abominable falsehoods, that a duel had ensued between him and captain Robert Warde, if it had not been prevented by the latter's superior officer. A person less generous might have been tempted to leave such a person to the fate which was ready to attend him; but the marquis of Ormond, as soon as he understood that Ormesby was taken, and that it was resolved to hang him, despatched on the 16th orders to prevent the execution; and two days afterwards (for fear the resentment of particular persons whom he had outraged should occasion his being made away in prison) ordered him to be delivered into the custody of the marquis of Clanrickard.

- 171 Captain Henry Tilson, the bishop's son, was governor of Elphin, and had joined sir Charles Coote in the late expedition: for this reason it was resolved to take the place out of his hands. It was not tenable; but the bishop, who was like to suffer for his son's fault, got time to send to the lord president, and delivered the castle into his hands on Aug. 19. Great care was taken to preserve his goods; but his library being left behind, when he removed to Roscommon, Boetius Egan, the titular bishop, in breach of the articles, seized the best of his books. The governors of the castles of Boyle, Cambro, and Lissidarne readily submitted to take an oath to observe the cessation and obey the lord lieutenant's orders; and were left in their former state. Castle Coote was blocked up by the lord Clanrickard's forces, whilst lord Taaffe was reducing the other garrisons, and upon the whole army's coming before it, surrendered without 537

striking a stroke on Sept. 12. James Town capitulating on the 26th, the army, which was supported only by the gentlemen of the country, without any pay from the council of Kilkenny, who refused to contribute to the service, dispersed without making any attempt upon Sligo, the gentlemen imagining that, by reducing the garrisons of Roscommon, they had sufficiently provided for their own and their tenants' security.

- 172 It was not long that they enjoyed the quiet which they expected. ^pSir James Dillon sending out eight hundred of his regiment to join Malachias titular archbishop of Tuam, who had drawn together some troops of the counties of Galway and Mayo, an attempt was made upon Sligo. The town was entered on Sunday Oct. 26, the abbey and the church taken; but in the midst of this action advice came of the approach of a strong army from the north. The Irish forces immediately retired; but as they marched away in haste, their horse, being in no good order, were attacked suddenly by sir Cha. Coote and sir Fr. Hamilton with three hundred horse, supported by a good body of foot, and broke immediately. Most of the foot got off, but several of the chief officers were taken prisoners: none of any note were killed, except the archbishop, in whose pocket the articles of Glamorgan's peace were found. Sir Charles after his victory took in some small castles in the barony of Tirrerragh to enlarge his quarters in the county of Sligo, whilst he was raising his regiment and soliciting the English officers in those parts to declare for the parliament. He did not want success in those solicitations, Arthur viscount Ranelagh in the February following revolting to him with the garrison of Roscommon, whereby he got footing again in the county of that name. The design which he and sir Robert King, one of the commissioners of parliament, had laid for the surprise of the castle of Athlone on the 16th of that month,

miscarried; the plot being discovered by one of the conspirators (Matthew Harrison, formerly a servant of lord Dillon's), and the officers of the garrison, who were to betray it, seized.

- 173 Sir R. King and Mr. Annesley, as a committee of parliament, and colonel Beale from the committee of adventurers, came into Ulster in the latter end of October, with considerable supplies of money and provisions. Every thing bowed before their power; they turned colonel Mervyn out of the government of Derry, and easily defeated the scheme laid by the lord lieutenant for uniting the old and new Scotch forces under his authority, in order to carry on the war with his allowance and concurrence. ^aIt had been received by the officers of the old British with the greatest pleasure imaginable, and was very well liked by Monroe; but as they wanted means to carry on the war, and no way appeared of obtaining it but from the parliament, it was necessary to try how far their agents would approve it. The matter was broke by Mr. Galbraith and the lord Ardes to sir Robert King, than whom nobody knew better how unalterably attached the marquis of Ormond was to the king's cause^r, he having first himself, and afterwards by sir Philip Percival, tried to persuade him to make conditions with the parliament, and received such answers as made them despair for ever of gaining him. In^s a sense hereof they had, as soon as they arrived in Ireland, formed schemes for the surprise of Dublin and Drogheda, professing that those services would be more acceptable to the parliament than the taking of Kilkenny from the rebels. The lord lieutenant had notice of their designs, and was always apprehensive that the necessities of the army would encourage some persons to engage in such enterprises: but

^a See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXIII. ^r O. 30, 92, 117. P. 432. See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXII. ^s See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXIII. Q. 415, 416, and 389.

all his vigilance could not prevent a desperate attempt⁵³⁸ being made on March 21 following, upon the castle of Dublin by corporal Robert Lloyd, of sir J. Borlase's troop, and some few soldiers, who, though they got into the castle with pocket pistols and concealed arms, were soon overpowered and taken. The committee absolutely disapproved of that part of the scheme whereby all the British forces were to act under the marquis of Ormond's authority, or under a commander of his appointment; but did not think fit to reject the motion. They added to the propositions, that Drogheda should be put into their hands, by way of caution; and thus amended they sent the scheme to the parliament: but declared to the proposers, that they could do nothing positively in the matter till the Scotch committee arrived. They were so ill satisfied with Mr. Galbraith's negotiating this affair, that they obliged him to give his own and lord Ardes's bonds for three hundred pounds to appear at Belfast, and from thence at London, within ten days after notice, any time within three months.

¹⁷⁴ The main design in sending this committee into Ulster was to make a party there for the parliament, and so to form and model the armies, that they might be sure of a considerable body of forces in that country, wholly devoted to their cause, as well against the king as the Scots, with whom they began to be apprehensive of a quarrel. With this view they endeavoured to render the commanders, whom they found in the province, and suspected to be too well affected to the king, as inconsiderable as they could, by causing them to send detachments from time to time into Connaught to serve under sir C. Coote, upon whose attachment to their interests they could absolutely rely. It was proposed likewise to send over lord Lisle or Oliver Cromwell with the title of deputy, and an additional body of forces from England to overawe the rest, and subject them entirely to the commands of the parlia-

ment. It was with this design that the committee, who resided ordinarily at Belfast, demanded of Monroe to deliver up that town; which he refused, till he received directions from the state of Scotland. All the British officers were sensible of this design, and heartily detested it; but the difficulties which they were to encounter with in getting subsistence, and the terror of the English parliament, which since the fatal battle of Naseby had reduced the greatest part of the west, and were likely soon to be entire masters of that kingdom, dispirited them to such a degree, and caused them to entertain such jealousies of one another, that they could not agree in measures to defeat it; though they all owned the propositions sent by the lord lieutenant were well calculated for that end, and the most probable means that offered to prevent the evils which they dreaded.

¹⁷⁵ Sir Theophilus Jones and the officers of lord Conway's regiment were the only persons that dared to declare openly against the proceedings of the committee. They refused to receive lord Blaney for their colonel, resolving to obey only the marquis of Ormond's orders, who had appointed Mr. Edward Conway to command the regiment, and made major Jones lieutenant colonel in his stead. The committee required all the officers and soldiers thereof, with the inhabitants of Lisnegarvy and other places where they were quartered, to take the covenant by a limited day. The officers joined in a petition to the committee, desiring that they might, as formerly, be continued in the service, without pressing their consciences with that covenant, of the lawfulness whereof they were no way satisfied; and expressing themselves ready to perform the like services as they had done already without taking that test, and to give all possible assurance thereof by any oath tendered to them, which should refer only to the vigorous prosecution of the war to the best of their powers. The commissioners employed Mr. Warr

their chaplain to remove their scruples: the officers drew 539 up their doubts under certain heads and queries, the most material of which he passed over without any answer, and what he said to the rest was so little satisfactory, that they were more confirmed than before in their first sentiments. Warr was appointed to preach at their garrison of Lisnegarvy; but the committee forbade the officers to be that day at church, pretending that they would discountenance the taking of the covenant: yet of a very numerous audience, only three of the townsmen and one soldier of the regiment could be persuaded to take it; and these were prepared beforehand to serve as decoys to draw in the rest. Warr's discourse^t did not give so much satisfaction in removing doubts, as it raised fear of taking it, since (as he told them) they could not in their present doubts and irresolution take it without sin and damnation. The committee still continued to press the covenant, resolving, upon their refusal, to strip them of their respective commands and employments.

176 The officers, complaining of this violence offered to their consciences by persons who on other occasions had assumed the same liberty which now for sinister ends they denied to others, whose scruples were perhaps more substantial than theirs had been, published in January^u a declaration to vindicate themselves to the world. They represented therein, "that their regiment had been sent out of England in Dec. 1641, under the command of lord Conway, commander of the English forces in Ulster, to serve against the Irish rebels, and had continued ever since in that service, joining with the northern army, till Jan. 1645-6, that whereas other parts of that army had secure and commodious quarters assigned them in good towns, they had been cast upon the frontiers, open to the enemy, into a country wasted, uninhabited, untilled, without any accommodation of buildings, or any

^t On Rom. xiv. 23. *He that doubteth is damned.*

^u H. 184.

provisions whatsoever, being enforced at their own charge, without any after-allowance made them, to build and fortify, both at Lisnegarvy and twelve other out-posts; one of them lying within seven miles of Charlemont, the chief strength of the enemy in those parts; so that whilst they lay themselves open to incursions, they rendered security to the other garrisons, and whilst others had their provisions and contribution out of the country round about them, which sufficed thereunto, they were left to purchase and maintain theirs only with their swords, and with the daily hazard of their lives to snatch out of the mouths of their enemies somewhat to put into their own; that in this condition they had continued through the whole course of their service, and in all that time had received little above four months' pay; that, notwithstanding all these difficulties and discouragements, their regiment had, above others, testified their zeal in the service, being the most active party therein, both before and since the cessation, the parliament commissioners having acknowledged under their hands in their joint letter of Dec. 29, 1645, that God had made them instrumental above others in giving a check to the fury of a barbarous enemy in the beginning and continuance of the war; that though they were not under the command of the Scots, yet they had joined with them in all their expeditions, and had made a stricter association with them since the cessation to carry on the war, upon condition that the covenant should not be pressed upon them, in which point general Monroe had faithfully kept his word; that pursuant to the said association they had, besides particular services which they had done apart, joined in all the common undertakings and expeditions into Leinster and Connaught, fully manifesting their forwardness, without any covenant to oblige them thereunto; that they continued in the like forwardness till 540 the arrival of the parliament commissioners, who obsti-

nately resolving to force them to take the covenant against their consciences, or to break them, they appealed to the world to judge whether they were not violently forced out of the service, in which they were ready to sacrifice their lives, if they could be allowed to do it with a safe conscience; but as the case stood, they must submit to their present and pressing necessities, together with all other following difficulties and inconveniences whatsoever, rather than, by making shipwreck of a good conscience, to sin against God and their own souls." Such was the recompense and treatment which this gallant English regiment, after above four years' continual hardships and eminent services against the Irish rebels, met with from the parliament, who had sent them into Ireland, and stipulated for their regular payment, and for better usage.

¹⁷⁷ Whilst these things were transacting in other parts, the treaty of peace was carrying on at Dublin. It had been delayed some time by the intercepting of sir H. Tichburne and sir James Ware, who were charged with the king's instructions to the lord lieutenant upon that subject, and had thrown the packet overboard before they were taken. These instructions were afterwards renewed, and sent by colonel Barry, who, being stopped by contrary winds, did not land at Dublin till March 6. The Irish, who were very glad of all delays, that they might get time to know from their agents what assistance they might certainly depend on from abroad, had sent the day before to desire the treaty might be put off till May 10; but the marquis of Ormond, upon Barry's arrival, insisting upon a shorter day, they agreed to begin it on the 10th of April. The great want that the king, upon the unhappy issue of the Uxbridge treaty, stood in of timely supplies, made him desirous to have a peace concluded as soon as possible in Ireland; without which they were not to be obtained; and he thought he

had condescended to such terms as could not but be accepted. But the Irish taking advantage of his distresses, and elated with their own success in reducing Duncannon, ^xwould no longer accept of the terms to which they had formerly agreed. ^yTheir commissioners indeed came to Dublin, pursuant to the lord lieutenant's summons, on April 10, but in a less number than was required by their powers to treat, and thus a week was lost. When all of them were come, they declared, that, as their general assembly was to meet on May 15, they would not conclude any thing without their approbation. It was in vain to press them to an agreement, every thing that on his majesty's [part] expressed an eagerness for peace only serving to make them more backward, and confirming them in those notions which their correspondents in England instilled into them, that the king's necessities were such, that they might have from him what terms they pleased to demand. All that they would do was, to deliver their propositions, and to debate the matter of them, desiring to have the best answers which could be afforded them, that they might (as they professed they would) endeavour with them to content their party. Their propositions were debated at the council-board, and to each answers were returned, such as the council thought advisable, which were transmitted into England for his majesty's approbation or correction.

178 The marquis of Ormond did not on this occasion think it proper to make use of the additional power, which the king had given him in his letter of Feb. 27, with regard to the penal laws, as well because the Irish commissioners would not at that meeting have concluded a peace, whatever had been granted them, as because he did not know whether the king's concession upon that article would content them or no; and as he was put in hope, by some 541

^x O. 199.

^y See Collection of Letters, No. CCCLXXXV.

of good knowledge and power among them, that a qualification of the penal statutes would do the work, he conceived it would be a dangerous improvidence to let them know more would be granted. However, he thought it much fitter that his majesty should know what would satisfy them, than that they should have it in their power, first to reject, and then to publish, what had been offered them, to the prejudice of his majesty's affairs elsewhere, and to their own advantage and credit abroad. Nor could there be any considerable loss of time by this conduct, since his majesty's directions might be sent over by the time that their assembly could agree on the propositions.

- 179 In the debates at this meeting the Irish agents were convinced that there was no occasion for the suspension of Poyning's act, all the concessions, intended them by his majesty, being as securely and speedily to be conveyed to them in another method, as by the suspension of that act. But in lieu of giving up that point, they made a new and very unreasonable demand with regard to the distribution of places of honour, command, profit, and trust in the kingdom. His majesty had agreed to promote them to these indifferently as his other subjects; and that the Roman catholics should be equally capacitated to receive them; it still remaining in his breast to determine what particular persons were most deserving, and had the best title to his favour in the disposal thereof. This was all they had asked, but now, by an extravagant ^zinterpretation of that concession, (contrary to their own explanation of it at first, when they desired it,) they insisted that his majesty should oblige himself to employ an equal number of papist natives and of protestants. This point so nearly touched the king's prerogative and the safety of the kingdom, that it was

^z See Collection of Letters, No. CCCLXXXVIII.

thought proper to tell the agents in plain terms that it could not possibly be granted.

180 In other articles, by the advice of the council, (with whose concurrence the lord lieutenant proceeded in all this affair,) some further concessions were made to satisfy the agents. It^a was agreed they should have the security of the king's word that the penal statutes should not be executed; that an act of limitations, like that of 21 Jac. in England, should pass; that the lands in Connaught, Clare, Tipperary, and Limerick should be released of the great rents, the reducement whereof had been solicited since king James's time hitherto in vain; that some relief should be found for the old proprietors aggrieved by the plantations of Wicklow and Kilkenny; that the court of wards should be abolished upon the settling of a revenue of twelve thousand pounds a year in lieu thereof; that one or more inns of court should be erected; that the jurisdiction of the council-table should be restrained to matters of state, among which, as cases of plantation had been always reckoned, it was thought fit to limit it to the first rights of planters, and that all disputes arising afterwards should be tried, like other suits, in the courts of law; that the king should release them of the three years' rents and profits of his revenue, which they had received; that all their credits forfeited to his majesty should be restored to them; and that all indictments, attainders, and outlawries upon record against any of their party should be taken off the file and vacated.

181 It was hoped that these answers would produce a peace; one use at least the marquis of Ormond could make of them, being (as they were sufficient to satisfy the more moderate part of the Roman catholics) enabled thereby to divide their party, and baffle the measures and designs of the more violent. But from thence the king could derive little benefit, no assistance being in that case

^a O. 280.

to be expected from the Irish, and his own servants, and the few protestants, whom no extremity could force from their loyalty, being exposed to be rooted out by the Scots and their adherents. A peace was the only remedy for these inconveniences, and indeed was absolutely necessary (since no supplies could be had from England) to prevent the revolting, famishing, or other as certain destruction, of the army and all that appeared for his majesty in Ireland.

- 182 The conferences ended on May 6, and the agents departed in appearance well enough disposed for peace, and resolved to use their endeavours to engage the general assembly, to whose determination it was left to agree to it upon the terms proposed. But they had to do with a body of men divided into various factions, ^ba strong party whereof worked with all the industry imaginable to oppose or divert the peace of the kingdom. These were chiefly men of desperate fortunes, who had no prospect of getting any thing but in the confusions of their country; and gentlemen of the old Irish septs in Ulster, whose hopes and pretensions, founded on the setting aside of the plantations in that province, were by the terms of the peace destroyed for ever. As there were to be exceptions of some notorious crimes in the act of oblivion, a peace could not be agreeable to such, whose guilty consciences invited them to provide for their departure and settlement in some foreign kingdom, after they had ruined their own. The Irish clergy likewise were extremely averse to any peace which would not leave them in possession of the church's benefices and dignities, which the nobility and gentry, by a mistake in politics, had given them soon after the rebellion became general. ^cThese were most of them men of mean extract, the same folly which makes the natives disdain a

^b See Collection of Letters, No. CCCLIII.

^c Plunket's Memoirs, book 3.

trade, putting them upon sending their children abroad, either to serve there as soldiers, or to return thence as missionaries, which last coming home fuller of the grandeur of the Roman catholic clergy abroad, than either of humility and piety, or of learning to beget a reverence to their own persons, amused their insignificant parents and relations with idle stories of that grandeur, and the respect themselves had met with in foreign parts, and had a vast influence on the commonalty. These had before the war subsisted merely upon the charity of the gentlemen who received them into their houses, and having since tasted the profits of church livings and preferments, did not care to relapse into their former precarious manner of subsistence; and being very ill judges of public affairs, and yet very meddling in all, filled every body's ears with their empty declamations about the splendour of religion, and made a powerful interest to obstruct and prevent all resolutions for peace.

- ¹⁸³ The assembly met at Kilkenny on May 15, and^d the answers given to their several propositions were entertained with appearance of good satisfaction, (though somewhat of addition or explanation in some points was still farther proposed,) except in the article of religion, wherein very few would be satisfied without an absolute repeal of the penal laws, not for a time, but for ever. Lord Clanrickard thought in the beginning of that session, that if a repeal of those laws were then granted, a peace might suddenly be concluded, with the ready and sincere affections of the best of the nation, to hazard the uttermost of their lives and fortunes in his majesty's service. But the face of affairs soon altered, and the Irish clergy sitting at the same time in convocation, a question was on May 25^e proposed to them by some lay members of the general assembly, who did not sign their names to

^d See Collection of Letters, No. CCCXCI.

^e Nuncio's *Memoirs*, fol. 688 and 691, and P. 2 and 31.

it, about the extent of their oath of association. There were four titular archbishops, and nine bishops, besides other dignitaries, in this convocation; among whom the 543 question was debated several days, but at length, on the last day of that month, a solemn decree was made upon the subject, and was subscribed by thirty-two of the members, the four archbishops and seven bishops being of that number. They determined, “that by the tenor and meaning of the said oath of association, the confederate catholics were bound in conscience, absolutely, expressly, and clearly, to set down in the treaty of peace a special article for keeping in their hands such churches, abbeys, monasteries, and chapels as were then in their possession;” though the insisting upon this article would certainly cause a rupture of the treaty, and if it were waved, a toleration of their religion might be obtained. This synodical decision gave great uneasiness to all that wished well to peace, who complained of it, as tending to stir up sedition, and to promote dissensions among the confederates, and as designed to deprive the laity of those many graces offered them for the security of their estates, and their enjoyment of places of trust and power, from which all of their party would receive benefit. But as they had admitted their titular bishops (though neither nominated by the crown, nor legally holding under it any baronies, in virtue of which spiritual persons sit in parliament) to have voices in their general assembly, it was so strongly supported there, that those who most dreaded the consequences thereof, could only prevail for a middle way to be taken in the case. Agreeable hereto, it was on June 9 ordered by the assembly, “that as to the marquis of Ormond’s demand for the restoring of the churches to the protestant clergy, their agents should give an absolute denial to it, and the committee of instructions should draw an instruction to that effect.”

184 That committee who had drawn the former instruc-

tions, and the agents who had treated at Dublin conformably thereto, still made heavy complaints against the decree of the clergy, as charging them with breach of their oath of association; and insisted that, being an intolerable mark of infamy upon them, it should be reversed. The clergy, like other bodies of men, not fond of retracting^f, vouchsafed, on June 16, to declare that they did not mean to declare any of the complainants to be guilty of perjury, unless they had actually broke their oath, but were unwilling to proceed further to give them satisfaction. This was not thought by the committee a sufficient reparation of their honour; they protested, that if something more was not done, they would break off all communication with the clergy, leave them to their own measures, and not trouble themselves any more about either peace or war. N. Plunket and P. Darcy being deputed to reason the matter, were heard by the clergy in their synod, and two of this body appointed to confer with them, and adjust the point in dispute. The clergy reexamining the question, confirmed their former determination; but by way of explanation declared, that they did not intend to charge the general assembly, or any member thereof, with being guilty of violating their oath, and that they might make peace with a safe conscience, though a special condition for retaining possession of the churches were not inserted in the articles, provided the effect thereof was obtained, and the Roman catholics actually retained those which they had in present possession. This was not the only obstruction which the Irish clergy endeavoured to throw in the way to peace; they thought, in answer to some questions proposed to them on June 2, to declare that peace could not be made with a safe conscience if the protestant bishops were allowed to sit in parliament, and unless their own had that privilege granted them, as well as the liberty of exercising

^f Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 697, et seq.

their jurisdiction. Thus careful were they of their own interest, whatever became of the rest of the nation ; and 544 to see that sufficient provision was made for it, they appointed the bishops of Waterford and Clogher with Dr. Walter Lynch and Nich. French to act as a committee in the interval of their session. There were several declarations, protestations, and combinations against the peace without any knowledge of the articles or regard to them, set on foot in several places, and people drawn in to subscribe to the same : the assembly apprehending dangerous consequences from thence, condemned them by an ordinance on July 4, declaring the promoters and subscribers thereof to be common disturbers of the public peace, and guilty of high treason ; and adjourned the next day to Aug. 7.

185 The^g answers to the Irish propositions in civil matters had been so framed to give them satisfaction, that it was thought they could not need much debate, even in an assembly composed of different fancies, affections, and interests ; quick resolutions being necessary, as well to supply the king's occasions, as to remedy the distracted condition of the kingdom. This did not hinder the assembly from desiring further explanations, and making new demands even in those points where the answers had been enlarged more than could be expected, not only to sweeten his majesty's necessitated caution in the article of religion, but as a testimony of his inclination to satisfy them in that likewise, so far as he could in honour and conscience, whenever he might do it in prudence, without any great prejudice to his affairs. But the unreasonable article insisted on in point of religion seemed an invincible obstacle to the peace ; it being what the king would never grant, and yet without it the Irish agents could hardly content their party, and prevent such

^g See Collection of Letters, No. CCCXCI. CCCXCII. CCCXCIV. and CCCXCV.

discontents from arising among them, as would render it a peace, rather of outward show than of real advantage to the king's service. In this exigence the marquis of Clanrickard proposed by way of expedient, that there should be no express article for the restitution of the churches to the protestant clergy, but that the Roman catholics might retain their possession of them till all the conditions of the peace were settled by act of parliament, and then the churches (there being no article at all in this point) would be restored of course to the protestants by the laws of the land, which had provided sufficiently in that respect. They pleaded conscience against an express article for the restitution thereof, according to the resolution of St. Ambrose, who declared, "that he might not deliver up his churches to the Arians, but if they were taken away from him, he ought not to resist." There seems indeed no very material difference, since the churches were to be restored to the protestant clergy, whether it was done by an express article or by the law of the land; nor was the delay of a few weeks, till the settlement of the kingdom was made by parliament, so very considerable, as to hinder a peace; but there were other difficulties. The king had made an express demand of the churches on the behalf of the protestant clergy: he could not retract that article without infinite scandal and prejudice to himself and his affairs; so that it behoved the Irish to find such an answer to that demand as would leave the churches in the state they were before the war, and yet give no offence to their own party. But they never gave themselves any trouble about contriving such an answer, nor seemed, in the further proceedings in the treaty, to have any regard to the expedient proposed.

186 Far from being in such a temper^h, they resolved to

^h P. 60, 53, 57, 63, 64, 75, 82, 83, 126, 142, 154, 177, 178, 184, 192, 213, and Q. 64. 171.

work upon the king's necessities, and made new demands, unfit to be put upon a king at any time, much more in such times as those, scarce one of them being possibly to be done for the present, and most of them never to be 545 undertaken. Mr. Darcy and Mr. Brown were sent to Dublin about the middle of June to renew the treaty, the rest of the agents being to follow them at the conclusion of the assembly. Their first paper was presented on the 19th of that month; in which, and in those presented afterwards, they demanded, that the act of oblivion might be without exception of persons; that the planted lands in Wicklow and Kilkenny might be restored to the ancient owners by act of parliament; that every body conceiving himself aggrieved by the old plantations in king James's time might petition the parliament, and have relief; that all the penal laws against the Roman catholics should be repealed, not only those in the times of queen Elizabeth and Henry VIII, but the statutes of provisors and præmunire passed in the reigns of Edward III and Richard II; that all Roman catholics should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the protestant clergy, particularly from excommunications, it being against their conscience to receive absolution from them; that all their titular bishops and prelates should exercise their jurisdiction upon those of their religion without control; that a further act should be made to exempt the Roman catholics from all penalties whatever, on account of the exercise of their religion; and that the churches which were in their possession should neither be demanded nor expected from them, for they might not restore them.

187 They demanded further, that not only all the cities, forts, and places in their hands should remain so, but that their party should continue to exercise their new form of government, even after peace was concluded, till every thing was settled by act of parliament pursuant to the articles thereof; that they should not only have an equality

of numbers and eminence of places in all civil and military offices of state in the privy-council, of judicature in the courts of law, and of magistracy and profit throughout the kingdom, but that his majesty's favour in this respect should be made certain by particular instances at present; the same to be expressed in the articles of pacification, and to extend to future times in like manner; that they might erect universities and free-schools; that Poyning's act should be suspended, and all impediments to that suspension and their own sitting in parliament might be removed; that all their debts to the protestant party might be compounded by commissioners; that all who submitted not to the peace should be proclaimed traitors, and be attainted by parliament; that all privy-counsellors, judges, and magistrates should, before they offered to execute their offices, be sworn to observe the articles of pacification; and that an act of parliament should be made, that neither those articles, nor any part of them, should ever be repealed.

188 These extravagant and unexpected demands, intrenching upon the king's conscience as well as his prerogative, were made after the battle of Naseby, which proved in its consequences the utter ruin of his affairs in England. There was no preventing of that ruin but by immediate succours, which could only be had from Ireland, and from the Roman catholic party, who probably made these demands on a presumption, that his majesty's necessities would force him to comply with any thing that they should ask in consideration of that assistance: but they were much mistaken in that expectation. The king, when he received an account of their demands, wrote to the marquis of Ormond¹, declaring his own resolution "to suffer all extremity, rather than ever abandon his religion, either to English or Irish rebels, and commanding him (in case the Irish should so unworthily take advan-

¹ See Collection of Letters, No. CCCC. CCCCH. and CCCCH.

tage of his weak condition, as to press him to what he could not grant with a safe conscience, and without it, to 546 reject a peace) to procure, if he could, a further cessation ; and if not, to make what divisions he could amongst them, and rather leave it to the chance of war, than to give any such allowance of popery, as must evidently bring destruction to that profession, which by the grace of God he should ever maintain through all extremities.”

189 He ordered likewise lord Digby to write to the lord Muskery and the other agents who had attended him at Oxford, and had then made fair professions and promises, very different from their present demands. His lordship represented to them, “ that they had then declared themselves satisfied with what his majesty could grant, with any reason or honour in civil things, or with prudence and conscience in matters of religion ; and that they ought not for their own interest to seek for more in the present condition of his majesty, whose ruin, once effected, would soon be followed by their own destruction ; that the king would not, for any worldly consideration, grant them more in point of religion than the taking away of the penal laws, and was amazed at their demand of the churches for the public exercise of their religion ; that his majesty had on that occasion ordered him to declare to them, that were the condition of his affairs much more desperate than it was, he would never redeem them by any concessions of so much wrong both to his honour and conscience ; that he had undergone the extremities of war in England chiefly for the defence of his religion, and he would never redeem his crown by sacrificing it in Ireland ; so that if nothing would content them but what must wound his honour and conscience, they must expect, that how low soever his condition was, and how detestable soever the English rebels were to him, he would in that point join with them, the Scots, or with any of the protestant profession, rather than do the least act which

might hazard that religion, in which and for which he should live and die."

190 These letters did not arrive till after the Irish agents had left Dublin. They were really the wisest and most moderate men of their party ; and though they had made the before mentioned demands pursuant to their instructions from the general assembly, yet they were themselves inclined to agree to the concessions which the marquis of Ormond thought fit to make with regard to their propositions. These he drew up in a^k brief under four general heads : 1. exemption from penalties and incapacities by reason of the exercise of their religion ; 2. concessions of offices and places of command, honour, and trust ; 3. concessions of honour and profit ; and, 4. concessions for removing some things alleged to be grievances. In the two last heads his answers were much the same with what he had given before ; with regard to the vacating of indictments and outlawries, the granting of a general pardon, the remission of the king's rents since Oct. 23, 1641, and of the increase of rents imposed upon the commission of defective titles in the earl of Strafford's time, and the several graces desired by the parliament before the war for the redress of grievances, which with a removal of the incapacities hindering Roman catholics from sitting in a new parliament, make the substance of those heads. With regard to religion, he agreed upon consulting with the protestant bishops then in Dublin, to take away the high commission court and all abuses in excommunication by act of parliament ; to add to ecclesiastical courts, in lieu thereof, a power of fine and imprisonment for punishing contempts ; to regulate visitations and provide against immoderate fees in those courts ; to repeal the penalties against the Roman catholics for using divine worship in their way ; for hearing or making confessions, 547 giving or receiving absolution, or keeping of a priest, and

^k Q. 413.

that they might sue out liveries upon taking an oath of allegiance: but all the laws against a foreign jurisdiction were still to stand good. As to the second head, he agreed that offices civil and military, and the commands of forts and garrison towns, should upon conclusion of the treaty be actually and by particular instances be conferred upon the Roman catholics, and the favour be continued to them for the future, *in such measure and manner as his majesty should find them to merit, wherein his majesty would in his election use equal indifferency.* This had in substance been promised before; but considering the jealousy of the times, and the assistance expected from them, the lord lieutenant thought it not improper to indulge them a little more in this point, and to assure them, “that his majesty, to shew his real intentions therein, was pleased that there be four thousand foot and six hundred horse of his Roman catholic subjects, upon perfecting the articles of peace, added to his majesty’s army, that there might be such an equality as was desired.”

- 191 This was all that was granted upon those new and extravagant demands; the substance of every one of them being absolutely rejected as unfit for the king to grant, and unreasonable for them to ask. This was the only way to be taken for putting a stop to demands which seemed likely to be multiplied without end, in proportion as his majesty’s distresses increased, or as one concession paved the way for demanding another. The debates were drawn out into a great length; every proposition made from the first was reconsidered; and it plainly appeared upon the stating and examining of each particular, that his majesty could grant no more than he had done already, and that they had reason to be satisfied with those concessions. An infinite number of papers had been delivered on both sides in the course of these debates, the consideration of which in their respective order would take up a great deal of time, which might be better

employed in considering the substance of them. The marquis of Ormond therefore drew up a brief of the concessions he had made, and delivered it to the lord Muskery and the other agents on Aug. 7, when they were to lay an account of their treaty before the general assembly, which met that day at Kilkenny. He thought the reading of a multitude of papers, in which there was no little intricacy and difficulty, would rather confound than satisfy the hearers, who might judge better of the affair, when they had the substance of all the concessions (to which he obliged himself by his draught thereof) before them in one view, and be able to form their resolutions thereupon. But they would not allow this brief to be read in the assembly; they proceeded in form, and spent eleven days in hearing the papers read. This tedious affair being over, the agents and committee of instructions were ordered to lay before the assembly the several propositions and concessions, and to report how far the former were granted, in order to proceed to a resolution.

192 Whilst they were debating those matters, the marquis of Ormond sent the king a particular account of all the transactions, and copies of all the papers which had passed in the treaty¹; in which all his proceedings were justified by the full approbation of his majesty. That treaty was soon after renewed by the return of the Irish agents to Dublin^m, who, on Sept. 11, presented to him a paper on that subject. Before he gave any answer thereto, the lord lieutenant desired them to express in writing what concessions of his they were satisfied with, and all the demands which they intended to make; that upon a view of the whole, the treaty might be brought to a conclusion.⁵⁴⁸ The agents complied; and on Sept. 13 and 15 specified all that they had further to ask; in which they waved most of their former extravagant propositions. They only

¹ See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCIX.

^m P. 364, 367,

371, 381, 464.

moved for the suspension of Poyning's act, the restoring of the old proprietors of the planted lands in Wicklow and Kilkenny, relief by parliament of sufferers through the Ulster plantation, and an act to assert the independency of the kingdom, but seemed to acquiesce in the refusal made of those demands. Their requests for abolishing the court of wards, erecting universities and schools, and for the graces formerly proposed, were answered as before, and they forbore to insist further upon them. Their desires of a general pardon extending to the heirs of such of their party who were dead, as well as those that were living, were granted; an exception was made of the authors and procurers of murders, and two years limited for the prosecution of such as were guilty thereof. They were gratified in the ascertaining of some few instances of offices and commands civil and military, to be communicated to such of their party as the king should choose. They specified the assistance which they would give his majesty, and fixed it at ten thousand foot; and desiring that his majesty would grant a commission to persons of their naming to applot money on their quarters for providing and paying that body of men, and to determine disputes within their quarters, for matters under ten pounds value, till the settlement was perfected, they were indulged in that point: provided nothing of that nature was done but under the authority and with the approbation and concurrence of the lord lieutenant.

- 193 The chief subject of the debates in this treaty was the point of religion; the agents desiring that the Roman catholics might be exempted by an act of parliament from taking the oath of supremacy, and using the English liturgy in divine service and in the administration of the sacraments, and from all penalties, mulcts, restraints, and incapacities, imposed on them for or by reason of their religion, or the exercise thereof, in virtue or colour of

any statute made since 20 H. VIII. or any other laws or statutes, more than was used in any of the most moderate years of queen Elizabeth. As it had been formerly agreed that the Roman catholics should be obliged only to take an oath of allegiance upon suing out their liveries, pleading at the bar, or taking possession of any civil or military office or command, the marquis of Ormond was apprehensive that this was intended to relate to ecclesiastical livings, and to capacitate Romish priests to hold them, without either taking the oath of supremacy, or using the Book of Common Prayer, there being no statute in Ireland but those of 2 Eliz. (from the penalties of which it was proposed to free them) that disabled such persons from holding benefices; so that till those statutes were made, the mass was used by law in all the churches of that kingdom. It appeared afterwards, that he had just grounds for these apprehensions, which he provided against by certain restrictionsⁿ, as well as by making the most moderate times of queen Elizabeth to commence after the second year of her reign. The restrictions which he insisted on were, that this should not extend to the statutes of provision and præmunire in 25 and 27 E. III. and 13 and 16 R. II. nor to any other laws and statutes in force, for so much thereof as concerned the regality of his majesty's crown, in point of jurisdiction, prerogative, or government; that by such exemption no Roman catholic should be qualified to be presented to or to hold any ecclesiastical living or dignity, and that no construction should be made of that exemption, to give way to any form of prayer or administration of the sacraments, to be used in any cathedral or parochial church or chapel thereto belonging in the kingdom of Ireland, other than 549 what is prescribed by the statute 2 Eliz. cap. 2.

194 The agents declared^o they had power to conclude a peace, if the exemption they desired was granted in their

ⁿ P. 415, 456, 458, 475. Q. 5, 6, 7.

^o P. 383. Q. 80, 27, 171.

own terms, which were indeed those of their general assembly. But the marquis of Ormond saw plainly their design was to get leave, under covert words, for the saying of mass in churches, though they openly professed the contrary. The agents used all their endeavours to get him to withdraw his provisos, but in vain. After a month's disputing, without any advance in the treaty, lord Mountgarret, president of the council, who was very zealous for the peace, came up to Dublin to contribute his assistance to remove the difficulty. A proviso was offered by them, "that no clause in the articles to be agreed on should hinder the Roman catholics from the benefit of such farther graces and concessions as his majesty should be pleased to grant them." The marquis of Ormond did not as yet know their meaning in that proviso, nor imagine that they had any ground to expect further concessions; and readily agreed to the proposal. This however did not satisfy the agents, the restrictions so expressly barring the very thing they aimed at, that they could not hope to obtain it in virtue of so general a clause. In fine, they left Dublin on Nov. 12 without adjusting this article, in order to report their proceedings to the assembly; several of their own party, who had come up to see the issue of the treaty, and who knew not the secret of the affair, (which soon afterwards broke out,) being much dissatisfied with their agents for being so stiff in that article, as not to conclude a peace upon the terms offered. The lord lieutenant, in conjunction with the council, (who had concurred with him in all his proceedings in the treaty^p,) being much pressed by letters out of England, sent Daniel O'Neile to Kilkenny on the 22d of that month, with an answer to a paper the agents had delivered at their parting, some explanations of general answers, and a proposal, that if the assembly did not think fit to agree to the restrictions annexed to the article about religion, the whole

^p See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXI.

of that article might be left to his majesty's determination; and lord Digby arriving at Dublin a few days after, pressed them to come to a speedy resolution.

- 195 The great obstructions to the conclusion of a peace had been occasioned by the suggestions of persons, who, having been at Oxford, pretended to know the sentiments and condition of the court, and encouraged the Irish to make extravagant demands, because nothing could be denied them in the extremity of his majesty's affairs in England, which never could be retrieved without their assistance. Sir Brian O'Neile was one of these persons, and a letter of that nature from him to Turlogh O'Neile, one of the council of Kilkenny, being intercepted at sea, and sent to the marquis of Ormond, he was upon his landing at Dublin in the latter end of August committed to prison for that offence. Colonel Fitz-Williams, a son of the viscount Merion, is charged by some writers to have encouraged the Irish to the like hopes, and to be authorized by the queen to assure them of ample conditions in point of religion; but I do not find the least ground to think that her majesty ever gave them any such assurance, or that Fitz-Williams ever encouraged them in the unreasonableness of their demands. In lord Digby's cabinet taken at Sherburn, and published by the parliament, there are indeed proposals made to the queen by Fitz-Williams of bringing from Ireland ten thousand men into England, upon supposition of the just demands of the Irish being granted; but what those demands were does not appear: and it is certain he left Paris on May 18, N. S. which was before the Irish had insisted upon the 550 churches, and made their other extravagant demands. He imagined his credit great with the Irish, and that he might prevail with them to send over the army proposed, and put it under his command; but in this point he was

¶ See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCVI.

more sanguine than the king^r, who recommending him to the marquis of Ormond, left it entirely to him to make a judgment both of the person and power of Fitz-Williams. But the person who did the most mischief this way was Edward lord Herbert, eldest son of Henry marquis of Worcester, and commonly styled earl of Glamorgan, having a warrant for that title, though it had not passed the great seal. ^sHe had, though a Roman catholic, upon the breaking out of the English rebellion, been made lord lieutenant of South Wales, and had raised a body of two thousand men for the king's service. He was generally beloved, as being a very good natured man, civil and obliging to all; he was very zealous for his majesty's cause, and had a more than ordinary reverence and affection to his person, and one, who, he was sure, would neither deceive nor betray him. But the use of these qualities recommending him to the king's service was destroyed by an extreme bigotry in point of religion; a narrow capacity, a want of judgment, and an unmeasurable degree of vanity, which rendered him unfit to be employed in any difficult or intricate affair. He had married to his second wife the lady Margaret O'Bryen, daughter to Henry earl of Thomond, elder brother to Barnaby the present earl; by which marriage he had some possessions, and was allied to many of the best and most powerful families in the kingdom.

196 Some^t affairs of his own calling him thither about the end of the year 1644, the king, on Dec. 27, wrote by him to the lord lieutenant, desiring him to give the lord Herbert all lawful favour and furtherance in those particular affairs. His majesty thought fit on that occasion to engage him in all possible ways to further the peace, which

^r Appendix XX and Collection of Letters, No. CCCXCVII.

^s Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, book vi. par. 286. edit. 1849.

^t Appendix XIII.

he readily promised ; and as the king had a great confidence in his honesty and zeal to his service and crown, he assured the marquis of Ormond, that he might confidently use and trust that nobleman in this or any other thing he should propound to him for his majesty's service. This general recommendation was all that the king could give him, and he was so cautious in giving it, that for fear the marquis of Ormond should be tempted by it to trust a person whom he did not know in something above his capacity, he thought fit to add in a postscript to his letter these words in cipher: *his honesty or affection to my service will not deceive you ; but I will not answer for his judgment.* He ^uleft Oxford in March, with sir Brian O'Neile and some Romish priests, intending to reach Ireland in the beginning of the next month ; but embarking in Wales on board a small vessel, he was near being taken by a parliament ship, which pursued him till he took refuge in a port of Cumberland. From thence he returned to Wales, and got to Dublin about the end of July or the beginning of August. He was there witness of the unreasonable demands of the Irish agents, and as he was ever forward in undertaking, presuming upon his own interest and power, he did not question prevailing with the general assembly to recede from them.

- 197 He found his mistake when he came to Kilkenny, where he was much caressed and flattered by the clergy, whom his own disposition and bigotry led him to consult upon all occasions. They were inflexible in the article of religion, resolving to have no peace, but what would leave them in possession of the churches ; and easily brought him over to their opinion. He imagined that upon making them that concession the Irish would immediately ⁵⁵¹ send over the ten thousand men, which they had offered by their remonstrance and their agents, to the king, whose

^u O, 210. Collection of Letters, No. CCCLXXXVI, CCCLXXXVIII,

affairs in England could not be retrieved without the immediate assistance of such a force from Ireland. His own passions here concurred with his zeal to the king's service; and he made no doubt, but the merit of so great and seasonable succours would easily excuse his breach of instructions, or acting without authority in that affair, and would likewise recommend him not only to the post of general of those forces, but also to that of lord lieutenant of the kingdom, to which he aspired. The marquis of Ormond was in actual possession of one of those posts, and ^xhis majesty intended, as soon as the peace was concluded, to call him over into England, at the head of an army, where the general's caution and temper might be as much relied on as his courage and the hands of the soldiers. It is natural to think, that with these views the lord Herbert would not communicate his measures to the lord lieutenant, nor receive from him directions for his conduct, though he was ordered to transact nothing without his advice and concurrence. Thus on Aug. 25, in a private and clandestine manner, he signed a treaty with the Irish commissioners in two instruments, drawn by Geoffrey Baron, and attested by him, the lord John Somerset and Robert Barry, the two last knowing nothing of the contents.

198 By the articles of this treaty, the Roman catholics were to enjoy the public exercise of their religion, and all the churches of which they had got possession at any time since Oct. 23, 1641, and all others not actually enjoyed by protestants; they were made capable of all offices of trust and advancement, places, degrees, dignities, and preferments whatsoever in Ireland, and were to be freed by act of parliament from all penalties and pains in any of the penal laws; they were all to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the protestant clergy; and their

^x See Collection of Letters, No. CCCXCVIII and CCCXCIX. P. 428.

own clergy were to enjoy the tithes, glebes, and church revenues in their possession, and to exercise their jurisdiction without control. In consideration of these concessions, the commissioners were to send ten thousand men into England under the command of his lordship, as lord general of the said army, which was to be kept together in one entire body, under officers named by the supreme council or general assembly of the Irish Roman catholics. To these articles was added *à* defeasance, signed the next day by the same parties in the presence of the lord John Somerset, F. Oliver Darcy, and Peter Bathe, explaining the intent of those articles, and expressing that the lord Herbert (therein called the earl of Glamorgan) “did no way intend thereby to oblige his majesty, other than he himself should please, after he had received those ten thousand men, as a pledge and testimony of the said Roman catholics’ loyalty and fidelity to his majesty; yet he promised faithfully upon his word and honour not to acquaint his majesty with this defeasance, till he had endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to induce his majesty to the granting of the particulars in the said articles: but that done, the said commissioners discharged the said earl of Glamorgan, both in honour and conscience, of any further engagement to them therein; though his majesty should not be pleased to grant the said particulars in the articles mentioned; the said earl having given them assurance upon his word, honour, and voluntary oath, that he would never, to any person whatsoever, discover this defeasance in the interim without their consents.”

- ¹⁹⁹ These articles, which were carefully concealed from the knowledge of the world, very well explain the conduct of the Irish commissioners in the treaty, which was soon after renewed at Dublin, the vote of their assembly, ⁵⁵² on Sept. 9, for sending ten thousand men to the king,

and Glamorgan's^z recommending it to the marquis of Ormond, in a letter of that date, to make the commissioners what concessions he was authorized to grant, and gave them leave to appeal to his majesty for the rest. The lord lieutenant could not conceive that they would now submit to what they had so often before refused; but the treaty ending in November without any agreement, he proposed (as hath been said) on the 22nd of that month, to refer to his majesty's pleasure what further graces they had to ask in point of religion. The assembly agreed to the proposal, and sent, on Dec. 12^a, John Walsh to Dublin, to settle all matters for the conclusion of the peace, particularly to offer a proposition, "that no clause in the articles thereof should be construed to hinder the benefit of his majesty's concessions, to whom the rest were referred." This was admitted, and upon going through the rest of the articles, the differences were found so few, and (when balanced with the peace of a kingdom, and the assistance expected from them for his majesty) so inconsiderable, that the marquis of Ormond on Dec. 27 wrote to the lord Mountgarret and the other commissioners, "^bthat little time was wanting to a conclusion, if Walsh could have been persuaded to a longer stay and further proceeding in the business; which he would by no means do, nor yet assign any reason for his unexpected departure, which was so sudden, that he had not time to make answers to the paper delivered that morning, and therefore desired them to come with all speed, or to send others to finish the treaty."

²⁰⁰ Walsh's hasty departure was occasioned by the arresting of the earl of Glamorgan; for so (however improperly) we must style him, in compliance with other writers, who give him that title. That nobleman had wrote word ^con Dec. 12, by Mr. Walsh, that he expected orders

^z P. 360.

^a Q. 206, 208.

^b Ib. 218.

^c Ib. 207, and

Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXVI.

that day for three thousand men to march from their quarters to the sea-side, in order to embark for England and relieve Chester, which was then besieged. Walsh, well instructed in all other points, gave no satisfaction as to the succours, in which the other was confident there would be no delay. Lord Digby hereupon, on Dec. 15, invited Glamorgan to come to Dublin for the clearing up and settling of that matter. Glamorgan came up accordingly, and arrived there on Christmas eve late at night, and waiting the next day on the lord lieutenant was received with great civility. Lord Digby, (who had on Monday the 22nd of that month received a copy of the aforesaid articles of agreement,) when the council was assembled on the 26th, ^dcame to the board, and charging the earl with suspicion of high treason, moved that his person might be secured. This done, he presented a writing, containing copies of the said articles, of the earl's oath to the confederates, and of his pretended authority from his majesty, said to be dated March 12, 1644, to treat and conclude with the said confederates. The writing being read at the board, lord Digby declared, "that any such pretended authority from his majesty must be either forged or surreptitiously gained; or if possibly the said earl had any colour of authority, that it was certainly bound up and limited by such instructions and declarations of the king's intentions therein, as could in no wise license the said earl to any transaction of that nature; for most confident he was, that the king, to redeem his crown, his own life, the lives of his queen and children, would not grant to the confederates the least piece of concessions so destructive both to his regality and religion."

201 It was necessary to do something for the vindication of the king's honour and justice so deeply wounded by this writing, and for preventing (as far as was possible) 553

^d See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXVIII.

the dangerous inconveniences and mischiefs which might thence arise to his service. One mischief already happened from this transaction, before it came to be publicly known, the Roman catholics having been thereby encouraged to hope for such concessions, as they themselves had before receded from, as wanting confidence to insist on matters so unreasonable. But now it was become public, an infinite number of others were likely to follow, from the scandal it would bring upon his majesty, the occasion of clamour which it afforded his enemies, and the discontents it could not fail of raising in the minds of his faithful subjects, and of all the protestants both in England and Ireland. There were already (notwithstanding the oath of secresy taken to keep it private) many copies of the writing dispersed into several hands, besides that which had been found in the pocket of Malachias O'Kelly, titular bishop of Tuam, when he was killed near Sligo about two months before. This copy had been sent by the English committee in Ulster to the parliament, who, knowing the disservice it would do to the king's cause, ordered it on January 12 following to be printed, as was done out of hand, but with a very material difference in the oath which Glamorgan took. He had sworn "to acquaint the king with the proceedings of the Irish nation in order to his service, and for the punctual performance of what had been promised them; and in default, not to permit the army intrusted to his charge to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, till his majesty's performance of the conditions stipulated for him, *or his pleasure known.*" These four last words were left out in the copy of the oath published by the parliament of England.

202 There were several passages and expressions in the draught of the writing which in an offence less heinous would have been made use of to exaggerate it; but Gla-

^c Q. 224, 226, 227, and 228.

morgan's presumption and crime in making the agreement were of so transcendent a nature, that they were not to be aggravated by any circumstances. He was committed close prisoner to the castle of Dublin, and being examined the next day before a committee of the board, he confessed the whole transaction, referring himself for the particulars of the agreement to the counterpart of the articles, which was among such things as he had lying at Kilkenny, or had sent to Bonratty, or perhaps among the papers which he had brought to Dublin. He said he consulted with nobody in it but the parties with whom he made the agreement, *and what he did therein was not* (as he conceived) *obligatory to his majesty*. This he said of his own voluntary motion, without any thing leading thereto in the interrogatory put to him: but two days afterwards desired, that to those of his confession might be added the following words, *and yet without any just blemish of my honour, honesty, or conscience*. He sent for the original counterpart of the articles, and the copy of his oath, and delivering them to the council on Dec. 30, he was freed from his close imprisonment; but he still continued confined to the house, where he was kept in the castle. He alleged afterwards to the marquis of Ormond, by way of apology for himself, that he had acted in this matter purely out of zeal to the king's service, to procure him the succours he so much wanted, that the least delay of them might be fatal, and that he meant no harm to the protestant clergy, for whose immediate support he intended to gain two thirds of the ecclesiastical livings accruing that harvest; though that subsistence could not be got for them under any other terms than for his majesty's service. To shew that the king was not obliged by his agreement, he produced the original of the defeasance before mentioned, and gave the lord lieutenant a copy thereof. He did not 554 pretend to any instructions: and for his authority, he

referred to the commission of 12 March, 1644, recited in the preamble to the articles; but neither produced the original nor any copy thereof. There was one paper, which he had sent for to Kilkenny, (whether the counterpart of the articles, the defeasance, or any other, is hard to say,) about which the Irish commissioners were very uneasy, and upon his return thither, questioned him, whether he had shewed it to the lord lieutenant. If he had, it would have made a great distraction in their proceedings afterwards, but protesting that he had not, they were satisfied with that assurance; which^f, he tells the marquis of Ormond, “made him sensible of his excellency’s great prudence in not urging him thereto, for otherwise he could not have denied it with truth.”

²⁰³ As to the authority upon which he proceeded, lord Digby was positive that he had none at all; and indeed there was little difference in the presumption and offence, between so intolerable an abuse of authority, and acting without any at all. Lord Digby was at Oxford at the time when that pretended commission was dated, and both he and his brother secretary, sir E. Nicholas, knowing nothing thereof, it certainly was not signed with the privy signet, as is pretended. § Glamorgan being urged in private by the lord lieutenant (whom he visited) on Jan. 6 to produce it, could not do so; but to shew that he had not acted altogether without warrant, he produced a sort of one dated Jan. 12, 1644, neither sealed with the signet, as it mentions, nor attested by either of his majesty’s secretaries, as it ought, nor written in the style that warrants of that nature use to be, nor referring to any instructions at all. His excellency thought it so extraordinary, that he desired a copy of it; which Glamorgan sent him the next day, wrote in his own hand, and attested also in form with his name, professing,

^f In his letter of Jan. 31, 1645-6. Q. 298. § N. 250. Q. 251, 253, 265, and Collection of Letters, No. CCCXXVI. and CCCXXVII.

“that he had done so, in confidence that his excellency would be satisfied therewith, and would make no other use of it but for his private satisfaction, and future warrant to his majesty, if need required, but otherwise not to shew it to any, as he tendered the king’s service, and the good of one so much devoted to him as himself, professing the utmost zeal for the king’s service, and that he regarded no danger of life and fortunes in order to that end, for the accomplishment whereof he only desired his liberty.” The marquis of Ormond however, though he was thus conjured to secrecy, thought it his duty to send a copy of it to his majesty, who remembered nothing of a warrant which (if he had ever signed it) was too remarkable to be forgot. It is directed to Edward earl of Glamorgan, and runs in these terms :

204

“ Charles R.

“Whereas we have had sufficient and ample testimony of your approved wisdom and fidelity, so great is the confidence we repose in you, as that whatsoever you shall perform, as warranted under our sign manual, pocket signet, or private mark, or even by word of mouth, without further ceremony, we do in the word of a king and a Christian promise to make good to all intents and purposes, as effectually, as if your authority from us had been under our great seal of England, with this advantage, that we shall esteem ourself far the more obliged to you for your gallantry in not standing upon such nice terms to do us service, which we shall, God willing, reward. And although you exceed what law can warrant, or any power of ours reach unto, as not knowing what you have need of; yet it being for our service, we oblige ourself not only to give you our pardon, but to maintain the same with all our might and power; and though either by 555 accident, or by any other occasion, you shall deem it necessary to deposit any of our warrants, and so want them at your return, we faithfully promise to make them good at your return, and to supply any thing wherein they shall be found defective, it not being convenient for us at this time to dispute upon them; for of what we have here set down, you may rest confident, if there be faith and truth in men. Proceed therefore cheerfully, speedily,

and boldly, and for your so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at our court at Oxford, under our sign manual and private signet, this 12th of January, 1644."

- 205 This was all the warrant that Glamorgan pretended to produce in excuse of his conduct. The king was strangely amazed at both, and^b wrote to the lord lieutenant and council, "that though he was well assured of their entire confidence in the justice and piety of his resolution in what concerned the maintenance of the true protestant religion, and particularly of the church and the revenues thereto belonging, as was evident by the practice and professions of his whole life; yet to enable them to satisfy others, he thought fit to let them know the whole truth of what had passed from him to the earl of Glamorgan, whereby he might pretend to the least kind of trust or authority from him in what concerned the Irish treaty. His affairs obliging him to procure a peace in that kingdom, and this being impracticable without some indulgence to the Roman catholics, which though he might justly grant, yet might in a public transaction be abused by the arts of his enemies to throw scandal on his character, he had thought fit to give the lord lieutenant private instructions and power to assure the said Roman catholics, in a less public way, of exempting them from the penalties of the law, and of some such other graces as might be afforded them, without blemish to his honour and conscience, or prejudice to his protestant subjects. With the knowledge of these secret instructions, he acquainted the earl of Glamorgan at his going to Ireland, being confident of his affection to his service, and knowing his interest with the Roman catholic party to be very considerable, so that he might probably be of use to persuade them to a moderation, and to rest satisfied, upon his engagement also, with those concessions, of which, as his affairs stood, he could give them only a private assur-

^b See Collection of Letters, No. CCCXXV.

ance. To this end (limiting him in the strictest manner to the particulars of those private instructions to the lord lieutenant, without whose special directions he was to do nothing) he might possibly have thought fit to give the earl of Glamorgan some credential to gain him credit with the Roman catholics, in case the marquis of Ormond should find occasion to make use of him, for that or any other purpose. This was all, and the very bottom of what he might have possibly intrusted to the earl of Glamorgan in this affair; which might have been serviceable to accelerate a peace, so needful, as well for the preservation of the protestants, as for hastening the necessary aids expected thence, had a wiser man been employed. But being confident of that lord's affections and obedience, he had not much regard to his abilities, since he was bound up by positive commands from doing any thing, but what the lord lieutenant should particularly and precisely direct him to, both in the matter and manner of his negotiation."

206 Glamorgan certainly (as Arthur Trevorⁱ wrote to the marquis of Ormond) loved the king as much as any man of his religion could, and was infinitely zealous for his service: he had spent one hundred thousand pounds in raising, providing, and maintaining forces for him in the 556 first year of the rebellion, and the king expected still further supplies from the good old marquis of Worcester, his father, for which reason his majesty and his servants were disposed to treat him with tenderness. This is the reason why sir E. Nicholas says the pretended warrant or power was *at least surreptitiously gotten, if not worse*, for his majesty remembered it not. My notion of it is this; that the king might give him some recommendation or credential, expressing his confidence in him, like that recommendation which he had given him to the marquis of Ormond; and when his lordship came to Ireland, finding that it was not sufficient for his purpose, and that he

ⁱ N. 213.

might get the command of the ten thousand men, (which the Roman catholics would furnish upon granting their demands in the point of religion,) and consequently the merit of restoring the king's affairs in England by that assistance, he contrived another, with the help of one of his assistant confessors, which would better serve his turn. For though I think the substance of the warrant could never be drawn by any man alive but himself, yet the *macte ergo virtute tua, proceed therefore cheerfully, speedily, and boldly*, &c. seems to me to be a stroke of the confessor's. He had too much vanity in his nature to keep any real authority given him so secret as he kept this : he was continually bragging of the king's favours and confidence ; and to represent them to the lord lieutenant was the very reason (as he says himself) of his making him the visit above mentioned on Jan. 6. He affected nothing so much as to appear of consequence, and scrupled no means that would contribute to that effect, thinking them all to be hallowed by the end to which he directed them—his majesty's service. His passion that way was romantic, and he had really all that gallantry of not standing upon nice terms, to do the king service, which is mentioned in the warrant. Nay, the more extraordinary and unwarrantable the methods of service were, the better he liked them, and what all the world besides would decline and condemn, was on that very account matter of greater glory to him, in order to produce such a bloom of loyalty and zeal to the king his master's service, as might render his memory considerable to future ages.

207 To a person of this genius and way of thinking, it was equally indifferent whether he had any commission or no, provided he could do the service he proposed. That the warrant he produced was fictitious, I am persuaded for these reasons. The style and manner of it is such that nobody used to court, or acquainted with forms of that nature, can possibly be supposed to draw it. It is

expressly said to be sealed with the signet, and yet is not so sealed, a defect which entirely invalidates the instrument, so that it could not serve for any purpose, to which it might be given to contribute. It is directed to him as earl of Glamorgan, a title for which he had as yet no patent, and which indeed he only assumed in this expedition, to appear the more considerable to the Irish; and all the letters from Oxford at this time, both before and some months after he left that place, mention him by no other style than that of lord Herbert. The warrant speaks of his approved wisdom, at a time when the king's letter by him to the marquis of Ormond tells him^k, *that there was no relying upon his judgment*. It is pretended to be given on Jan. 12, when there could be no occasion for it, the king at that time^l not doubting of a peace, upon the powers and terms he had lately sent over by sir H. Tichburne, and soon after renewed and sent by colonel Barry. The same objection lies against the warrant pretended to be dated on March 12, for Barry did not land at Dublin till six days before; so that there was no ground to form a different judgment in that affair: and in fact they were so fully persuaded at Oxford that⁵⁵⁷ the Irish would agree to the concessions made them, that till after the battle of Naseby in the June following^m, it was taken by every body about the court that the Irish peace was concluded.

208 But what absolutely determines me in this opinion is, that I find the earl of Glamorgan could coin commissions and letters from the king as fast as he pleased, and never wanted any thing of either sort that would contribute to his schemes in Ireland, or remove any difficulties that stood in their way. The Irish were credulous, apt to swallow without examining, and take for granted every thing that they wished: he played his game by flattering

^k Appendix XIII. and XXIII.

^l Appendix XIV.

^m See Collection of Letters, No. CCCXCVII.

this weakness of theirs, and calculated the warrant he shewed in such a manner, as to make them imagine that he had other warrants, and that every thing he should do without any warrant at all would nevertheless be confirmed. Thus he pretended to a ⁿcommission dated Jan. 6, 1644-5, under the great seal, for levying any number of men in Ireland and other parts beyond sea, commanding of them, putting officers over them, governors in forts and towns, and giving him power to receive the king's rents, &c., a commission which certainly the king never gave to a person who had already shewn his unfitness to be a general, and never could think of giving, since the Irish always insisted on sending their forces under commanders of their own. But it served very well to translate into Latin, and be given with the like translations of his other commissions to the nuncio, in order to shew his great power and interest with his majesty.

209 Thus when he struck in with the nuncio, and, seeing his power in the Irish councils, wanted to gain him to his own purpose and the king's service, he had a letter in French to ^odeliver to him from his majesty, and another ready for the pope, dated on April 30, 1645, six weeks after he had left Oxford, and it was hardly known at court either that he had escaped the ship which pursued him into the north of England, or that the archbishop of Fermo was coming to Ireland. The purport of the letter was to let the nuncio know, "that his majesty should think himself obliged to confirm whatever he resolved on with the earl of Glamorgan, whose great merits had engaged him to put a greater confidence in that nobleman than in all the world besides, having known him above twenty years, during which time he had signally advanced himself in his esteem, and in all manner of ways had distinguished himself more eminently than all his other subjects; which, joined to the consideration of his illustrious

ⁿ Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 714.

^o Ibid. fol. 999.

race, the nuncio might easily judge of the passion he had towards him, and of the confidence he had placed in a person, to whom he might give full credence in a matter that was requisite to be kept secret." The nuncio could not conceive how a letter of so ancient date should be sent to him to transmit to the pope, when there was a much better and readier way of sending by the queen, who was then at Paris; and therefore refused to receive it. There were also several circumstances about his own letter which he could not comprehend, and gave occasion to those doubts which he expressed in a letter to cardinal Pamfilio on Dec. 27, 1645. Glamorgan did not want other letters from the king afterwards, when they were necessary for his ends^p, though he had never corresponded with his majesty, or either of the secretaries, or any of his council, from the time that he had arrived in Ireland; nor had given them any account of his transactions there; for he was afraid of nothing so much as that what he had done in that kingdom should come to be known before he had transported the ten thousand men, and appeared at the head of that army in England. ⁵⁵⁸ With the same view of raising his credit with the nuncio, he told him, that he was to be made knight of the garter; that he was to be repaid all his expenses in his majesty's service, and seven hundred thousand crowns besides, as a portion with one of the king's daughters to be married to his son, or was to have them paid out of the best part of the revenue, if he should choose to marry his [son] to a Roman catholic wife, being left at his option in that respect. It was out of a like motive that he pretended to have powers to treat with any foreign catholic prince for succours, to command a fleet, to appoint all his catholic officers, to take ships at sea, and dispose of the king's part of the prizes, with privilege and exemption of customs in

^p See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXXVI.

^q Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1003, 1004.

all ports; to be subject to no orders but those of his majesty, which he was also authorized to refer to a council of war and decline them, if not judged expedient; to change at pleasure all governors of ports, cities, towns, and garrisons; to name one secretary of state a treasurer, either the attorney or solicitor general, and two of the privy-council in England; to grant titles of honour, as high as to the dignity of marquis, either in England or Ireland, as he found the person to deserve; and also to coin money, and empower others to do it any where within the king's jurisdiction. All these commissions and powers, he assured the nuncio, he had under the king's hand and seal; and probably being coined in the same mint, they might have been upon occasion as easily produced as the other before mentioned.

- 210 It will not be improper here to give some account of this nuncio. Upon the death of Urban VIII, cardinal Pamfilio was by the interest of the Barberini and court of Spain chose pope on Sept. 15, 1644, and assumed the name of Innocent X. When the news of the election reached Ireland, the general assembly resolved to send Mr. Belling to congratulate the new pontiff on his promotion, and to desire from him supplies to carry on the war. Upon his account of the state of affairs in Ireland, the pope determined to send thither a nuncio, and Stomedaï, clerk of the chamber, afterwards cardinal, was first proposed, and consented to go. ^r But as he was a subject of the king of Spain, to whose interests the pope himself was too much addicted, and France might entertain a jealousy on that account, and deny her succours to the Irish, it was thought more advisable to send some neutral person, to whom neither of those courts could make exceptions. John Battista Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, a city in the Marca d'Ancona, subject to the papacy, was pitched upon for that employment. He was a native of

^r Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 758.

Florence, of a noble family, and brother to Thomas Rinucini, first gentleman of the bedchamber to the duke of Tuscany, knight of St. Stephen, and constable of that order. He was a master of the canon law, and well versed in all the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts of Rome, where he had practised almost all his time, but had been employed in no other affairs. He had a fluency of words, and pathetic manner of expressing himself, with a very graceful action, which made him well heard in his public harangues and sermons. He was regular and even austere in his life and conversation, and far from any taint of avarice or corruption. But he was a bigot, superstitious and vain—all signs of a weak mind; fiery in his temper, ambitious in his views, and transported with those passions which are the effects or shapes of pride, and of the worst sort of it, spiritual pride, which concealing itself from those it inspires under the notion of zeal, and allowing them to think themselves all the while the best men upon earth, betrays them into infinite mischiefs, and is the most incorrigible of all vices. He had published a few years before in Italian, a book of the wonderful conversion of F. Archange Lesly, a Capuchin friar, and his missionary functions in England and Scotland; which, 559 with the miracles he discovered in his own passage to Ireland, and the vows he made on that occasion, are a sufficient proof of his bigotry and superstition. In that book he had expressed so much zeal for the mission, and such an expectation of being one day sent a nuncio into these western isles, with a sort of prediction that he was destined to be the instrument of their conversion, that, besides his ability to support the expense, it was one of the chief reasons why the pope was induced to send him on this employment; the main end of which was to bring back Ireland to its old condition, if not (as is said in his instructions) of being tributary to the see of Rome, at least of being subject to the pope in spirituals.

211 ^s Among other instructions, he was directed to assemble the bishops and prelates of the kingdom, to unite and encourage them to persist in the war till their religion should be established, and a Roman catholic appointed lord lieutenant; and to get the council of Trent received. He was in his way to visit the queen of England at Paris, and to assure her, that he was sent to Ireland purely for the sake of religion, and not with any design of hurting the rights and prerogatives of the crown of England, the interests of which he was ordered to promote. But he was at the same time to use all his art and industry to divert her from the thoughts of going into Ireland; as a matter which would bring great prejudice to the cause of the confederates, would cool the zeal of the well-affected, give strength to the neutrals and moderate party, and drain out of their treasury a vast sum of money, which might be more usefully employed in the war. He was likewise to learn whether the marquis of Ormond was a creature of her majesty; and if so, to prevail with her to send him orders for delivering up Dublin and Drogheda to the Irish, if not in an open manner, at least by connivance. And as the marquis had been educated in their religion in his youth, and most of his relations still adhered to it, he was to try all the ways possible to engage him to return to the bosom of their church.

212 This last instruction, soon after his arrival in Ireland, he found to be impracticable, the marquis being fixed and rooted in his protestant principles; so that (as he told cardinal Pamfilio in his^t letter of May 3) the only way of applying to a person who by the humanity of his temper, the winning manner of his address, and his exquisite talents of insinuation gained an ascendant over all that knew him, was by offering him the assistance of all the Roman catholic powers for what purposes he pleased, and to any ambitious views that might be suggested to

^s Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 733, 797, &c.

^t Ibid. fol. 1113.

him upon the ruins of the royal family. He had as little success in that part of his instructions which related to the queen^u, who was very averse to his journey, and used all endeavours in her power to stop it. He thought this arose from a jealousy, lest the pope had some design upon Ireland, correspondent to the old pretence of the title of pope Hadrian IV, but in reality it was because she foresaw that his presence there would unite all the clergy, and add a vast weight to the party which opposed the peace.

²¹³ He arrived at Paris on May 22, and desired an audience of the queen to present the letters which he had brought for her majesty. She refused him on political reasons, alleging that it would look as if he had been sent to her, if not to the king, and would furnish the parliament of England with new matter of calumny against her husband, who on that pretence would be suspected of making a secret league with the pope. She was willing however to allow him a private visit, in hopes, if she could not hinder his journey, to make him favourable to the king's interest, and get him to use his endeavours to keep 560 the Irish in their duty. He refused a private visit, and insisted on a public audience, which she as constantly denied. Cardinal Pamfilio directed him to make use of the queen's confessor to remove her jealousies, and assure her, that he was not sent into Ireland out of any political view, but purely for the good of religion; and allowed him to do this, if he saw fit, in a private visit. Whether loving pomp too much he still resented the denial of a public audience, or imagined that the making of a private visit would look like condemning his own conduct, he did not care to make use of the liberty. One of his attendants, Dominick Spinola, of a noble Genoese family, was sent to the queen with the pope's brief, and her majesty made him her compliments by sir Dudley Wiat. The assurances recommended to be given were conveyed by

^u Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 833, &c.

the mediation of these two gentlemen; and the nuncio left Paris without ever seeing her majesty.

214 She was in great hopes that the peace would be concluded before the nuncio arrived in Ireland; which would have absolutely stopped his journey, or have forced him to return immediately, rather than remain under the power of a protestant lord lieutenant. The queen regent of France was very well affected to her, and out of the generosity of her heart and compassion of her sister's sufferings, had, after she came to the government^x, supplied her with three hundred thousand crowns in money, arms, and ammunition. Upon the first report of Rinuccini's designation to his employment, she had used her good offices at Rome to prevent his mission; but did not prevail, the court of France being then in no good terms with that of Rome. She now entered into a scheme laid for detaining him at Paris, and the nuncio had like to have fallen into the snare. ^yThe queen of England, during his stay there, received with great amazement as well as concern an account of the delay of the peace of Ireland; and fearing it would be utterly impracticable if the nuncio got thither, resumed a proposition which had been long before made to the king her husband, but was then rejected. The proposal was, that the treaty should be managed by her majesty and the queen regent at Paris; in which way it was imagined that the king might have better terms, the queen might be limited by the same instructions as were given to the lord lieutenant, and the Irish would have all their jealousies removed by the court of France being guarantee of the treaty. That court really wished well to the king of England, and (as a means of assisting him) to the peace of Ireland; which they so much insisted on, that cardinal Mazarine protested to the nuncio, that if the Irish did not comply, and de-

^x Instructions a M. Sabran.

^y Lord Digby's Cabinet, p. 42.

Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 838 et seq. 861, to 871.

ferred sending the succours which they had offered to his majesty, they should never have any assistance from France, whatever disability, relicks of war in their own country, or necessity they pretended in excuse for their conduct. This treaty was now again proposed to be carried on at Paris in the presence of the nuncio, who was flattered with the thoughts of being mediator in the affair, and judge of the reasonableness as well of the king's concessions as of the Irish demands. But the court of Rome was uneasy at his stay: every despatch from thence brought him orders to quit Paris and proceed on his journey. He had got a promise from Mazarine of a supply of money, and Hartegan assured him that the cardinal had agreed to send with him four ships for a convoy. When he wanted to go, the money was delayed, and only one ship could be spared, and that not ready. His orders however were so precise to be gone immediately, to negotiate at Kilkenny, where his presence was necessary to oppose the measures of such as would 561 be contented with a bare liberty of conscience, and where his offices would certainly be of more effect than they could be at Paris, in which place he was detained by artifices, to the great detriment and hazard of the affairs of Ireland, that he could delay his journey no longer. He discovered at last that the king of England had sent no powers for such a treaty, and was made sensible that all which had been urged by the two queens and the cardinal Mazarine on that subject, was only intended to keep him there till the peace was made on easier conditions in Ireland, and then the succours he brought for that kingdom might be applied to the king's service in England. He had sent an agent to Dunkirk to buy some frigates and warlike stores; but not waiting their coming, he left Paris, on Aug. 30, on his way to Rochelle, where the *St. Peter* of Nantes, which he had hired, was to take him on board. The cardinal, instead of the larger supplies, and the ship

which he had promised, gave him at parting only five thousand livres for the freight of the vessel, and a present of twenty thousand to himself. The nuncio found no ship ready at Rochelle as he expected, and none in the port capable of being fitted up in less than six weeks' time. He embarked however at St. Martins on Monday Oct. 16, in the St. Peter, and landed on the 22nd in the bay of Killmair, having narrowly escaped being taken by a parliament frigate in his passage.

215 The nuncio² had received of the pope one hundred and fifty thousand six hundred and fifty-eight livres, (i. e. about twelve thousand pounds sterling,) the half of which he laid out in arms, bought either in France or Flanders, and remitted the rest to Ireland. Besides the twenty thousand livres given him at Paris, he had received ten thousand crowns from cardinal Barberini, and other sums not considerable in Italy; and these were all the supplies, of which he made so great a parade on all occasions, and represented as a sufficient encouragement for the Irish to continue the war. He arrived at Kilkenny on Nov. 12, and had his audience of the supreme council on the 19th, the lord Mountgarret as president sitting all the while, according to the ceremonial prescribed by Mr. Belling, which the nuncio considered as a great failure of respect. His public speech as well as private discourses were full of fair professions, that he came not only for the good of religion, but to promote the peace of the kingdom; and the council in a fit of good humour, to encourage him in those sentiments, and shew their deference to his character, assured him, that they would take no step in that matter without his knowledge and concurrence. They considered this only as a compliment; but it is not the only instance wherein superfluities of that kind prove inconvenient to people, and they were sufficiently upbraided with it afterwards.

² Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 966, 1020.

They laid before him the several concessions made them in civil matters by the lord lieutenant, and in religious by the earl of Glamorgan. They represented to him the reasons of their conduct in this affair of the peace, as well as in that of the cessation; and acquainted him with the situation of their affairs, and the unavoidable destruction to which they should be exposed by the ruin of the king's affairs in England, which necessitated that conduct. He objected to the terms of both treaties, and to the design of publishing the political articles, whilst those of religion were to be kept secret; and thought that the force of these last depended only on the life of Glamorgan, which was too precarious a foundation; and the security of both could never be provided for without stipulating for a Roman catholic lord lieutenant. The council endeavoured to answer his objections; various papers passed between them without any effect on either side, but to make the nuncio more obstinate in his own opinion, and the members of the council more desirous to hasten a peace with the marquis of Ormond, for fear, if⁵⁶² the treaty should once be broken off, it should never be in their power to renew it.

216 The nuncio finding he could not bring the council into his own measures, resolved to put himself into a condition to oppose theirs. For this purpose^a, on Dec. 20, he got the titular bishops then at Kilkenny to his house, produced an instrument expressing his dislike of the peace, and prevailed with them to join in a protestation against it, and in a resolution to oppose it with all their power. This was signed by those of Dublin, Cashel, Ossory, Cork, Waterford, Clogher, Clonfert, and Ferns, who wrote the instrument, which was kept as a secret, and not to be produced till the council had finished the treaty. With the like view he caressed Glamorgan, and

^a Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1023.

got him the same day to sign a ^bwriting, whereby he undertook, "that in case the ten thousand men were landed in England, the articles being till then kept secret, the king should privately oblige himself never to employ any but a Roman catholic lord lieutenant, to allow their bishops to sit in parliament, universities to be erected under regulations of their own, and that the supreme council should be continued in the exercise of their government, without any restriction from the present lord lieutenant, till the private articles should be ratified." To make his party stronger in the assembly, he recommended to the pope several persons, whose sentiments agreed with his own, to fill the sees, which the council (who before had the nomination of them) had kept vacant, for fear of strengthening the party of the clergy who opposed the peace.

- ²¹⁷ This was done before Glamorgan's repair to Dublin and imprisonment in the castle. ^cThe news of that event put every body at Kilkenny into a terrible consternation; some cried out to arms, and were for immediately besieging Dublin to free him. The council laboured to cool the flame, but were forced to submit to the calling of a new assembly in an inconvenient time. They^d wrote to the lord lieutenant, pressing Glamorgan's release, "as absolutely necessary for the relief of Chester, then besieged and in distress, for which service three thousand men were ready to embark, and nothing wanting but the ships for which he had contracted to transport them; that all was at a stand by his imprisonment, and neither that expedition nor the treaty of peace could go on till he was set at liberty." Sir Robert Talbot was sent on Jan. 16 to second these letters, and to solicit that affair, which was at last effected. The council considering these inconveniences, and that his offence, however heinous,

^b Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1025.
247, 261, 276, and 283.

^c *Ib.* fol. 1038.

^d Q. 243.

arose chiefly from an injudicious zeal for the service of the crown, gave on the 22nd order for his being bailed, upon thirty thousand pounds' security given by him, the marquis of Clanrickard and earl of Kildare to appear at the board within thirty days after notice. Glamorgan being released, left Dublin, full of promises to repair his fault by a better conduct and by real services, which he was more ready to undertake than able to perform. He^e had engaged before for the relief of Chester, but for want of money could not make good his agreement for the shipping. He was to procure the council to send three thousand pounds to Dublin for the king's use to supply the forces there; which the council agreeing to furnish as soon as matters were settled with their agents for the peace, he offered to supply, but failing therein through the same want, yet still pretending to do it, the supply was deferred, till at last confessing his disability, the council sent two thousand pounds of it to the lord lieutenant in the April following. He succeeded better in another point which he undertook, which was the speedy despatch of the commissioners to finish the treaty. Darcy and Brown set out on the 29th of that month for⁵⁶³ Dublin, and by Feb. 3 all matters were adjusted, so that nothing was wanting but the presence of the rest of the commissioners to approve what had been done, in order to lay it before their general assembly.

²¹⁸ There were now greater difficulties than had ever been before in getting the approbation of that body, through Glamorgan's articles being made public, the lord Digby's protesting against them, and the king's disavowing the pretended authority: but the council was so violently set upon the peace, that the nuncio in a manner despaired of being able to prevent it. In this exigence he received from cardinal Pamfilio, the pope's nephew, a despatch which furnished him with a pretence to except to the

^e Q. 292, 290, 302.

terms of it, and to delay the conclusion. 'Whilst he was at Paris, a writing had been presented to him, drawn by the earl of Arundel and other English Roman catholics there resident, and containing a proposal for including them in the conditions of the Irish peace, and offering a proportionable body of English horse, of their religion, and maintained at their expense, to be joined to the Irish ten thousand foot at their landing in England, upon condition that the penal laws in this last country were repealed. This was sent to Rome, where sir Kenelm Digby had been ever since the last week in May soliciting supplies for the queen from the pope, as he had done in vain from other Italian powers. His negotiation would probably have been as ineffectual there, had it not been for this proposal, which pleased the pontiff so well, that adding to it the articles he desired with regard to Ireland, and the offer of advancing one hundred thousand crowns immediately, and of as much for the second and third year following, if the war so long continued, he offered it to sir Kenelm, as the instrument of a treaty to be concluded between him and the court of England. Digby had no powers for any such treaty; so that all he could do was to take the instrument signed by cardinal Pamfilio on Nov. 30, 1645, (to which another article was added the week following by the same cardinal,) to Paris to recommend it to the queen. The pope, to shew that he was not led entirely by a view of his own interests in this affair, but had some regard to her majesty's, gave Digby twenty thousand crowns at parting; but the queen entirely disapproved the proposal, and it came to nothing.

- 219 This project of a treaty, not signed by sir Kenelm, and rejected afterwards by the queen, was sent by Pamfilio to the nuncio, with power to alter or add to any

^f Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 845, 1054, et seq. and Cox, Appendix XXVI.

clauses thereof, as he saw fit. § He represented it as a formed treaty, already agreed to by the queen, and stipulated by her agent, though its being left to him to alter and finish was a plain proof that it was only the embryo of a treaty. In virtue of these representations, he prevailed with the bishops who came to the assembly (and whom he called together at his house on Feb. 6) to sign a protestation in favour of these articles, to be kept secret till there was occasion to produce them. He dealt at the same time with Glamorgan to pursue no further the peace which he had made some months before, but to insist on this new project, which he called *the pope's peace*, and which (he said) would procure greater advantages to the Roman catholics and larger supplies to the king, and would be attended with better security as to the performance, being a transaction with so mighty a prince. He did not fail to urge likewise, that it did not become a true son of the church to put his own peace in competition with one of the pope's making; and therefore he ought to wait till the original of that treaty came over. Glamorgan was impatient at this delay, and pressed⁵⁶⁴ that the forces might be sent over into England immediately: if that were done, he did not care which of the peaces were to stand. But finding that the nuncio was not to be diverted from his resolution, and despairing to carry any thing in the assembly against his consent, he acquiesced in the proposal, and ^hwrote to the lord lieutenant, "that the expectation of a more advantageous peace wrought by the powerful hand of her majesty had wiped out the clandestine hopes of his endeavours to serve the nation; that if the supplies were expected in England, it was necessary not to disgust the nuncio, without whose concurrence the king could not be served; and therefore he advised that himself and some other of his excel-

§ Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1063, 1066.

^h Q. 307, and Collection of Letters, No. CCCXXVIII.

lency's friends might be employed to treat and settle matters with the nuncio, which he was confident might be done in a few days, if not in a few hours." The marquis of Ormond could not comprehend the meaning of what was here written about the queen; and resolving to have nothing to do with the nuncio, returned him in answer, "that his lordship might securely go on in his own ways of serving the king without fear of interruption from him, or so much as inquiring into the means by which he proposed to work his ends."

- 220 The general assembly meeting on Feb. 7, ⁱthe nuncio had an audience, and in an oration extolled the good-will which the pope bore, and the supplies which he had sent them; opened the contents of the treaty, which (he pretended) had been lately made at Rome, and recommended it to their acceptance. They had under their consideration the articles lately settled with the marquis of Ormond, and the majority appeared so plainly to be for approving them, that he found it necessary to come again into the assembly on the 9th, and make another vehement harangue, condemning the peace settled at Dublin, and pressing in the most earnest manner that which had been transacted at Rome, the original whereof (he affirmed, upon the word of a prince, his usual phrase) was upon the road from Rome by sir K. Digby, whom he daily expected. This did not abate the eagerness which the greater part of the assembly had shewn for peace, nor did it produce such a sense of the pope's bounty testified by his supplies as Rinuccini hoped. Nobody indeed of any knowledge and experience in affairs believed any thing of his treaty; and it was urged by the lords Mountgaret, Muskery, and others^k, "that as the king had already granted all their temporal conditions, and had allowed them in spirituals liberty of conscience, and all

ⁱ Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1063—1077.

^k Vind. Cath. Hiberniæ, p. 20.

that was necessary for the exercise of their religion, so that nothing was wanting but what served for pomp or ostentation; and as his circumstances would not allow him to grant it publicly, they ought to trust his majesty's inclinations manifested to them, as well by the earl of Glamorgan as otherwise." They had good reason likewise to think that the pope (for whom they professed the greatest deference) would approve of the Dublin treaty, it being agreeable to his own sentiments. For when Mr. Belling had his audience of him, he asked, "how the queen was inclined to the Irish," and Belling answering, "that he thought her majesty well affected to them, because she had lately wrote a respectful letter to the supreme council of the confederate catholics of Ireland by that title;" the pope replied, "it was no wonder if the king thought it unsafe publicly to grant the Irish the conditions they demanded, lest it might disoblige his protestant subjects, and therefore a connivance ought to content them for the present." F. Luke Wadding, their agent at Rome, was a witness of this declaration of the pontiff's sentiments. There was another ¹ecclesiastic like-565 wise then at Kilkenny ready to do the same justice to the sentiments of her majesty, who had sent him to use his endeavours to persuade the Irish to more moderate conditions of peace. This was F. George Leyburn, an English priest, who openly preached up the duty which they owed the king, and maintained, "that the nuncio had slandered the queen, and imposed on the Irish nation; that her majesty neither had agreed nor would consent to any such articles, and that the fine story told them about the Roman treaty was only an idle representation, invented to ruin his majesty, and hinder the peace of the kingdom." The nuncio was highly incensed against Leyburn, and eager to prosecute him; but he being a missionary, was exempt from his authority; and applying

¹ Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 898 and 1089.

to Rome in aid of it, cardinal Pamfilio told him, it was the best way to persuade Leyburn quietly to depart the kingdom.

- 221 The affair of the peace was debated for four days with great warmth, when Glamorgan, fearing that the succours designed for England should be too long delayed, made a speech in the assembly to compose matters, and proposed to them to appoint some of the most eminent and prudent of their body to treat with the nuncio for the removing of mistakes and reconciling of differences, offering his own service for that end. ^mDeputies were appointed for that purpose, who offered their reasons for the Dublin peace, and debated the point with him several days, Glamorgan labouring all he could to mediate between them, till he had made himself suspected by both sides. Nothing would do, till on Feb. 18 he signed an instrument, whereby he ratified the articles between the pope and the queen, and in the king's name undertook that they should be ratified by his majesty; provided still, that if the original articles of that treaty arrived by the first of May, the said instrument was to be void, and in the mean time to be kept secret, unless the political articles of the peace with the lord lieutenant should be published before. This was done to put an end to the debate, and the next day a convention was signed between the nuncio and the deputies of the assembly, whereby it was stipulated, "to continue the cessation till May 1, in expectation of the original of the pope's treaty, and then the nuncio should ratify what he and Glamorgan should agree on, that there might be no further delay of an honourable peace; but this should be no obstruction to the confederates' treating with the lord lieutenant about political matters; provided they came to no conclusion or publication of articles, nor proceeded to any alteration of the civil government, nor did any thing to the preju-

^m Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1077—1088.

dice of the transaction between the nuncio and Glamorgan.” The former of these was still jealous of the latter, as inclined to the marquis of Ormond’s party by the influence of lord Muskery, whose mother Margaret was only daughter of Donagh O’Bryen earl of Thomond, and aunt to Glamorgan’s wife. Toⁿ remove his suspicions, and shew how entirely devoted he was to the nuncio, Glamorgan, who scrupled nothing that would contribute to hasten the forces into England, took an oath the same day, and swore, “that he would stand by the nuncio against all the relations and favourers of the marquis of Ormond, and against all that should oppose the pope’s treaty and the nuncio’s measures for the good of religion and the service of the king. For which end he promised at his return [from a voyage he then proposed to make to France, to get ships to transport the army] to supply the nuncio with two hundred thousand crowns, ten thousand arms for foot, two thousand cases of pistols, eight hundred barrels of powder, and thirty or forty ships well provided, over which he should name an admiral.” This was given under his hand and seal on Feb. 19, and the⁵⁶⁶ nuncio being satisfied therewith; came two days afterwards to the assembly, exhorted them to go on with their business, and give orders about peace and war, promising them a peace within two months. This was not all that Glamorgan promised; for on the 10th of the next month, to engage him to promote his expedition into England, he offered him to make use of the powers to which he pretended, and to create one earl, two viscounts, and three barons, such as the nuncio should name; which would enable him to gratify the Irish.

²²² The marquis of Ormond was all this while expecting the return of the commissioners to put the last hand to the treaty, and wondered that there should be so unaccountable a delay, when so little remained to be adjusted.

ⁿ Nuncio’s Memoirs, fol. 1091 and 1094.

He called upon them^o, by a letter to Mr. Belling, to use greater despatch in coming to a resolution ; which when matters were at last settled with the nuncio, they soon did, approving the articles of the treaty by an unanimous decree of the whole assembly, even the bishops concurring in the vote. In consequence hereof, on March 6, they granted a new commission to their former agents, or any four or more of them, to treat and conclude a peace ; which was accordingly concluded on the 28th of that month : and the articles thereof, signed and sealed by the marquis of Ormond on the king's behalf, and by the lord Muskery, sir Robert Talbot, John Dillon, Pat. Darcy, and Gefferey Brown, on the part of the confederates, in the presence of the marquis of Clanrickard, the lord Digby, sir Maurice Eustace, and Dr. Gerald Fennell. At the same time with these articles (the substance of which hath been before related in the marquis of Ormond's concessions in the treaty) was signed also a conditional obligation or defeasance, whereby " the Irish engaged to transport ten thousand foot into England or Wales, well armed and provided, six thousand by April 1, and four thousand more by May 1 following, to be mustered, viewed, and allowed by such as the marquis should appoint ; and till the said men were shipped away, the articles were to be deposited, as a scroll, in the hands of the marquis of Clanrickard, and neither taken to be concluded, perfected, or of force, nor to be published, till the said first of May, nor then, unless upon sending of the said men ; and then, and not before, the same should become of force, be mutually delivered to the respective parties, fully concluded and perfected, and be published with all requisite ceremonies. In case the said forces were not sent by the times appointed, (unless hindered by the blocking up of harbours, contrary winds, or other reasonable cause, allowed as such by the marquis of Ormond,) these articles

were to be of no effect, each party disengaged, as if they had never been agreed upon and signed, and the counter-parts thereof to be mutually restored to the respective parties."

²²³ PThus was the treaty brought at last to a conclusion ; all matters of religion submitted to the king, his royal power preserved in other points, and his majesty obliged to nothing, unless assisted in the proportion and time set down in his letter of Dec. 1 last past. But the king had now no face of an army in England, and despaired of being able any longer to make head against the rebels there ; so that the only party that seemed to be left him to take was, either to get to London, if the parliament would give him such conditions as a gentleman might own, or to throw himself into the hands of the Scots. In this condition, though three or four thousand men might enable him to keep a footing for some time in Wales, he did not see how a larger force could subsist in that mountainous country, or be of any use to him in England. He rather thought, that in case of a peace, (which he still ⁵⁶⁷ wished, were it only to tie up his own hands from disposing of it to those rebels to whom he was going to submit, or to keep the Irish from applying to some foreign power for protection,) those forces, originally intended for his service in England, might be as usefully employed to reduce Ireland to his obedience ; which might possibly be a means for restoring him some time or other to the two kingdoms he had now in a manner lost, or at least afford a safe retreat to himself.

²²⁴ The marquis of Ormond did not receive this account of the king's condition and sentiments till April 25, and in the mean time had sent commissioners to view and muster the six thousand men designed for England. ¶The

¶ See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXI. CCCCXXXII, and CCCCXXXIII. ¶ R. 32, 34, 44, 50, 60, 66. See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXXXVII. and CCCCXXXIX.

commissioners came to Kilkenny on March 30, expecting to find the men at the water side, where they were [to] muster them; but the Irish urging that a numerous body of men could not subsist in such a barren tract of land as lay about the place of embarkation, insisted that they should be mustered in their quarters, the remotest of which were Clonmel and Cashel. Fresh orders were sent for and transmitted; but before they arrived, three thousand of the troops were drawn from those places, and sent to the siege of Bonratty, which the earl of Thomond had lately delivered into the hands of some forces of the parliament, which came in a fleet up the Shannon; and it was soon after taken by the lord Muskery. To excuse their diverting of the forces to that service, which was really of great importance, the council of Kilkenny alleged the great difficulties and dangers of an English expedition, being uncertain where to land, assured of no horse, and ignorant of his majesty's condition; and represented that the clearing of one of his majesty's dominions would be of greater consequence to his service, than an attempt to assist him in England under such hazards and difficulties. There was a good deal of reason in what they thus urged by way of excuse; though in truth they wanted transports for the men, for which they had depended in a great degree upon lord Glamorgan, who had undertaken to supply them with ships which (he said) he had contracted for in France, and who, notwithstanding his several disappointments and distress for want of money^r, still flattered himself that he should be the restorer of the king, and continued full of his favourite project of conquering Turkey. They were however able to send succours to Montrose in Scotland, which the marquis of Ormond pressed as soon as the peace was concluded, and two thousand five hundred or three thousand men to North Wales, which he urged on April 27, upon

his receiving from the king the abovementioned account of his condition in England: but neither of these were ever done.

225 They kept their word better in supplying the marquis of Ormond with three thousand pounds for the relief of his forces in Dublin; and they very readily furnished the lord Digby with three hundred men under Milo Power and other commanders, named by his lordship, for the defence of the prince of Wales, who had retired to Scilly upon the reduction of the west by the parliament. Promises of mutual assistance, (in case either of their quarters were attacked,) before the time appointed for the publication of the articles, passed between them and the lord lieutenant^s, who promised to engage in actual service where it was most necessary; and as he should find himself enabled, would farther prosecute those that should not submit to the peace, as enemies and rebels to his majesty, in such way as he should judge most for his majesty's service. They were even disposed to put the supreme command of their forces into his hands, if he would have accepted it, and could have been sure of the obedience of their troops; but this could not be so much⁵⁶⁸ as openly proposed, much less executed, till the articles of peace were published. Their agreement with the nuncio to wait for the pretended Roman peace till May 1 rendered it impracticable to publish them before that day, and several considerations made them defer it still longer.

226 The prince of Wales had been directed by the king, in case he should be obliged to quit Cornwall, to take refuge in Denmark; but either the suddenness of Fairfax's conquests in the west, or the danger [of] the voyage, for want of a sufficient convoy, prevented the execution of those orders, and forced him to retire to Scilly. There was but a small garrison in the castle, insufficient for his

^s R. 17, 18.

security, which made him desire the marquis of Ormond to procure him a reinforcement of three hundred men from Ireland. This supply went with lord Digby, who^t, after being disappointed of shipping both by the marquis of Antrim and earl of Glamorgan, set sail on April 18, and arriving at Scilly, left one hundred men for strengthening the fort, and went with the rest to Jersey, whither the prince was gone, as to a place of greater safety. Lord Digby thought it a great misfortune that he did not come to Scilly before the prince had left it, not doubting but in that case he might have prevailed with him to come into Ireland, where his presence was much desired by the best affected of the council of Kilkenny, as what would certainly enable them to defeat the nuncio's measures and execute the peace, and as the most likely method to unite all their party in the king's obedience. But that project was impracticable at Jersey, by reason of the invincible aversion in the prince's council against it; and though they were not better reconciled to his highness's retiring into France, yet this design was strongly supported by the queen's vehement pressures and the prince's own inclination to go thither. The court of France was desirous to have him there, and entered into a solemn engagement that he should be at full liberty, and have at all times all conveniences to transport himself to what place soever the advantage of his affairs should call him. Lord Digby hereupon went to Paris, and found the queen desirous of the prince's remove thither, rather out of an uneasiness with regard to his safety in Jersey, and through ignorance of the condition of Ireland, than out of any passion or design relative to France. She was very ready to embrace any party whatever, which should, upon a judicious debate, be found most essential for the preservation of that kingdom, and for laying the most solid foundation for his majesty's assistance. It was necessary

^t See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXLIII and CCCCLVI.

to consult cardinal Mazarine on this head, his real desire of restoring the king to his rights being now proved by many undoubted testimonies. By this time news had come of the king's putting himself into the hands of the Scots, and of their in a manner engaging to declare for him. The cardinal allowed the usefulness of the prince's going into Ireland; yet excepted to it, as too sudden before the Scots were enough declared, apprehending that it might afford them a pretext to fly off, in case they were not so firm and right as was hoped. For this reason he wished the prince might come into France for the present, and some other means found out to go through with the peace of Ireland suddenly, and to join the protestant party with the Irish. Lord Digby perceiving his inclinations, and knowing the impossibility of getting the prince from Jersey into Ireland without bringing him first to Paris, replied, that there was only one way possible (besides the prince's present repair thither) to settle the peace of Ireland; which was by a firm assurance of his highness's coming thither as soon as was possible; and in the mean time a sum of money, to satisfy the protestant officers till his coming, and thereby to enable the marquis of Ormond to displace those officers whom he had cause⁵⁶⁹ to distrust. The cardinal readily advanced him ten thousand pistoles for that end; a greater sum than the Irish (as they complained afterwards) had been able, with all their solicitations, to get from him since the beginning of the war. With this sum, and a full persuasion that the prince would come to Ireland when it was thought necessary, and that France would supply further sums of money for the forbearance of calling him from thence, lord Digby returned to Ireland, and landed at Waterford on June 29.

- 227 Lord Digby, whilst he was at Paris, had the satisfaction of seeing how infinitely just the queen had been to the marquis of Ormond, and of finding that she had been

so far from entering into any treaty with the pope concerning Ireland, (notwithstanding the nuncio's impudence to publish what he did at Kilkenny,) that she would never suffer sir Kenelm Digby to hearken to any thing on that subject; and her majesty having received some propositions from the pope about Ireland, her answer still was, that the business of that kingdom was already in those hands that were best able to manage it, and that whatsoever was sought for there must not be expected from any but the lord lieutenant.

- 228 The promise made to the nuncio of waiting till May 1 for the arrival of sir Kenelm, who never came, and of that treaty, which was never made, had moved the Irish commissioners, when they signed the instrument of the peace, to agree it might lie as a scroll in the hands of the marquis of Clanrickard till they had sent ten thousand men into England, and it should be thought proper to publish and proclaim the peace. When that time was elapsed, they thought fit, on May 10th, to give instructions to Mr. Plunket to repair to Dublin, and, representing the impossibility of their sending over those forces, to desire the lord lieutenant to declare his judgment of such impossibility in writing, according to the proviso in the defeasance. That gentleman was charged likewise to declare the necessity of a present union of the nation; and if the present publication of the articles of peace was necessary for that purpose, to shew the lord lieutenant that they could not avoid publishing at the same time the articles with Glamorgan, for fear of a rupture among themselves, and to prevent the stopping of foreign supplies. If his excellency did not think the publication of the articles proper at present, Mr. Plunket was to solicit him to join his forces immediately to theirs, and to declare against the common enemy.

229 The occasion of this last instruction was^x sir C. Coote's falling with a strong body of the Laggan forces into the counties of Roscommon and Galway, as was supposed, with a design to penetrate into Thomond, and relieve Bonratty; but whether the enterprise was found too desperate to be attempted, or for some other reason, he contented himself with wasting the country, and burning the marquis of Clanrickard's lands about Portumna and Loghreagh, and returned to his garrisons with considerable preys of cattle. That nobleman, urged by the present sense of the outrages done him, pressed the same thing, and insisted that a proclamation should be issued out against sir C. Coote and his adherents, declaring them rebels and traitors. ^yTheir actions indeed, so openly done in opposition to his majesty's authority, made them so in the sense of the law; and yet it would have been very difficult to have got the consent of the council to such a proclamation, so much were most of them afraid of offending the parliament without necessity. Nor was it deemed either safe or prudent, considering the great wants and weakness of the state at this time, and under the great uncertainty of agreement with the Irish confederates, or of help from them, to draw, by a proclamation which could not be seconded with suitable power, 570 upon his majesty's authority, and those that managed it, danger and derision from a party then only strong in the field. There was the more reason to abstain from a declaration, which would produce an open war with that party, because former experience had shewed it would scarce produce any other effect in the Irish, than to heighten the exorbitance of their expectations and demands, when they should see the king's ministers so engaged, and necessitated to rely upon them for their support. Nor was it proper for them, in their uncertainty of the king's con-

^x R. 177, 178, and Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXLVII.

^y See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCLI.

dition in England, which was about to undergo a very great and extraordinary change, to proceed to so ineffectual a denouncing of war, when they might provide for their own safeties, and even execute the like resolutions in a more silent way.

230 The marquis of Ormond had prepared answers to this and the other propositions brought by Plunket, when he received an account of such an alteration of the king's situation in England, as might well be supposed to occasion the like in the measures and resolutions proper to be proposed for his majesty's service in Ireland and the settlement of that kingdom. The court of France had, in May 1644, sent M. de Sabran into England, to negotiate an accommodation between the king and parliament. That minister was still there, when, in the beginning of August 1645, M. de Montrevil was sent from the same court to renew the old amity between it and the state of Scotland, and to use his endeavours with the Scots to engage them in the king's interests, for which the season seemed favourable. ^z Montrevil coming to London, saw the earl of Loudon and other Scotch commissioners, who assured him of their readiness to come into an accommodation, to which the jealousies between the presbyterian and independent parties in the English parliament, they imagined, would dispose both to hearken. Loudon complained much of the treatment which the Scots had received from the English, who owed them vast sums, and had failed in their promises. In the beginning of October following, the earl of Holland came to Montrevil with the news of the defeat of the king's forces near Chester, and told him, that his majesty's affairs were thereby utterly ruined, and that he had no way of safety left, but to throw himself into the Scotch army. He assured him, that as soon as the king took that party he would join him with ten thousand men, to oblige the

^z Negotiations de M. de Montreuil MS. penes me.

independents to make honourable conditions with him; pressing Montrevil to send an express immediately into France with this advice to the queen of Great Britain; for the loss of a moment's time might never be recovered. Montrevil excused himself from sending an express, as a matter that would raise suspicion, and hoped his majesty would be able to hold out long enough to allow him to send in the ordinary way; but the true reason of his delay was, to get time to sound the Scots on the subject. He proposed the matter, as of his own head, to lord Balmerino, who approved it, and said, that the king would save himself by that means, and save them too from the evil intentions of the English. But he doubted whether his majesty would be able to do it, by reason of his distance from the Scotch army, and if he could, he was still afraid the king would not be willing to make the attempt, since the Scots before Hereford had refused to let a Flemish knight speak to lieutenant general Calender, though he was sent by the king to ask leave to retire into their army. The Scots were at this time much displeased with the parliament for not having answered their demands, and for having voted the money raised in Yorkshire, for the subsistence of the Scotch forces, to be a violation of the liberty of the subject, without giving them any notice thereof, as was required by the 57th treaty of union between them; and they pretended to publish their resentment, if they were once assured of the king's protection. The affair being proposed to the earl of Loudon, he readily came into it, and sent sir Robert Murray to propose it to the king, who had at the same time great offers made him by the independents; which probably he might have accepted, if he could have been assured, as well of their sincerity in proposing them, as of their ability to execute the treaty, when it should come to be known. The king chose to agree with the Scots, as likely to draw after them the English presbyte-

rians, and as less averse to monarchy than the independent faction. The Scots engaged themselves in the most solemn manner to the court of France, and to the king, ^athat if he put himself into their hands, they would not attempt to force his conscience, would give the like liberty and a sure retreat among them to all his faithful servants and adherents, and would endeavour, by treaty or by force, to restore him to his just rights, and establish him in the enjoyment thereof. The parliament of England had just before refused to give him the like assurance, or to admit him to (what they had always pretended to desire) a personal treaty; so that having no other party to take, he resolved to run the hazard of getting to the Scotch army before Newark. He, by a letter dated April 3, communicated this his intention to the marquis of Ormond, who received it on May 20, as he had the day before an account of his majesty's safe arrival in that army on the fifth of that month. ^bThis made the marquis think it necessary to take some time to reconsider his answers to the propositions made by Mr. Plunket, and to dismiss him to attend the committee of instructions at Limerick, with assurances that they should soon know his resolutions by persons whom he would send to them fully instructed and authorized for that purpose.

- ²³¹ On June 2 the lord lieutenant sent sir G. Hamilton and colonel Barry to Limerick^c, to acquaint the Irish committee that he understood very well the necessity of an union; but he might not join with any party, not deriving authority from his majesty: yet, in whatever condition the king either was or should be, he would readily receive and make use of the assistance of such of his majesty's subjects as would endeavour to maintain his authority, and preserve the kingdom for him; that it was

^a See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCXXXVI and CCCCLXIII.

^b Ib. CCCCXLIX.

^c R. 244, 247.

not fit to say more to this proposition, nor could any thing further be done towards an union, till the articles of peace were published, about which he had not yet received his majesty's pleasure, nor had they performed the engagements made at signing them, not only as to the forces to be sent to England, which they alleged to be impossible, but with regard to the money they were to advance for the relief of the king's army, which was undoubtedly in their power, and a third part of which was still unpaid, whereby he was much disappointed, and dangerous inconveniences brought upon his majesty's affairs; which were likely to suffer greatly, if the residue was not remitted immediately. In relation to Glamorgan's articles, he could not, either with the discharge of his duty to the king, or consistent with his own honour, admit of the publishing thereof, his majesty having not only disavowed the giving of any power to warrant them, but also fully declared against those concessions; for which reasons he expected from them a declaration of their resolution not to publish them. Those gentlemen were likewise to press them to a speedy determination touching the publication of the peace, and to declare freely to them, that the condition of his majesty's affairs at Dublin was such, as if timely hold were not taken of the overtures now made them, he should very soon be necessi-⁵⁷² tated to seek some other way to recover and preserve his majesty's rights and authority in the kingdom.

²³² The committee of instructions^d excused the failures charged upon them, protested that they were ready to perform their engagements, promised to omit the publication of Glamorgan's concessions, and expressed their willingness and resolution to concur and agree to the publishing of the articles of pacification as already settled. These instructions were signed on June 12, and sent by Mr. Plunket and Mr. Brown, who soon after

^d R. 276.

set out for Dublin, where the marquis of Ormond had not yet received his majesty's pleasure with regard to the articles of peace. When the king came to their army, the Scots at first treated him with respect, till they had obliged him to order the surrender of Newark, and had retired with their forces to Newcastle, where they were out of danger of being attacked by an English army. They took that precaution in order to make more advantageous terms with the parliament, resolving to force the king to what in conjunction with that body they had ever intended to effect. They deprived him not only of the freedom of his person, but even of the liberty of his mind, all power of expressing any thing but what they would have him being taken away. Thus they obliged him on the 11th of that month to send orders^e to the marquis of Ormond to proceed no further in the treaty of peace, nor to engage him upon conditions with the Irish after sight of those orders. These being transmitted by the English committee in Ulster, were received by the lord lieutenant on June 26, when he was considering of an answer to be given to the proposal made by the Irish agents for publishing the peace. The orders did not supersede any thing already done, but, inhibiting a further progress, seemed to be express against the publication. Every thing was hereby at a stand. Mr. Brown returned to Limerick for fresh instructions as to what was proper to be proposed for remedy of the unsettled condition of the kingdom, whilst the marquis of Ormond waited for some signification of his majesty's pleasure, and free sentiments conveyed in some other manner than by the canal of his enemies. The marquis of Ormond was well enough satisfied in his own judgment that the king was still desirous of the peace of the nation, though he failed of the supplies at the time appointed: but it was difficult to persuade the council to entertain the

^e See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCLIII.

same sentiment, and to do any act in virtue of such persuasion; and yet without their concurrence there was no proclaiming of the peace, the articles of it would not be observed by the protestants, nor would it be attended with any benefit to the kingdom.

- 233 Whilst the lord lieutenant laboured under this difficulty, lord Digby arrived from France with an account^f that the Scots had broke all their engagements to his majesty, and treated him barbarously; that they had made him a close prisoner, and had not only chased from him Mr. Ashburnham, who was the only person that accompanied him to their army, but had set forth a proclamation, denouncing death against any who had served him during the troubles that should presume to come among them; and instead of them, had placed about his person such as had been most eminently active against him. He added, that his majesty had on June 2 found means to send advice to Paris, “that he had no possibility left him, either of receiving any knowledge of his own affairs, but as his enemies should represent them, or any advices from his faithful servants; much less to express his pleasure to them in any way but what the Scots should force from him; and that having with much skill and difficulty obtained the secret means of expressing in short his sad condition, he thereupon declared his will and pleasure, that the queen, the prince, and all his faithful ministers, to whom it was to be imparted, were to understand this as the last free direction which they could expect from him; and that they should in all things pursue steadily those orders which he had given before the time of his unfree condition; and that in all things wherein he had not given directions, while he judged himself free, the prince his son should give from time to time such orders as should be judged best for the advantage of his crown and interests, without being

^f See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCLXIII.

diverted from it by any thing which in his present restraint might be either surreptitiously or violently got from him; that particularly for the business of Ireland, he had, whilst he was free, sent positive and repeated orders to the lord lieutenant for concluding the peace, upon the terms expressed to him by his excellency, since the mutual signing of the articles; that he had commanded the queen and prince to give the marquis of Ormond assurances of their adhering firmly to him in the business of the peace of Ireland, in what unfortunate condition soever his person should continue; and that if there were a possibility for his majesty by any art to gain the means of doing it, the marquis should receive orders in his own hand conveyed unto him by the queen for all this, and whatever else lord Digby was commanded to signify to him, as his majesty's pleasure; that as the great seal of England was likely to fall into the hands of his enemies, he was to give no obedience to any thing under it concerning Ireland, nor thereupon interrupt his prosecution of the king's service, unless he should receive, from his majesty's own hand in cipher, assurances, that the same was passed by warrant from him freely granted, and upon his own free and unconstrained judgment of what was fit for his service; that whatsoever the king should thus freely command, should be sent either in cipher in his own hand, or else conveyed to him by the queen and prince of Wales; and whatsoever directions he should receive in any other way, he was not to consider them as his majesty's free commands, nor to yield any further obedience to them than such as, upon consideration of the matter contained in them, the lord lieutenant should judge fit for his service to have been done, without relation to any such commands."

- 234 The^g prince of Wales sent the marquis of Ormond from Jersey the assurances which his majesty had commanded

^g See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCLX.

him to give ; and the lord Digby, to satisfy the council, drew up and signed a declaration on July 28, which was entered in the council book. The purport of it was to declare, “ that the king’s letter of June 11, forbidding all further proceedings in the treaty of peace, was a surreptitious letter, or a forced one from his majesty, procured upon some false information of the state of his affairs, and contrary to what he knew to be the king’s free resolution and pleasure ; that if the peace of Ireland were not presently concluded, the hinderers of it would be the occasion of subverting and destroying the main foundation resolved and laid by his majesty, for the recovery of his own, his crown and posterity’s rights, whether by way of accommodation or war ; for the preventing of which irreparable mischief, if there should be the least danger thereof by the scruples of any, he would freely take the whole matter upon himself to answer to his majesty, as secretary of state, with his life for this declaration of his will ; offering himself to be detained prisoner till the king should be at liberty to express freely and publicly to the marquis of Ormond his unconstrained will, and then, if his majesty did not justify him to have declared it faithfully, he submitted himself to suffer death ; and likewise desiring this his declaration might be entered in the council ⁵⁷⁴ book, for his justification, that he had discharged his duty, in case the mischiefs therein mentioned should be occasioned by deferring the peace of the kingdom upon the said letter of June 11.” This declaration, with another made the day following^h by the lord lieutenant, and likewise entered in the same manner, “ that he was satisfied he had full authority and command from his majesty to conclude the peace upon the articles deposited with the marquis of Clanrickard, and took upon himself the sole judging thereof, expecting only their assistance for causing it to be duly observed, removed all the objections of the

^h S. 73, 76.

council.” The instruments were delivered on July 29 by both parties respectively; that of the confederates by the lord Muskery, sir Robert Talbot, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Geffrey Brown, in the presence of the lords Clanrickard, Digby, and Taaffe, Daniel O’Neile, and Du Moulin the French envoy. The council the same day ordered a proclamation to be published, ratifying and confirming the articles of the peace, and enjoining all persons to observe and pay due obedience to the same.

235 The peace was readily submitted to by all that had hitherto obeyed his majesty’s authority; but met with great opposition among the Irish. The nuncio had, ever since his coming, professed in public a great regard to the king’s interests, at the same timeⁱ that he wrote to cardinal Pamfilio his opinion, “that the king’s destruction would be of most advantage to the Irish, and his wishes that the parliament might get the better of him in England, and make themselves masters of that kingdom.” In consequence of this opinion, he declared himself absolutely against the prince of Wales’s coming over, which was so much desired by the council of Kilkenny, and pressed them to decline all measures with the king’s party, and to apply themselves only to make an union among the Roman catholics, without talking of peace, till the king was restored to his power. He had made remonstrances against their treating with the lord lieutenant at different times, and on June 8 made a formal protest against any treaty that should be concluded without waiting for that made with the pope, against the publishing of a political peace without the ecclesiastical, and against the ecclesiastical, if not attended with the public exercise of their religion. He went so far as to recommend to them to put themselves under the protection of a foreign power, and to recommend the pope for their protector, which awakened the former jealousies of his aiming at a

ⁱ Nuncio’s Memoirs, fol. 1124, 1147. et seq. 1170, 1210.

temporal dominion ; which was opposed by arguments drawn from the remoteness and inconsiderableness of the succours that could be expected from him, considering their own necessity, and the excuses which the pontiff had made on that head, on account of the war of the Turks against the Venetians, and the disturbances in Italy, where the French had taken Telamone, Orbitello, and other places on the coast of Tuscany. When the nuncio was indefatigable in taking these and other measures against the peace, it behoved those who promoted it to take others to oppose them. But in this respect they seem to have been very negligent, and to have rested secure in the affection and desire which the generality of the gentry of Leinster, Connaught, and Munster expressed of peace, the obedience which had been hitherto paid to the orders of their supreme council, and the strength of their army under Preston, who had in the beginning of July taken Roscommon, Clunibrun, and other castles in the county of Roscommon.

- 236 The nuncio had all the clergy of his party, except some few old bishops and regulars, whose missionary powers were not subordinate to his authority. These, united under one active head, who had no restraint to keep him from pushing them into the most violent measures, and 575 the most destructive to their country, were a very powerful body, and much to be dreaded by reason of the influence which they had over an ignorant and superstitious populace, from which the common soldiers of the armies were drawn. The nuncio, knowing that whatever noise he and the bishops made by their declarations against a peace, they could not yet prevent its taking effect, without a power to support them in the field against the force of an army ready to execute the orders of the council of Kilkenny, had applied himself to gain Owen O'Neile with his Ulster troops. They were the most likely to engage in his measures, because no provision was made in the

articles of peace for those who pretended to be aggrieved by the plantation of Ulster. They consisted chiefly of Creaghts, who not being able to subsist in their own country, (which, being wasted by the incursions of the British forces in those parts, lay uncultivated,) retired into Leinster, with their cattle, and roving up and down, miserably harassed the neighbouring counties of that province, and horribly oppressed the inhabitants thereof. To remedy this grievance, the council of Kilkenny had issued severe orders for all the confederates to take arms against those Creaghts, who complained of that treatment as an inhumanity towards people engaged in the same common cause, and forced by the chance of war to desert their own habitations, and take refuge in parts less exposed to the enemy. These orders were given upon very just reasons and heavy complaints from the counties of Meath, Longford, and Westmeath, who suffered so much from the plunder of these dissolute fellows, that the nuncio himself^k could not but own that no Tartars ever committed worse ravages than these soldiers of O'Neile did; and pretended to be much offended at the scandal which they brought upon himself by styling themselves the nuncio's soldiers, whereby they had made the pope's name so odious among the inhabitants of Meath, that they had recourse to the very puritans for protection. These however were the men whom the nuncio found the fittest for his purpose, and it was their general Owen O'Neile (whom he describes to cardinal Pamfilio as a morose and selfish man) that was most likely to support him in his measures against the peace. He did not fail to apply to them in a proper manner, to assure them he would employ the money and succours he had already brought for their assistance, and promised them still further supplies from the pope. They had nothing to get or save by the peace, and hoped to thrive by the ravages of war and confusions

^k Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1188, 1189.

of the kingdom. They were very ready to stand by the nuncio, and were by a late accident much increased in their numbers and reputation, and made more considerable and powerful than they had ever been before.

- 237 ¹ O'Neile had been early in the spring with the nuncio at Kilkenny, and having received from him an earnest of the supplies he was to receive, drew his forces together, and about the latter end of May had assembled an army of near five thousand foot and five hundred horse. With these he advanced towards Ardmagh, and Monroe having drawn out his forces, to the number of six thousand foot and eight hundred horse, to oppose him, had on Thursday June 4 encamped ten miles short of that city, intending to rest there that night; but receiving intelligence that the enemies' design was to possess themselves of that place, he caused his army to march on to Ardmagh, thinking to find O'Neile there and surprise him in his quarters. He did not reach Ardmagh till midnight, and then found that the enemy lay encamped seven miles further at Benburb. O'Neile was strongly posted between two hills, a wood behind him, and on his right the river of Black-576 water, which was thought difficult to be passed. Monroe marched early the next morning towards Glaslogh, the place appointed for the Laggan forces, and a party of five hundred foot, which his brother George Monroe was bringing from Colerane to join him. O'Neile having advice of the march of the Scots, drew out all his horse to the top of the hill, where the battle was afterwards fought, and there took a view of Monroe's forces as they passed along the road on the other side of the river towards Glaslogh. Thinking himself safe by the river being between him and the enemy, and having intelligence that the party of five hundred foot before mentioned was advancing on the side of Dungannon, he sent a detachment

¹ O'Neile's Journal, and R. 258, 259, 260, 268. S. 28, Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1193.

of horse, with a body of foot, to fall upon them in their march. Upon the approach of the Irish horse, G. Monroe posted his men so advantageously in some enclosures, that the horse could not attack them, the foot that were sent to second them not coming up in time. In the mean while the Scotch army finding a ford in the river at Kinard, passed unexpectedly over it, and advanced towards the Irish. O'Neile observing it, ordered his own regiment to possess a narrow pass in their way to his camp. The Scots with their fieldpieces soon cleared the pass, and colonel Richard O'Ferral retired with his men in good order to their main body. The noise of the cannon alarmed the party which had been sent towards Dunganannon, and brought them back to the Irish army sooner than otherwise they would have come. O'Neile amused the enemy for four hours with little skirmishes, and firing at a distance, till he had got the sun on his back, which before was favourable to the Scots, and the detachment he expected had joined him. It was by this time near sunset, and Monroe, who had stood still all that while in order of battle within musket-shot of the enemy, without advancing, being much surprised to see that party, which at first view he took to be the Laggan horse, join the Irish, began to make his retreat. As he was drawing off his forces, O'Neile advanced from the hill whereon he was posted with his army, having ordered his men not to fire a piece till they were within a pike's length of the enemy, and then to fall in with them sword and pike in hand, which would give the victory to the robuster men. His orders were well executed; the English regiment commanded by lord Blaney maintained their ground, till he and most of his men were cut off. But O'Neile's cavalry soon broke into the Scots' horse, who being pushed and falling foul on their foot, disordered the whole body, and a general rout ensued. Sir James Montgomery's regiment was the only one which retired in a body; all

the others fled in the utmost confusion, and most of the infantry were cut in pieces. Colonel Conway, after having two horses shot under him, made his escape almost miraculously to the Newry, with captain Burke and about forty horse. Lord Montgomery was taken prisoner with about twenty-one officers and one hundred and fifty common soldiers. There were found three thousand two hundred and forty three slain on the field of battle, and others were killed the next day in the pursuit. O'Neile had only about seventy killed and two hundred wounded: he took all the Scots' artillery, being four fieldpieces, with most of their arms, thirty-two colours, their tents and baggage. The booty was very great: one thousand five hundred draught horses being taken, and two months' provisions for the Scotch army, enough to serve the Ulster Irish (an hardy people, used to live on potatoes and butter, and content generally with only milk and shoes) double the time. Monroe fled without his wig and coat to Lisnegarvy, and immediately burnt Dundrum, deserted Port a Down, Clare, Glanevy, Downepatrick, and other places, sent for the Laggan forces to his assistance, and ordered the country to rise, every household being to furnish two musketeers. This caused a general consternation; great numbers fled into Scotland, and the counties of Down and Antrim would have been lost in a great measure, if, either by accident or by an adventurous policy, all Monroe's ammunition had not been blown up when the battle was lost; and if the nuncio, who received the news of the victory on June 13 at Limerick, (whence commissioners were going at that time to Dublin, resolved, as he found, to conclude the peace,) had not despatched away an express to O'Neile to congratulate his victory, and to desire him to march with his forces to support him in his opposition to the peace. The messenger overtook O'Neile at Tenrager, as he was ready to fall into the Scots' quarters: yet to shew his obedience to the nuncio, he im-

mediately called a council of war, and resolved to march with his whole army, now much increased by deserters from the Scots, and by Creaghts, who flocked to him in hopes of booty towards Kilkenny. ^m He accordingly quitted the opportunity of conquests in Ulster, and marched into Leinster with his forces, which by his list now amounted to nine or ten thousand foot, and seventeen or eighteen troops of horse, his soldiers making horrible depredations in the country.

²³⁸ The marquis of Ormond, on Aug. 6, ⁿsent Dr. Roberts, Ulvester king of arms, to proclaim the peace at Waterford, Kilkenny, and other cities in the Irish quarters. He executed his office at Kilkenny, Fethard, Callan, and Cashel, but was refused the liberty of doing it at Waterford and Clonmel. When he came to Limerick, the mayor, most of the aldermen and capital burgesses, with the most considerable gentlemen resident in the place, prepared to attend him in their formalities whilst he proclaimed it; but Dr. Lynch, titular warden of the college of Galway, having formed a party to oppose it, and some priests having, with the assistance of Dominick Fanning, raised a great mob about the market-cross, where the ceremony was to be performed, the mayor proposed to defer it, fearing it might occasion a tumult. Roberts represented the great importance of the peace being proclaimed immediately in a place of such consequence, that the example there set would be readily followed by Galway and other places; and pressing to have it proclaimed immediately, the mayor resolved to run the danger, and attend him in the discharge of his duty. But upon coming out into the market-place for that end, the mob fell upon them, wounded the mayor in several places, trod him under foot, and, but for the endeavours of some of their own party, would have killed him outright. Roberts was pursued into the mayor's house, received several

^m S. 109, 116, 121.

ⁿ Ibid. 140, 206, 213.

dangerous cuts and bruises, and narrowly escaped death; and being kept there prisoner for some time, no further attempts were made for proclaiming the peace. John Bourke, the present mayor, was turned out of his office and imprisoned, and Fanning placed in his stead: several of the aldermen were likewise displaced, and the corporation modelled according to the mind of the clergy in the city, who were entirely governed by the nuncio and his party.

- 239 As soon as it was publicly known that the peace was made^o, the nuncio sent Owen O'Neile four thousand pounds and a supply of powder from Wexford, and called an assembly of the clergy at Waterford under pretence of a visitation. There met on Aug. 6 ten bishops and several inferior ecclesiastics, entirely devoted to his views; but instead of employing themselves in ecclesiastical matters, they spent all their time in taking measures and making decrees of a very different nature. By one decree, they declared all persons that adhered to the peace to have violated their oath of association, and to be guilty of perjury. By another, they excommunicated the commissioners, and all that had been instrumental in treating of the peace; and by a third, they interdicted all the churches, and forbad divine service to be celebrated in all cities and towns which admitted the peace; suspended all the clergy, seculars and regulars, who preached or spoke in favour of it, from the exercise of their function, and all confessors that should offer to absolve any adherents or favourers of the peace. To deprive the Kilkenny council of means to maintain the peace they had made, excommunication was denounced against all that should either receive or pay any money or assessments pursuant to their orders, and against all soldiers that should offer to put them in execution by force. For the better union

^o S. 190, and Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1284, 1312 and 1315, and S. 174, 175.

of their own party, a new oath of association was drawn up, whereby all that took it swore, "that they would not adhere to any peace, but to such as should be honourable in the view of the world, secure to their conscience according to the oath of association, and so approved by the congregation of the clergy of Ireland."

240 These violent measures were contrary to the instructions which the nuncio had received from the court of Rome, by which he was directed, in case peace was made, to do nothing, either by word or deed, to shew that he either approved or disliked the same. He had omitted nothing in his power by caresses, promises, threats, and rewards, to engage all that he could in his measures, and had called to his synod at Waterford such as were devoted to him; and yet in his apology to the pope he represents himself as merely passive in the affair, and excuses what was done as being the unanimous act of all the congregation of the clergy, in which he did not lead them, though he thought fit to acquiesce in their determinations. The success of those measures made his excuse much easier accepted with regard to their violence, than any thing he had to offer for his joining with the congregation in some of these decrees, and in other declarations, wherein they had for form sake professed their fidelity, *first to God and religion, and next to the king.* ^pThe nuncio had expressed himself to this very purpose in a speech he had made to the council of Kilkenny, and had sent a copy of it to Rome. Cardinal Pamfilio, in his letter of May 20, 1646, found great fault with the words relating to the king, "for that see never would by any positive act approve the civil allegiance which catholic subjects pay to an heretical prince." From this maxim of theirs had arose the great difficulties and disputes in England about the oath of allegiance, since the time of Henry VIII; and the displeasure of that court was the greater, because the nuncio

^p Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1345, 1384, 1387.

had left a copy of that speech with the council; which if it came to be published would furnish heretics with arguments against the papal authority over heretical princes, when the pope's own minister should exhort catholics to be faithful to such a king. The nuncio was directed to get back the original of that speech, and all copies thereof which had been spread abroad, and to take greater care for the future never to indulge such a way of talking in public conferences. The nuncio pretending to have lost his own copy, got the original out of the hands of the secretary, and then gave him another, in which the offensive paragraph was altered.

241 This reprimand not restraining the nuncio, in the fury of his zeal against the peace, from being the first that signed the printed protestation of the clergy on Aug. 12, wherein they declare, that they would never consent to a peace, unless secure conditions were made according to the oath of association for religion, the king, and country. Pamfilio, on Dec. 10 following, was obliged to reprove him again for deviating from his instructions. He told the nuncio, "that it had been the constant and uninterrupted practice of the see of Rome, never to allow her ministers to make or consent to public edicts of even catholic subjects for the defence of the crown and person of an heretical prince; and that this conduct of his furnished pre-579 tence to her adversaries to reflect upon her as deviating from those maxims and rules to which she had ever yet adhered. The pope knew very well how difficult it was in such assemblies to separate the rights of religion from those which relate to the obedience professed by catholics to the king; and would therefore be satisfied, if he did not shew by any public act that he either knew or consented to such public protestations of that allegiance, which, for political considerations, the catholics were either forced or willing to make." The nuncio made the best apology he could for his conduct in signing that protesta-

tion, and in consenting to the new oath of association settled by the next general assembly, the first point of which was allegiance to the king. This (he said) "was sworn to by all the bishops without any scruple; and it was so thoroughly rooted in the minds of all the Irish, even the clergy, that if he had in the least opposed it, he would presently have been suspected of having other views, besides those of a mere nunciature; which, without any such handle, had been already charged upon him by the disaffected."

- 242 The censures thundered out by the nuncio and clergy being spread with wonderful diligence into all parts of the kingdom, had their effect upon an ignorant and bigoted people, and produced every where vehement exclamations against a peace which gave up the point of religion. The counsellors of Kilkenny prepared an appeal from the censures, but neither exhibited it in form nor published it to the world. Whether their catholicity betrayed their judgment in this exigence, or whether through the want of money, the disobedience of their soldiers, and the terror which the civil magistrates generally had of the clergy, they were really unable to execute vigorous measures against such as opposed the peace, they did not so much as offer at taking any that might shew they were resolved to be obeyed. Instead of crushing that opposition in the bud, they allowed it time to gather strength: they sent deputies to Waterford to persuade the clergy to a better temper, to court them to an accommodation, and thereby gave them reason and leisure to know their power, and instructed others to dread a body of men to whom the supreme council itself paid so much deference, and desired to justify or excuse their conduct. They had seen on former occasions how impracticable it was to make the clergy rescind any rash censure; and there could not be a greater weakness than to imagine that on this occasion they would come to an

agreement upon any terms but their own. The nuncio and congregation, elated with this application from the council, sent them a set of extravagant propositions. The modestest of them^q was, that Preston and Owen O'Neile should, for their greater security in the army, be made general of the horse, and major general of the field, and that they two should appoint commanders for all the inferior charges in the army. The chief end of them all was utterly to prevent a peace, and (as is expressly said) to keep all things in the present state, till the pope's pleasure in matters of religion was further known. The counsellors, seeing no possibility of an accommodation, send to the lord lieutenant for assistance, and pressed his speedy coming to Kilkenny.

- 243 They saw indeed very little reason to depend on their own party, and on the obedience of either the officers or soldiers of their armies. Owen O'Neile had long been used to slight their orders, and having been neglected by them in their choice of generals to be named upon the peace, was now more likely than ever to be refractory; and they were very well convinced that he and most of the Ulster Irish would adhere to the nuncio. The mar-580
quis of^r Ormond however, to try what could possibly be done with him, sent Daniel O'Neile to his uncle, to offer him (in case he would heartily contribute his assistance to the service of the king and support of the peace) to confirm by his authority all the commands upon him, and all the advantages thereof, which he at present enjoyed; to grant him a custodium of all the lands of O'Neillan, that should be found to belong to any who should oppose the peace and his majesty's authority; and to assure him of all other advantages that he could reasonably pretend to, and which had been for some time the subject of their discourses. Owen rejected these overtures, being actually engaged to the nuncio, who having borrowed a large sum

^q S. 187, 176.^r S. 189, 214.

of money from Diego de la Torre the Spanish agent, had been so liberal in disposing of it, that, with what he had besides in his power, he had by this time advanced nine thousand pounds to that general. The council of Kilkenny thought Preston's forces might be able to oppose O'Neile, in case he should advance towards Kilkenny; but since the Roscommon expedition, a great part of that army had disbanded for want of pay, and Piers Fitz-gerald, alias Mac Thomas, had revolted with a strong party of the horse, and declared for the clergy. Preston by this means had not above three thousand foot and four hundred horse together; and gave such ambiguous answers to them, to the nuncio, and to the lord lieutenant, that none of them could be assured of his real intentions, though he was deemed in his inclinations favourable to the peace, because he had proclaimed it in his camp. The council had called three regiments that had served in the siege of Bonratty (which was taken on July 13) into the neighbourhood of Kilkenny for their greater security, but some or other of them were daily deserting to Waterford.

- ²⁴⁴ The marquis of Ormond set out on Aug. 28 from Dublin, with about one thousand five hundred foot and five hundred horse, and arrived on the 31st at Kilkenny, where he was received with all the respect that was due to his person and dignity, and with such expressions of joy, as afforded reason to believe that the people were glad to be admitted again into his majesty's protection. ^s As he passed by the Naas, he borrowed eight barrels of powder of sir John Sherlock the governor, which were to be replaced by the like number, which were expected from Dublin; and not taking the Naas road, joined the army at Killcullen bridge. He left his foot near Gowran, under the command of sir Fr. Willoughby, with orders not to disperse; and taking the horse with him to Kil-

^s Sir Fr. Willoughby's Relation, MS. Bishop of Clogher, No. 111. S. 255, 256.

kenny, quartered them about Bennet's bridge. Lord Digby and the marquis of Clanrickard accompanied him in this expedition, and joined all their endeavours to settle and compose the humours of the people, and put a stop to the disorders occasioned by the clergy. Whilst he was making a progress over the country for this purpose, as he drew near Cashel, on Sept. 10, he received letters from the mayor of that city, informing him that the town was threatened with destruction, if they gave him admittance, and that Owen O'Neile was marching that way with all his army, and had his rendezvous that day at Roscrea. This account was confirmed by a like letter from sir Robert Talbot, then at Birr, (within five miles of which place O'Neile had encamped the night before,) recommending to the marquis of Ormond to take care of the ford of Moygany, the only place where, without a long march through the counties of Catherlogh and Kildare to Monastereven, the barrow could be passed in order to join with the Byrnes, Tools, and Kavenaghs, in Wexford and Wicklow. O'Neile much depended upon their assistance, and had some expectations of the like nature from Connaught, and from Turlagh Duffe O'Bryan, who had undertaken to bring him two or three thousand men out of Munster.

- ²⁴⁵ Daniel O'Neile, who had been sent to treat with his ⁵⁸¹uncle, wrote^t the lord lieutenant word on Aug. 29, that Owen had appointed a general rendezvous in the county of Cavan, whither all his regiments were then on their march from the several counties where they had been quartered; and had given out that he drew them together in order to march against the Scots, who (he said) were advanced to Armagh; but as this last was false, he deemed the other to be so too, and nothing but a pretence to cover his real design. The council, on Sept. 1, ^uhad sent him advice from Dublin of their having re-

^t S. 190.

^u S. 214, 221, 246, 250, 267, 268, and 278.

ceived undoubted intelligence, that Owen O'Neile had the day before, about four miles from Cavan, mustered six thousand men, and his forces were daily increasing; that every man brought with him from his quarters fifteen days' provision, and the design was pretended to be against the Scots in Ulster. This advice was confirmed by other despatches and intelligence, which assured them, that O'Neile had privately agreed with Monroe on a cessation of arms till the May following, and that the Irish septs in the county of Wicklow were gathering into a body; which convinced them that the design was either to march to Kilkenny or to attack Dublin. To provide for the security of this place, they issued out an order that all the inhabitants should furnish themselves with arms and ammunition, and with six weeks' provisions for their families, and work incessantly in repairing the fortifications of the trenches about the city; and they victualled the castle for a month, and sunk a new well to supply it with water. They received afterwards certain advertisement from a gentleman who had been two days in O'Neile's army, and left it on the 7th, "that he had marched the day before by Mullingar with eight thousand foot, six hundred horse, and six fieldpieces, and had advanced that day to Tirrels Pace, where a regiment of his quartered at Kilbeggan was to join him, and three others which he expected from Connaught; though these last might fail him, sir James Dillon having sworn, in the presence of five hundred of O'Neile's soldiers, that they were all traitors, and he would never serve under O'Neile's command; that O'Neile kept his design so secret, as none of his officers knew to what place he intended to march; though some of them guessed it was to Kilkenny, and his priests gave out that this was his intention, and if the lord lieutenant would not admit of Glamorgan's peace, they would treat him in a manner too scandalous to be mentioned, and prevent his return to Dublin; that they

should be twenty thousand strong within a fortnight, and would in their return plunder all places that should not join with them against the peace." This intelligence was sent on the 9th to the marquis of Ormond, and, concurring with the other advices he had received, made him apprehensive of a design to surprise him, and that small body of forces which he had brought with him.

246 He was unwilling to suspect the Irish to be guilty of so much perfidy, as after inviting him in the most pressing manner to Kilkenny, to attempt to surprise him there; an act which would lay an indelible reproach on the nation, not only as a scandalous breach of public faith, but as an unparalleled ingratitude to a man who had ventured the loss of his life, estate, and the ruin of his posterity, for the good settlement of their country. He was loath to depart before that settlement was perfected, or at least before he knew the result of some propositions which had been sent to Waterford by sir Lucas Dillon and Dr. Fenell, who were confident they would be accepted by the clergy. He considered that his commission for concluding a peace was determined by that which he had already made, and if it did not take place, there was no possibility of renewing a treaty for another; and was apprehensive, that his return to Dublin⁵⁸² would put a stop to all further negotiations for the effectuating of that peace. But he could not bear the thoughts of any disaster's attending the party he had brought with him, whose miscarriage in that expedition, to which they were drawn by his credulity, would be imputed to him, perhaps with the additional charge of a design to betray them; a scandal which he could as ill brook as the other reflection.

247 Whilst he was considering what party to take, the earl of Castlehaven came to him with a full account of the design laid to intercept him; that Preston was engaged in the same design with O'Neile, and that both their armies

were on the march to cut off his retreat ; so that he had not a moment's time to lose, and must inevitably be lost, unless he marched immediately to Leighlin bridge with his troops ; and having there passed the barrow, and got that river between him and the enemy, endeavoured by long marches to gain Dublin. There was now neither room nor time to dispute ; and the marquis of Ormond, leaving the lord Digby to carry on the negotiations at Kilkenny, and thereby prevent the inconveniences of his absence, immediately joined his troops at Callan, where they were faced by Mac Thomas with four hundred of the Leinster horse. Thence he despatched orders to sir Fr. Willoughby, who was still posted with his foot at Gowran, to take up all the draught horses he could find in the ploughs, stables, or field, to put them into the waggons, and to march with all the forces as fast as was possible to Leighlin bridge, and possess himself of that pass ; for they were all betrayed, and O'Neile was advanced with his army into the barony of Ballinekil, in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny. For fear of a miscarriage, another express was sent, with a duplicate of these orders, to sir Francis, who received the first on the 11th, two hours before day ; and the last overtook him on the road. As the major general was on his march towards Leighlin, news came that the Irish had that morning plundered the marquis of Ormond's and lord Digby's waggons at Kilkenny, taking away the plate, linen, clothes, and all that was laden on those carriages. When he came within three miles of Leighlin, he received advice that an hundred men under colonel Walter Bagnal were put into the fort at the bridge end ; and thereupon sent two officers to Bagnal, to know whether he might expect to find him a friend or an enemy. Bagnal returned a very civil answer, that the passage over the bridge should be open, and he might command any accommodation that the castle could afford. The major general found it so at his com-

ing, and marching over the bridge, rendezvoused his men in the plain field, where he rested till lieutenant colonel Flower joined him in the evening with the lord lieutenant's own regiment, which had been removed to a place at some distance from Gowran, for the better conveniency of quarters.

248 Sir Fr. Willoughby understanding by him that the marquis of Ormond was advanced with his horse not far from Leighlin, sent to let him know that the soldiers had lain there in the field a great part of the day; and as there was not accommodation for them and for the horse that came along with him, he would, if his lordship pleased, march to Catherlogh with the foot, and leave that place for a quarter to his horse. Orders were accordingly sent, and sir Francis marched late in the evening to Catherlogh, where he had advice that Owen O'Neile was marching in all haste with his army to Kilcullen, where the forces must necessarily pass through the river, the bridge being broken down. To be there before him, the major general ordered the forces to march an hour before day, and two miles farther drew them up in battalia in a plain field, ordering the clerk of the store to furnish all the musketeers with ball, and to give them their bandeliers full of powder. This being done, and some of the soldiers clearing their muskets, sir Francis perceived the 583 powder gave no report, and asking the reason of it, the soldiers complained the powder was naught. Upon examining it particularly, he found it indeed very bad, and inquiring of the clerk of the store what powder it was, he replied, it was the powder brought from Dublin, and some of what the rebels had furnished in part of the thirty thousand pounds, which by the articles of the cessation was to be paid, half in money, and the rest in beeves and ammunition. He caused it to be put up again in the barrels, and opening those of sir John Sherlock, found the powder to be very good, and distributed it among the

soldiers, who else would not have had a corn of powder to do service in case of an action. The marquis of Ormond overtook him in his march, and being advanced near Kilcullen bridge, without hearing any further account of O'Neile, and night coming on, he left some horse with the major general, and went with the rest to his quarters at Ballymore Eustace. Sir Fr. Willoughby before night passed the river near Kilcullen, but there being only two thatched houses in the place, and no kind of provisions for the forces, the soldiers wet, and impatient of stay, desired to march to the Naas; a motion which he willingly embraced, and made it their quarters that night. Early the next morning they continued their march to Dublin, where news had come that they were cut off; and arrived there the same day, Sept. 13. The marquis of Ormond entered the city, the earl of Castlehaven bearing the sword before him, and was welcomed with great acclamations, having reaped no other fruits from his expedition but to be convinced, as well of the vanity of depending any longer upon the Irish confederates, as of the necessity of applying elsewhere for succours to oppose the designs of those that governed them; and to have received a sum of money out of his own rents, which was very serviceable to afford some sustenance to his forces, when the excise and all other methods had failed, and to enable him to make some provision for the defence of Dublin.

- 249 Lord Digby, knowing how ill provided the lord lieutenant was for defence, to prevent the king's being entirely driven out of Ireland, ventured to make a ^xproposition to the clergy, "that if the nuncio and three or four of the bishops would give it under their hands that they would rest satisfied with the peace, and cause all over whom they had power to submit entirely and faithfully to it, and to join under the lord lieutenant against the

^x S. 199, 227, 297, 320.

common enemy, if they might privately receive a firm and authentic assurance of the repeal of the penal laws, and that their clergy should not be put out and molested in their ecclesiastical possessions before a new parliament called in pursuance of the articles of peace, the said assurance should be procured them collaterally, severed from the articles, to which the lord lieutenant had no power to add any thing; his commission for that purpose being determined." This did not satisfy; the nuncio and clergy would not be content with any thing but Glamorgan's articles, and some additional ones out of those proposed by the pope; (though the nuncio had express orders not to insist on these last, if he did not receive an authentic instrument thereof from Paris;) neither of which could be granted. The lord lieutenant had proposed a cessation, but it was rejected; and lord Digby seeing no possibility of preventing a war, resolved to go to France, to get supplies from cardinal Mazarine to support it, or some declaration from that court, which might oblige the Irish and the nuncio to submit to the peace.

250 The nuncio was too much elevated with his success to hearken to any terms but what he should prescribe himself, and which would leave him master of the kingdom.⁵⁸⁴ The way was now open for his return to Kilkenny, y Owen O'Neile, joined by Mac Thomas, being encamped with twelve thousand foot and one thousand five hundred horse, within three miles of the place, after taking Roscrea on Sept. 17, and putting man, woman, and child to the sword, except sir G. Hamilton's lady, sister to the marquis of Ormond, and some few gentlewomen whom he kept prisoners. Lord Mountgarret and both his sons were taken in the castle of Kilkenny, which surrendered on the 16th; and on the 18th the nuncio made his public entry into that city, and was received with all the pomp

y S. 297 and 356. Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1367, 1370, and 1371.

of a triumph. He was met on the way by general Preston, with some troops of horse, and by the Spanish agent at the head of the gentry of the neighbourhood. The first step he took was to imprison the lord Muskery and all the members of the supreme council, except Darcy and Plunket. Some other gentlemen zealous for the peace underwent the same fate, as sir Robert Talbot, (who had laboured in vain to keep Preston from embarking in these measures,) sir Piers Crosby, Dr. Fennel, colonel Bagnal, and Wale. This was done after a consult with the two generals, and Preston was the instrument made use of to seize their persons, making no scruple to sacrifice the rest, even against his sentiments, that he might have an opportunity of wreaking his revenge upon Belling, with whom he had a quarrel. The clergy, delighted with power, assumed the government to themselves: and on the 26th by a solemn decree appointed a new council, consisting of four bishops and eight laymen, ordering all the generals to be subject to their orders, and investing them with the same powers as the former council. The nuncio took upon himself to be president of this new council, and to act as supreme moderator in temporals as well as spirituals. How much his vanity was flattered by these events appears^z by his account of them to the pope: "This age," says he, "hath never seen so unexpected and wonderful a change; and if I was writing, not a relation, but an history to your holiness, I should compare it to the most famous successes in Europe, and shew how true it is that every part of the world is capable of noble events, though all have not the talents necessary to bring them about. The clergy of Ireland, so much despised by the Ormondists, were in the twinkling of an eye masters of the kingdom. Soldiers, officers, and generals strove who should fight for the clergy, drawn partly by a custom of following the

^z Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1346.

strongest side; and at last the supreme council being deprived of all authority, and confounded with amazement to see obedience denied them, all the power and authority of the confederates devolved upon the clergy.”

²⁵¹ The nuncio, in the greatness of his power, did not forget his friend Glamorgan^a; but made him general of Munster in the room of lord Muskery. The assembly of the province afterwards confirmed this choice; and Glamorgan began the exercise of his authority by imprisoning lieutenant general Purcel and others, who did not like the new government, giving out that he would soon have an army of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, and take all the seaports from lord Inchiquin. This was only an earnest of the nuncio's favours, who designed him greater matters, and promised to make him lord lieutenant, if the marquis of Ormond was drove out of Dublin. To this purpose he recommended him to cardinal Pamfilio, as the fittest person for that post, being generally acceptable to the Irish; and though some objected to his good nature and want of steadiness and constancy, yet those considerations were overbalanced by his entire devotion to the see of Rome. There was another motive full as prevalent with the nuncio; Glamorgan having taken a sort of oath of allegiance to him, and signed on Sept. 28 a private instrument to be communicated to none but the bishop of Ferns and F. Robert Nugent, superior of the Jesuits in Ireland. He therein swore, “that he would do nothing of any moment without the consent and approbation of the nuncio; and if by chance he did any thing that he should dislike, he would, upon the first signification of his pleasure, correct his error, and submit to his decision; that he would resign the lieutenancy whenever the nuncio should order him, and would in all things obey the holy see.” Thus that ambitious minister thought he had secured to himself the

^a Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1372, 1376—1380.

entire command of the kingdom in all events; and was so confident of taking Dublin, and consequently of establishing his deputy lieutenant, that he wrote to the court of Rome for directions how to settle the ceremonial between himself and the person on whom he should confer the empty title of lord lieutenant.

252 Dublin indeed was not in a tenable condition; ^bthe trenches about the suburbs were out of repair, and the order issued by the council for repairing them had been followed with no effect; the inhabitants, as well protestants as papists, being so negligent of their own safety, or so divided by factions, that they cared to do nothing for their common defence. When the lord lieutenant returned, the work was set about in good earnest, the townsmen were formed into companies for the more regular proceeding according to their orders, and to encourage all to go on vigorously with the work, the marchioness of Ormond herself, and ladies of the first quality in the city, condescended to carry baskets of earth for repairing the fortifications. But whatever provision was made in this respect to oppose an attack, there was still a greater enemy to struggle with, and it was impossible to hold out the city long for want of provisions. The out-garrisons could not be defended, and if drawn into the city would starve it the sooner. The soldiers within the place were in want of all things necessary for their sustenance, and when the enemy were become masters of all the country thereabouts, the excise must of necessity fail, which had hitherto been a great help to support them. The marquis of Ormond had already mortgaged his estate for twenty-three thousand six hundred pounds, which he had borrowed for the maintenance of the army; and had brought from Kilkenny about two thousand pounds more, which he employed for the same service; but this could only prolong for a few days a

^b S. 246. Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1393.

ruin which seemed unavoidable. In this extremity, no human means of preserving Dublin for his majesty appearing, he had only the sad choice left of falling into the hands of either the English or the Irish. His recent sense of the treachery and breach of faith in the latter; the necessity of preserving the English interest in the kingdom, in order to preserve the protestant religion there, and to keep the old Irish, now possessed of the power of the confederates, from shaking off the government of the crown of England, and putting the nation under a foreign power; and the hopes that Dublin might be restored to his majesty without trouble when the Scots should assert his majesty's cause, or the English return to their duty, determined him to apply to the parliament for relief.

²⁵³ Sir F. Willoughby, the lord chief justice Lowther, and sir Paul Davys were chose by the lord lieutenant for agents to treat with the parliament. The propositions sent by them were, “that the parliament should immediately send over three thousand foot and five hundred horse, which, with the forces already about Dublin, would make seven thousand one hundred and fifty foot, besides officers, and one thousand horse, and three months' pay for that number; that all the protestants of the kingdom, and others who had adhered to them since Oct. 23, 1641, all the British and others who had been forced to con-⁵⁸⁶ tinue in the Irish quarters for some time after the rebellion broke out, and had since returned to the English quarters, such as had never joined with the rebels, but had served his majesty in England, and such of the rebels, as by the lord lieutenant and council, with consent of the parliament of England, should be accepted as adherents to his majesty's protestant subjects, might be preserved in their persons and estates; and that instructions might be sent to the lord lieutenant for that purpose. In such case the lord lieutenant undertook to prosecute the war

vigorously against the Irish rebels, as he should be enabled, that none of the forces already in Ireland, or such forces and supplies as should be sent from England, should be employed either there or elsewhere, nor any treaty, either of peace or cessation, be entered into or concluded with the Irish, but by the express direction of the parliament of England.

254 “The agents were by their instructions from the lord lieutenant and council to represent that a difference ought to be made between the first contrivers and bloody actors in the rebellion, and those who by the torrent thereof were afterwards accidentally engaged in it contrary to their inclinations; and that the confiscation of the estates of the former would satisfy the adventurers; to shew the necessity of the late peace for the preservation of the protestants, who could not oppose the Irish when united, and to justify the conduct of the state; to set forth the advantages of the peace to England, and the necessity of speedy succours, regular pay, and constant supplies of money and victuals, as well as men. They were to insist that the covenant should not be imposed, nor the Common Prayer suppressed at present, lest it should divide the protestants, and hinder a joint prosecution of the war, and that nothing be done in relation to either but by act of parliament. They were to move, that directions should be sent to the parliament forces in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, to correspond and join with them; and that sir F. Butler, and the colonels Gibson, Monck, Warren, and Gibbs might be enlarged from their imprisonment, and sent over, being men that knew the country, and were experienced in the service, and therefore fitter to be employed than others.” Two other instructions were added by the council alone; the one of which was to represent, “that the lord lieutenant and officers at present employed would be more serviceable than any others for the preservation and re-

duction of Ireland. The other contained an offer of their own, (in case the former instruction or overture was not accepted,) to resign their patents *with the leave and by direction of his majesty*, rather than supplies should be obstructed on their account, provided they were preserved in their persons and estates, indemnified from public engagements, repaid their disbursements for the public, protected for six months from private debts, and allowed to transport themselves and their effects where they pleased." With these instructions the agents set sail for England on Sept. 29.

255 The parliament appeared ready to enter upon the treaty, and resolved to send succours without delay; but the first overture for continuing the lord lieutenant, council, and officers as then constituted did not please them. They knew the marquis of Ormond, and those who adhered to him in the government, to be too well affected to his majesty, and too firmly fixed in their principles of loyalty, to be ever brought over to serve the cause, and embark in all the measures of the parliament. Hence, waving the first, they resolved to proceed upon the second overture, to treat for the surrender of the sword and garrisons from the lord lieutenant, and to send commissioners over to receive them. The persons deputed for that purpose were, sir Thomas Wharton, sir 587 Rob. King, sir Rob. Meredith, sir John Clotworthy, and Richard Salway, esquire. Orders were likewise sent for two thousand foot and three hundred horse to be transported immediately from Chester to Dublin for a present supply in case of a siege.

256 The nuncio had long set his heart upon that enterprise^c, which he had thought very feasible, when it was left in a manner naked by the marquis of Ormond's carrying a good number of the garrison with him to Kilkenny. He pressed O'Neile to besiege it at that time, or else to in-

^c Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1368-1371.

tercept the lord lieutenant in his return ; either of which, much more both, would put an end to the war : but O'Neile wanting cannon for a siege, thought it necessary to begin with the execution of the latter design. The nuncio was still confident of success, and was for having the siege undertaken by O'Neile alone, that the merit and honour of so important a conquest might be ascribed entirely to the Ulster general. But Preston's late merit by joining in the design for surprising the marquis of Ormond, in order, when they had him in their power, to force him to what concessions they pleased in point of religion, pleaded strongly for his being employed in that enterprise. There are always great inconveniences arising from two rival generals being engaged in the same service with equal authority ; but the matter being debated by the clergy, and the bishop of Ferns urging, that as Preston was the general of Leinster, it would be an intolerable affront not to employ him in the siege of the metropolis of his own province, and that he might possibly resent it to such a degree as to reunite with the Ormondists, which would divide the forces of the kingdom, and be attended with great mischiefs, it was resolved to make him the compliment, and employ both armies in the siege, for which he had offered his service. The nuncio submitted to this resolution with a very ill grace, and by a preposterous conduct in politics, obliged Preston to take an oath that he would proceed sincerely, vigorously, and to the utmost of his power in the siege of Dublin, when no such engagement was required from O'Neile ; thus plainly expressing his jealousy of a man whom he was forced to trust with a supreme command in a service of the utmost consequence. He made another distinction between the two generals, which a man of better judgment or less passion would have avoided, as what must necessarily raise discontent in the troops of one of the armies, as well as in the chief commander. He had spent all his

ready money in gaining O'Neile and supplying his forces, and was forced to borrow on this occasion; yet, as if he never could do enough for the Ulster forces, when he went on Sept. 26 to take leave, and give his blessing to that army, he carried them eight thousand crowns; and a few days afterwards, when Preston was to set out to be at the rendezvous of his forces, all that he received from the nuncio towards their maintenance was two thousand one hundred *livres tournois*, about one hundred and sixty five pounds sterling. It is no wonder that Preston's officers resented this inequality in their treatment.

257 O'Neile, advancing with his army towards Dublin, took Maryborough, Desert, Grange-mellan, Stradbally, and all the strong houses in the Queen's County, none of them being provided for defence till he came to Athy, where he passed the Barrow, and was joined by the nuncio. Preston's army was not yet complete; many inclined to peace, refusing to serve, and sir James Dillon having carried off with him five hundred foot and a troop of horse, and in contempt of the orders of the council and congregation retired into Westmeath, protesting that he would not serve in that expedition. But the Leinster gentry, provoked by some insolencies of O'Neile upon his success, and the depredations which his soldiers committed in the country, and seeing no likelihood of redress but by get-588
ting into a body able to oppose him, joined Preston in such numbers, that before the end of October he had drawn together an army full as strong in foot and superior in horse to that of O'Neile. The resentment and animosity which the Leinster officers had against those of Ulster, the first consisting of old English, and the latter made up of old Irish, and the known discord between the two generals, Preston hating O'Neile, and O'Neile despising Preston, made lord Digby imagine that it was possible to draw off Preston from the nuncio's party,

and divert him from the siege of Dublin. ^dWith this view he set on foot a treaty with Preston, who professed, that if he might have any reasonable assurance for the security of religion, he would obey the marquis of Ormond entirely, and join all his forces against O'Neile. Preston was in his inclinations well enough affected to the service of the crown and the peace of his country, but he was too much a bigot in the point of religion, and so wavering in his mind, so changeable in his resolutions, and so unsteady in his measures, that the lord lieutenant could not think it advisable to depend upon him: nor had he longer any power to give him such assurances in the name of the king as were expected. Lord Digby was ready to give him those assurances from the queen and prince, but Preston having an infinite esteem for the lord Clanrickard, desired rather to receive them from that nobleman, whose coming to the army was for that reason much desired. In the mean time both armies, making sixteen thousand foot and one thousand six hundred horse, advanced towards Dublin, and on Nov. 2 the two generals joined in sending propositions to the lord lieutenant, demanding the admission of Roman catholic garrisons into Dublin, Drogheda, and other places within the English quarters, and as free and public an exercise of their religion in those places as the Roman catholics enjoyed in any country abroad.

258 The marquis of Ormond did not vouchsafe an answer to such extravagant propositions, too scandalous to admit of a treaty, whatever time was to be gained thereby. He had tried all ways to get assistance, but had found no effect as yet from any, except a supply of thirty barrels of powder, which he got from a parliament ship in the bay of Dublin; so that he was still very indifferently provided for defence. In a sense of his weakness, he had desired

^d See Collection of Letters, No. CCCCLXXXIX—CCCCXIII.

the commander of that vessel to carry his wife and children to the Isle of Man, but was refused; and though the captain offered to transport them to Chester or any place in the parliament's obedience, he chose rather to expose them to the same hazards with himself in Dublin, than to accept of that offer. He had sent colonel Chichester into the north to engage the committee of parliament and the Scotch officers to send an army to his assistance. The first refused him all succour, unless he would deliver up Drogheda to them: the latter were willing, if upon a general meeting they found themselves in a condition to march with any competent force to Dublin. The parliament of England indeed had promised him succours, and had ordered a body of forces to be transported [from] Chester, but he had reason to suspect the good faith of the parliament, and to be jealous of those forces. Sir F. Willoughby arrived from England on Oct. 28, and brought him such accounts from thence^e, that though he had but four days before despatched captain W. Cunningham to the Scotch officers with full instructions, he found it necessary the next day to send away major Gibson with a letter to colonel Geo. Monroe, (in whose affections to the king's service he had great confidence,) desiring him, and other officers to whom he should think fit to shew it, to march with one thousand foot and a proportion of horse to Drogheda, and not delay their ⁵⁸⁹ march on account of any news they might receive of succours arriving from the parliament. He acquainted them, that he suspected the good acceptance of his commissioners and their message at London was only in show, the intention of the parliament being, with the men they were sending away immediately, and under colour of assisting him, to Dublin, to make themselves masters of that city; which, unless he could get assistance from the Scots, they might easily compass by the affection which a

^e T. 163, 167 and 168.

party within the place bore to the parliament; that he had very plain grounds for his suspicion that such was their design, though too long to be set down in that despatch; and yet so great was the terror wrought in all sorts of people by the rebels' approach, that if forces from the parliament appeared, he should be forced to receive them, or run evident danger of being betrayed to them; that there was provision enough of beef, herring, and corn for their men, and by removing such as he most suspected to be attached to the parliament, he could find good quarters for five hundred of their men in the city; and if the forces expected out of England should arrive, he would at all hazards oppose their entrance till he knew the success of this message. The Scotch officers meeting together, found themselves, after their former detachments [for] Scotland, and their late loss at Benburb, unable to march with the force desired; so that this resource failed him. The marquis however had some hopes from the badness of the weather, and the approach of winter, which would make it impracticable for the enemy to lie long encamped before Dublin. To make their situation more uncomfortable, and to distress them with regard to their subsistence, he had made an expedition into the counties of Meath and Kildare, destroyed the milnes, bridges, stacks of corn, and other provisions within several miles of the city, and having thus provided the best he could, as well for his own defence as to incommode the rebels, he expected the coming of the enemy.

- 259 Preston came with his army to Lucan on Nov. 9, the nuncio arrived there on the 11th, being convoyed by the Ulster army, and the marquis of Clanrickard came the same day to Preston's quarters. The generals could not agree in measures to carry on the siege, and the bad weather, a flood in the Liffy, and the breaking of a bridge upon it, made their forces (who had nothing but what they brought with them) already labour under a scarcity

of provisions. ^fThe nuncio used his endeavours to reconcile the two generals, but without success, they being as different in their temper as they were in their sentiments and views. O'Neile was a man of few words, phlegmatick in his proceedings, an admirable concealer of his own sentiments, and very jealous of the designs of others. Preston was very cholerick, and so unguarded in his passion, that he openly declared all his resentments, and broke out, even in councils of war, into rash expressions, of which he had frequent cause to repent. The nuncio seeing the impossibility of reconciling the two generals, consulted secretly with the new council, whether it was not best to imprison Preston. The opinions varied; some thought it necessary to use severity, and strike that hardy blow, since the kingdom and all that was dear to them lay at stake. But others, who yet feared nothing could be done whilst there was such a disagreement between the commanders, representing, that the kingdom was not accustomed to such severe methods; that the securing of Preston's person would not advantage their affairs; that the Leinster army, far from being pacified by that means, would become outrageous; that the whole province would resent the step, and it was better to bear with the suspicion entertained of his designs, than to raise a flame ⁵⁹⁰ which might produce immediate ruin, the proposal was laid aside. Whilst Preston was thus in danger, O'Neile was doubtful of his own safety, and suspected that a like design was formed to cut off him and his Ulster forces. These jealousies and animosities ran so high between the two armies, that the nuncio was in continual fears lest they should come to blows: and each of them was more diligent in guarding against a surprise from the other, than they were in carrying on the siege.

260 Clanrickard at the same [time] laboured to persuade the nuncio and council to agree to a peace, upon reasonable

^f Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1413—1419.

security for the freedom of their religion. He undertook for the repeal of the penalties of the laws against the Roman catholics; that no alteration should be made in the possession of the churches till his majesty's pleasure was known upon a full settlement of the kingdom; and that the queen and prince should confirm these articles, and the crown of France should be guarantee for their performance. The nuncio was not satisfied with these terms; but as they were debating of them, and sitting in council on the 16th, a person came to the door with intelligence that the English forces were landed and received into Dublin. O'Neile and the rest started up out of their seats, and went away in a moment; the first of them by a cannon shot called all his men to their posts, and decamped in the night with his army, having made a bridge of trees and beams of house-timber over the Liffy, which he crossed at Leixlip, and retired into Meath, and from thence into the Queen's County. The new council went part of the way that night, and got the next day to Kilkenny. The nuncio did not part till the 17th in the afternoon, when he went to Donaghcatham, where he was attended the next morning by the earls of Westmeath and Fingall, with letters signed by Preston, the lords, and principal gentry of the pale, sir T. Nugent, sir Walter Butler, sir Luke Fitzgerald, Piers Fitzgerald, and others, pressing him to agree to the terms proposed by Clanrickard. The nuncio, still insisting on better conditions, departed for Kilkenny; and Preston with his officers, upon Clanrickard's undertaking for the performance of the conditions proposed, entered into a solemn engagement, to observe the late peace, with Clanrickard's additional concessions and securities, to be from thenceforth obedient to his majesty's authority, and to join with the marquis of Ormond against all his majesty's enemies, and such as should not upon the same terms submit to the peace.

261 The marquis of Ormond was all this while taken up with a very troublesome treaty with the commissioners of the parliament, who, leaving the forces that came with them from England on ship-board, landed on the 14th at Dublin. When they observed the weakness of the place, besieged by two armies, by whom those within expected every hour to be assaulted, they made no question but the want of all necessaries for defence, would, with the importunity and clamour of the inhabitants and soldiers, force the marquis to receive the supplies of men, money, ammunition, and provisions which they had brought with them upon any terms; and that by their means, and the assistance of a party within the city, they might easily make themselves masters of the place, and compel the marquis of Ormond to quit the government. The inhabitants of Dublin petitioned for their admittance, and so much uneasiness was expressed at their being left on shipboard, that the marquis of Ormond, what strong reasons soever he had to suspect the design of the commissioners, was obliged to comply in some measure with their request. It was too dangerous to admit them into the city; but he allowed them to land, and to be quartered at Rings-end, Lowsyhill, and Baggatrath, upon the commissioners' engagement in the name of the parliament, that they should not do any thing prejudicial to the people of those places, the city of Dublin, or the pre-591 sent government under the command of the marquis of Ormond.

262 The treaty was opened on the 15th, and was carried on till the 23d of that month, when it was declared to be determined. The commissioners were the stiffer in their proceedings, because of the lord lieutenant's distress at that time; and their instructions were strict enough, confining them to treat only with the marquis of Ormond for the surrender of the sword and garrisons, and allowing him but four days to resolve on a matter of

such importance. Their propositions were far from being a proper inducement to such a step, the parliament only offering to take the protestants of Ireland under their protection, and to allow the marquis his estate, or two thousand pounds per annum for five years, if he did not receive so much out of his own rents. This too was proposed only upon their submission to the ordinances of parliament, and the offer was expressed in such loose and indeterminate words, that a good deal of time was spent in clearing up their meaning, and after all that could be done for settling it, no protestant that would not renounce his allegiance to the king could reasonably depend upon it for his security. The marquis expected that the commissioners had brought specific answers to the several propositions which he had sent into England; but they neither had brought such answers, nor any copy of the propositions, nor any instructions about them; and when the marquis offered them a copy thereof, they would not receive it, nor enter into any debate upon the subject. He had proposed, and was obliged in honour and justice, to make some provision for the security of several orders of men, as of the protestant clergy, the civil and military officers, and the loyal Roman catholics, who had never been concerned in the rebellion, and who had before and after the cessation adhered to his majesty's authority, and who had many of them served against the rebels, though of their own religion; in which respect their merit was even greater than that of the protestants, and his lordship knew them to be more considerable, both in number and quality of persons, than the commissioners were willing to imagine.

263 There was likewise an essential defect in their instructions and proceedings with regard to the only overture on which they would treat, viz. the delivery of the sword and garrisons. When the proposition for resigning the government was made, it was insisted that it could not

be done without the consent and direction of the king. The lord lieutenant had wrote to the king on the subject, and transmitted a copy of the propositions to the parliament: he had sent a duplicate of that despatch to England, to be transmitted by the parliament to his majesty; but the committee, to whom the affair was referred, would not allow it to be sent. The parliament had taken no care to apprise the king of the matter, nor obtained any command or directions from him on the subject, though it was the fundamental condition upon which the proposition was grounded, and from which he could not recede, in regard of his oath when he took the sword. And he was the rather justified in peremptorily insisting upon this article, because by his surrendering of the government the Irish parliament would be dissolved, and the greatest and best security of the protestants be thereby destroyed. The marquis of Ormond therefore, seeing that nothing could be done, through the want of his majesty's orders, and the defect of the parliament's instructions, told the commissioners in few words his resolution, "that since they brought no answer to his propositions, no assent to any one of them, nor security to any protestants, but such as should observe all ordinances of the parliament; since they could not inform him what those ordinances were, to which all were to submit, nor assure him that those which enjoined the covenant, and inflicted mulcts and penalties for using the English li-⁵⁹²turgy, were not of that number; since they did not any ways secure such papists as had always adhered to the government; nor gave any assurance to the civil officers, or to any one of the military list, for their continuance; nor took any notice of the protestant clergy, nor brought his majesty's orders, he could not, consistent with his duty, part with so great a trust, in such a manner, without the king's positive command."

264 Such was his resolution; but that the kingdom might not be deprived of the supplies which the commissioners brought, and that neither side might be prejudiced till the king's pleasure was known, and their instructions from the parliament enlarged, the lord lieutenant proposed to them, "that the forces should be landed, distributed into garrisons, receive orders from him and the governor of the place, and submit to martial law; that they should lend him three thousand pounds to support the army, two thirds in money, the other in victuals; that mutual engagements should be made by himself for the free egress of the forces, and by the commissioners for their removal, at the end of six weeks, (unless an agreement were made in the mean time,) and for their doing till then no prejudice to the government." The commissioners refused these proposals, imagining that the pressing wants of the army and city, and the imminent danger of losing both, would force the lord lieutenant to comply. They embarked a few days after on board their ships, and carried all the supplies into Ulster, where they met with a very cold reception from the Scots. The commissioners themselves were with great difficulty admitted into Belfast, but their forces were absolutely refused entrance either into that place or Carrickfergus; and the ships were forced to hover a week about the coast before the men could be landed.

265 The marquis of Ormond had scarce extricated himself out of the great difficulty of removing from Dublin, plausibly to his own party, men that seemed to come for no other end than to offer them security in their fortunes, supplies in their wants, and assistance against such as had destroyed them in all the interests that were dear to men; but he found himself involved in a greater, with regard to his friend the marquis of Clanrickard's engagement with Preston. It had been of eminent service in a

time of the greatest danger, and been the means of saving Dublin and dividing the Irish confederates^g: but there were some things in it which he did not like, and he was unwilling to do any thing that might imply his approbation of that engagement. Care had been taken that little should be left to him in that affair; and yet he was apprehensive that his promising of that little (which was what he had otherwise determined to do, and which related to his obedience of the queen and prince's orders during his majesty's want of freedom) would be interpreted a consenting to the other articles. Of those none gave him so much pain as one which had been offered by the nuncio as an amendment to Clanrickard's propositions, and afterwards adopted by Preston and his officers; whereby it was provided, that a considerable number of the confederate forces should immediately be drawn into the chief garrisons under his majesty's obedience. Clanrickard and Digby had been so cautious as to avoid any expression that might imply what number or proportion of forces should be admitted, and had managed the business so as upon the marquis of Ormond's expressing a confidence in words without engagement when and how many to admit, that army might have been immediately employed upon service against the Ulster forces, and the admission of them into garrisons deferred till their services against the nuncio's party had merited so great a ⁵⁹³ confidence. In the mean time, in order to those services, the army was to be put under the command of the marquis of Clanrickard, with a commission of lieutenant general of the king's army in Ireland, and Preston was to serve under him as major general. There were the greater hopes conceived of such services, because the officers in general expressed great zeal for entering upon action.

²⁶⁶ There were certainly some regiments in that army

^g See Collection of Letters, No. DIV—DXXII.

which might very well have been trusted, particularly the earl of Westmeath's, sir Walter Butler's, and colonel Henry Warren's. The marquis of Ormond himself^h had a very good opinion of this last, even after he had discovered the treachery intended against him at Kilkenny; but yet he did not care to admit it into Dublin, as was proposed. In truth, there never could be a more unseasonable time for such a motion; the regiment proposed to be admitted was part of an army which had a few days before attempted to take the city by force, and threatened to cut the throats of all the inhabitants. They had lately violated a peace solemnly concluded, and by them received; and had broke out into the most open and violent acts of hostility. They had not been able to carry the place by assault, and were now to be received into it under the notion of defendants, and to be fed by those whom they could besiege no longer, for it did not appear that they were to bring with them either money or victuals. And yet for the reception of these men, who had been but just before declared enemies, others had been sent away, who had been invited to the deliverance of the city, and brought with them wherewith not only to defray themselves, but to relieve the wants of the army and inhabitants. This could not but appear a very strange turn, and the very noise of such an engagement from the lord lieutenant, though never performed nor insisted on, would sound harsh, even to the best affected; and therefore was very unfit to be published at a time when the humours of the people, led by different interests and passions, were so fluctuating, and there was a power at hand ready to support any desperate attempts the disaffected might venture to make.

267 The marquis of Ormond had certainly a very difficult part to act for the management of that party who still adhered to the king's authority, but had at the same time

^h S. 269 and 270.

the highest resentment against the confederates, whose rebellion had ruined their fortunes, and entertained the worst suspicions of such of that party as pretended to return to their duty. It was not prudent to lose a party of constant and faithful friends, in order to gain new ones, whose faith by their late conduct was reasonably to be suspected, and whose manifest unsteadiness rendered all dependance on them very precarious. Besides these apprehensions, there was a real danger in admitting Warren's regiment into the city, for though the marquis was entirely satisfied with the colonel himself, and Warren had taken particular care to form his regiment so as it might be devoted to his majesty's service; yet it was hard to answer for all the rest of his officers, who had not yet shewn they were excommunication proof, especially in a nation where the bare pretence of religion served to make men plead conscience for breach of faith, and in times of such distraction, divided interests and sentiments, that every day's experience discovered some private intelligence and engagements between the officers of one party and those of another; and many of Preston's, though they did not declare against the rest, had secretly assured O'Neile of their service. Preston too had been so variable in his conduct, that the marquis of Ormond could never be brought to think that he was to be depended on. However, admitting nothing that might endanger the security of his garrisons, (which was the 594 matter of greatest consequence,) he submitted his own judgment in other points to those of the lords Digby and Clanrickard, who personally knew Preston and his officers, and were entirely satisfied of their affections to the service. Thus, yielding either to their reasons, or else to their instances and importunity, he not only gave Clanrickard a commission to command the army in chief as lieutenant general, but sent one of major general to Pres-

ton, with letters, “expressing the satisfaction he had of his and his army’s integrity and affection to the king’s service, and the settlement of the peace of Ireland; assuring them that he should rely upon their fidelity, and employ them indifferently in all trusts, both in the field and in his garrisons; and as his principal care at present was how to prosecute jointly his majesty’s service and the settlement of the kingdom to the best advantage, he had desired the lords Clanrickard and Digby to acquaint him with the condition of his forces and garrisons, in order to form proper resolutions; and in the mean time he would take the best order he could to supply his army with provisions.”

268 That army was certainly full of the highest resentment against O’Neile and the Ulster forces, who (asⁱ the nuncio complained) being all of the old Irish race, had at the very time of their lying before Dublin expressed their inveterate hatred of the old English, and their hopes that all Ireland would soon be their own. O’Neile himself had used an intolerable pride in his behaviour, and discovered too much of his vast expectations and pretensions with regard to Ulster and the power of the great O’Neile; which had not only incensed the Leinster forces, but had discontented sir Phelim O’Neile and Alexander Macdonnel, whose regiments were ready to desert the Ulster army. Owen O’Neile was fortifying Maryborough, resolving to keep possession of what he had lately taken in Leinster, and seemed to take delight in wasting that province. It was resolved that Preston should advance with his army to Kilkenny, and endeavour to secure that city and Waterford. With this view he sent his nephew Jenic Rochfort to take care of the fort Duncannon, of which himself was governor, and advanced with his army to Gowran. But he

ⁱ Memoirs, fol. 1454.

was disappointed in his measures, Duncannon being before seized by N. Plunket for the nuncio and council, and himself denied entrance into Kilkenny.

269 The council and congregation there assembled had, on Nov. 24, condemned Clanrickard's and Preston's engagements; and on Dec. 5^k, when they heard that Preston was on his march that way, the nuncio and clergy ordered him to disperse his army into the quarters assigned them; and on refusal, declared him excommunicate. The nuncio, considering him as a man of very tender conscience, and full of scruples, wrote to him, and an agreement was by the mediation of F. Oliver Darcy at last made between them on Dec. 10, Preston promising to do nothing without the nuncio and clergy's consent, and the nuncio promising that no stain should be thrown upon his honour; that none who had joined in his engagement should suffer in their honour, persons, or fortune; and that he should be restored to his government of Duncannon. The nuncio sent him the next day an indemnity for what had passed, and he, going to Kilkenny, confessed before the council all his designs; and then wrote the marquis of Clanrickard word, that since the council had not approved his engagement, nor the marquis of Ormond received his garrisons into Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, and Trim, he would not stand to that engagement. Clanrickard was on the road to join him when he received this letter, and could not forbear calling him *traitor* in the first motions of surprise and resentment.

270 The marquis of Ormond had set out from Dublin on 595 the 9th, with eight hundred foot and as many horse, in order to join him. Preston had caused colonel Bagnal to write a very pressing ¹letter to the lord lieutenant to hasten his march in order to encounter the Ulster army, and to assure him of the firm and entire resolution of his

^k Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1443, 1447, 1450.

¹ T. 177, 364, and Collection of Letters, No. DXXIII and DXXVII.

forces and the Leinster gentry to join with him in the performance of his engagement; and had on the 10th, the very day on which his agreement was made with the nuncio, sent his nephew Barnewall with a like message; so that the marquis of Ormond had reason enough to be surprised (when he was within a day's march of Gowran) to receive advice of Preston's defection to the nuncio, if he had not been before prepared for it by his own too just suspicions. Preston afterwards, by a letter of Dec. 19, endeavoured to excuse his conduct by laying the fault upon his officers; but the declaration, which he published three days afterwards, did but ill agree with those excuses.

- 27¹ The marquis of Ormond thus diverted from the first design of his expedition, marched with his forces into the county of Westmeath, in hopes of subsisting them there for some time, and of finding some opportunity of recovering the castle of Athlone. The town of that name lies in Westmeath; but the castle is seated on the other side of the Shannon in Connaught, and joined to the town by a bridge over that river. It had been held by Thomas viscount Dillon of Costelagh, ever since he had been made president of Connaught, till the last September, when^m it had been surprised by F. George Dillon, in favour of the nuncio's party. Sir James Dillon had received it from him upon certain conditions, which he took an oath to perform, or to redeliver the castle. Exceptions being taken to those conditions, and reflections being thrown on sir James, as if he had connived at or encouraged the surprise in order to get the possession of it to himself, he restored it to George, who, not able to keep it, delivered it to colonel Richard O'Ferral and Rory O'Macguire, who strengthened it with a garrison of O'Neile's forces, and thence made excursions into the county of Galway, and miserably wasted lord Clan-

^m Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1462.

rickard's estate. Lord Dillon had been bred a Roman catholic, but at the age of fifteen declared himself a protestant. He was very uneasy at the loss of his government, and in hopes of recovering it went to Kilkenny, and was on Dec. 6 reconciled by the nuncio to the church of Rome, according to the Roman pontifical in St. Mary's church, before a vast crowd of people. He signed at the same time an instrument declaring his resolution to continue always in the communion of that church, and in obedience to the pope; upon which the council resolved to deliver him back Athlone. He went thither in the middle of December with an order for possession to be given him of the castle; but O'Neile's officers refusing to obey it, he was disappointed, and repaired to the marquis of Ormond, who had then entered Westmeath, attended by the lords Clanrickard, Westmeath, Castlehaven, and Taaffe, and reinforced with five hundred foot and two troops of horse brought him by sir James Dillon, who openly declared against the nuncio and O'Neile's proceedings, and heartily detested Preston's defection.

²⁷² The lord lieutenant was not strong enough to make head against O'Neile, if he reassembled his forces from their quarters, nor to lay open siege to Athlone; and was forced to be continually on his guard to prevent a surprise from the enemy. All that he could do in those parts was to raise one thousand pounds from the gentry of the county, and to subsist his forces for a few weeks in a country not so wasted as that about Dublin had been. This was a sorry shift for subsistence, and he had an incredible aversion to such a manner of providing for ⁵⁹⁶ it, that he was scarce ever secure for a week together from the danger of starving, and every moment in danger of being delivered up or falling into the hands of the rebels. Nothing could bring him out of this state, but some free and unconstrained directions from the king, or

some considerable supplies from France. He had applied for the former, and it was resolved that lord Digby should go to Paris to solicit the latter. ⁿHe was not without apprehension, that the distress of the king's affairs might possibly occasion some command being directed to him from thence in relation to the Irish, which might thwart those rules which he had laid down for his conduct in the point of religion, the only point in which he should resort to the liberty left a subject to obey by suffering. Others might perhaps have less scruples in that matter, and lest his own might occasion any disappointment in the king's service, he thought fit to inculcate again, what he had often mentioned to lord Digby, that he could not execute any orders or agree to any concessions that might seem to perpetuate to the Roman catholics either churches or church livings, or that might essentially take from the protestant, or give to their clergy ecclesiastical jurisdiction. As for other freedoms against penalties for the quiet exercise of their religion, he was clearly of opinion they not only might, but ought to be given them, if his majesty should find cause to own them for any thing but rebels. In case no supplies could be procured from the court of France (which, that crown being engaged in an expensive war, could hardly be expected) for maintaining the footing which the king yet held in Ireland, lord Digby undertook to make such a treaty for the carrying over five thousand men into the French service, as should afford a very honourable subsistence for the marquis of Ormond, and a good one for the officers and soldiers that would follow him.

- 273 The lord lieutenant continued in the counties of Westmeath and Longford, without committing any acts of hostility, only providing victuals for the subsistence of his men, till the latter end of January, waiting the result of

ⁿ See Collection of Letters, No. DXXV and DXXVI.

the general assembly, which had been called to meet in the beginning of that month at Kilkenny. °The nuncio, either to provide against an objection that it was not a free assembly, or to prevent the effects of secret cabals and concerted measures between a number of persons of great parts and credit assembled, though under confinement in the same town, set the members of the late council and commissioners of the peace at liberty, but banished them from Kilkenny. They retired into their several countries, exclaiming vehemently against the government usurped by the clergy, and being all of them chose deputies for the approaching assembly, returned thither in great hopes to get the peace which they had made, approved. Almost all the gentry of English race were convinced of the necessity thereof, for their own preservation, not only from the power of the English parliament, but from the designs of Owen O'Neile and the old Irish, who too openly aimed at getting all the power of the nation into their own hands, and extirpating the families of English descent. But the party of the clergy had great advantages in the constitution of this assembly. Owen O'Neile was in possession of several counties of Leinster, and the nuncio had much ado to keep him from seizing Kilkenny itself. All the towns of Ulster, except Charlemont and Dungannon, and several of those of Leinster, were in the hands of the English, so that no elections could be made in those places. To supply that defect in their assemblies, the supreme council used to nominate persons to represent the boroughs and counties which had a right to send members to parliament: and the new council lately appointed by the clergy took care on this occasion to exercise that power, and to name persons entirely devoted to their faction. By this means they got a majority in the assembly, and carried matters there in the manner which is now to be related.

° Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1466.

274 Soon after the session began^p, a paper was on Jan. 10 presented to the assembly from the clergy who were synodically convened by the nuncio at the same time, with several propositions relating to religion. They proposed an establishment of popery all over Ireland, not only in their own, but the protestant quarters; the possession of all churches, benefices, and dignities ecclesiastical; the repeal of the common law, so far as it gave the crown any ecclesiastical power; liberty to erect universities and schools under their own regulations; to appoint provisions to bishoprics, dignities and livings, as they had done since the beginning of the war; and to exercise their ecclesiastical jurisdiction in its full extent. They insisted withal on a new oath of association being framed, to be taken by all persons for the continuance of their union, till all these propositions (which were to be annexed to that oath) were obtained and secured to their party. The nuncio, in a speech on Jan. 22, pressed the assembly to establish an oath for that purpose, and to leave the event to Providence, assuring them at the same time of great supplies from the pope. This was not all he intended to propose to them, but, by reason of the opposition he apprehended would be made to it, he deferred mentioning the article for a Roman catholic lord lieutenant, till the peace was actually treating, and then resolved to insist on it by way of security. He had proposed at first, that the regulars should be restored to their monasteries and lands; but so many of the lay members of that assembly were possessed of such lands that the article was rejected; and what was moved in favour of the seculars enjoying livings, passed with a restriction, that it should not affect lands out of which any of the laity had been lately ejected by the protestant clergy. The substance of these propositions was readily received by the assembly; only in one point, it was disputed whether the freedom or establish-

q U. 59, 61. Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1497, 1513—1522.

ment of their religion should not be confined to the parts now in their possession; but the clergy carried it on a division for extending it to the whole kingdom.

275 There was an infinite number of debates on this occasion, but they turned chiefly on the oath, and the manner of promoting their bishops, many being apprehensive that the nuncio would get foreigners or his own partisans promoted, which would establish his power over the clergy, whose influence on the people they had so lately experienced. The nuncio was for vesting all in the pope; the lawyers pleaded hard for the right of patronage in the crown, and that the choice of bishops and incumbents should be made in a certain form settled between the supreme council, (who acted at present in the king's right,) the metropolitans, and the chapters. Several conferences were held on the subject, in which the lawyers insisted strongly on the regal prerogative in this point, to the great surprise of the nuncio, who since they agreed by the new oath to exterminate all the protestant bishops, thought there could not be any possible inconvenience apprehended from the manner of promoting others. But still the lawyers were so stiff in their opinion, that he was forced to move the article might be set aside till he had consulted the court of Rome on the subject. The other debates related to the obligation of the new oath, in regard of which it was moved, that though the propositions of the clergy were ratified and approved by the assembly, and annexed to the oath, yet the assembly should not by any of those propositions be excluded or restrained from consenting to any medium to be agreed to by vote of 598 that body and inserted by them in their instructions about churches or ecclesiastical lands in parts and places possessed by the protestants at the conclusion of any peace or accommodation to be made with the lord lieutenant or any other person empowered by his majesty. That the words (*to the utmost of my power*) in the oath might not

be carried too far, it was declared that the general assembly alone, and no other court, person or persons, should be judges of the power and abilities of the confederates to maintain and insist on the said propositions; and that the assembly (notwithstanding any thing either in the propositions or the oath) might, after due consideration of the ability or disability of the nation, come to any resolution which they should judge conducive to the good of the kingdom. With these qualifications, the oath was approved, annexed to the propositions on March 22, and taken by all the members of the assembly.

276 ¶The debates about the confirmation or rejection of the late peace were carried on with great heats for three weeks together. Du Moulin, the French resident, presented a memorial to the assembly, condemning the proceedings of the clergy, approving the late peace, and pressing them in his master's name to confirm it, as a matter that was necessary for their own preservation, and highly acceptable to his Christian majesty. He renewed his solicitations to the assembly by letter, and used all imaginable industry in private conferences with particular members; but in vain. The point laboured by one party was, to get the peace approved, notwithstanding the decrees of the clergy; the other endeavoured to get a censure passed on the makers of the peace; but several of this last party, upon arguing the matter, thought it sufficient to have the peace only condemned. The nuncio insisted on the censure of the commissioners so stiffly, that he had like to have lost it upon the question; and to avoid it, a proposal was made for an equal number of arbitrators chosen on both sides to adjust the difference, and find an expedient to satisfy both parties. Upon their meeting it appeared that all the noise on the part of the commissioners arose from the view of preserving the reputation of their own integrity in the treaty, and that otherwise

they were ready enough to condemn the peace, and offered to draw up an instrument that should take in both points, viz. the evacuation of the peace, and their own vindication from reproach, for agreeing to the articles. This writing was drawn up in various manners, and underwent several alterations; but was at last settled in the form wherein it passed on Feb. 2, and was ordered to be published. It was intended to justify two actions contradictory to each other, and pronounced, that the commissioners had acted honestly and pursuant to their instructions in making the peace, and that the clergy had done well in breaking it. It declared further, that they might not accept of that peace, and therefore they protested against it, as invalid, and of no force to all intents and purposes; and that the nation would not accept of any peace, not containing a sufficient and satisfactory security for the religion, lives, estates, and liberties of the confederate catholics. Scaramp, the former agent from Rome, who was still in Ireland, was for putting the rejection of the peace and clearing of the commissioners into two different decrees; and when the former had passed unanimously, the other might be safely opposed, or else be protested against by the clergy, which would serve to disqualify all of them from being chose again of the supreme council, and thereby getting the government into their hands, which he imagined was the design in insisting so much on their vindication. But the others were afraid of an Italian trick, and would not allow them to be separated. 599 This declaration was made two or three days after lord Taaffe and colonel Barry arrived at Kilkenny, and before they had their audience. They were sent by the lord lieutenant and council to make a cessation for a month or two with the assembly, in case they would advance one thousand pounds each month for the subsistence of the king's forces; and they carried with them a 'letter

^r See Collection of Letters, No. DXXXIV.

to Mr. Plunket, chairman of the assembly, dated Jan. 25, representing the indelible infamy which they would contract by a violation of the peace, and exhorting them to a speedy and effectual confirmation thereof. But that point being already determined, they had no occasion to present the letter.

277 The marquis of Ormond had waited thus long in the midst of the greatest difficulties and dangers, in expectation of the issue of that assembly; but he now saw by this resolution of theirs a full period to all manner of hopes from the Irish. It was absolutely necessary to apply elsewhere for those succours without which neither himself, nor the king's servants and forces, nor the protestants, were able any longer to subsist. ^sAll the ministers of state were ruined, their lands being generally possessed by the Irish, and their personal estates and credit exhausted; the officers of the army had been long without any pay, and were utterly destitute of means to support themselves; the common soldiers had been reduced from a shilling to ninepence, and afterwards to sixpence a week in money, and eight pound of bread; and there was no possibility of furnishing them longer even this pittance. Whilst the lord lieutenant was in Westmeath, by which expedition the city was eased of six parts in seven of their usual charge, the ^tmayor and citizens had in a petition to the council represented their inability to pay any longer that seventh, and flatly refused to contribute any more towards it; and by reason of the destruction of the quarters all about Dublin occasioned by the late siege, the excise failed, and brought in no revenue proportioned to the daily charge. The horse were forced to be sent into the country, to subsist as well as they could, and so general a poverty reigned in all the towns which yet held for his majesty, that the soldiers there

^s U. 158 and 247.
and DLXV.

^t See Collection of Letters, No. DXLIH.

quartered were in as great distress as those of Dublin. There was no magazine of victuals anywhere, nor provisions even for the inhabitants; no means of supplying them from the country, which had been burnt and destroyed in the last invasion of the rebels, nor any possibility of raising money to relieve these or any other wants. The officers, soldiers, and inhabitants were daily departing; none of the garrisons were fortified or defensible, nor was there any means of remedying that defect, so that they must be quitted or be given up to the first enemy that attempted them. The soldiers were in a manner naked, their arms unfixed, and the whole army in danger of disbanding. The artillery wanted carriages, there were no muskets, pistols, swords, or pikes in the stores, and but seventeen barrels of powder, of which five were useless. In these circumstances, Dublin and all the other garrisons lay exposed an easy prey to the Irish, as soon as the season of the year would allow them to take the field with their forces. Their notorious breach of faith in flying off from the late peace, the treacherous design against the lord lieutenant and his forces near Kilkenny, and the like treachery, which he had lately discovered, to be intended by Preston and his party (in concert with the nuncio) at the time of their solemn engagement, if pursuant to an article not absolutely agreed to by the marquis of Clarrickard, and rejected by the marquis of Ormond, any of their forces had been admitted into Dublin, rendered it utterly unsafe to have any further dealings with that people. The nuncio, with the clergy, and that party of the rebels which had been guilty of those detestable barbari-⁶⁰⁰ties committed in Ulster at the beginning of the rebellion, were now predominant among the confederates, and governed all their counsels. The nuncio had already applied to the pope to take on him the protection of the nation, and it had been openly moved in the general assembly to call in that power, or some foreign prince, par-

ticularly the king of Spain, to their aid, under the title of a protector, a title which might soon be changed for another, and which sufficiently implied a design of shaking off the English government, and extirpating the protestant religion. Having thus no other resource but what offered from England, and hoping that the places now to be delivered up would without expense of treasure or blood revert to his majesty, when either by treaty or otherwise he should recover his rights in that kingdom, it was unanimously resolved in council to apply to the parliament for succours.

- 278 This resolution met with an universal approbation from all the protestants that had hitherto adhered to his majesty's authority; persons of all humours and inclinations, who had dislike and jealousies enough against each other, being yet united in their opinions against the Irish. The parliament of Ireland meeting not long after, thought it deserved their particular acknowledgments, and both houses joined in a remonstrance, expressing their sense of the marquis of Ormond's singular goodness to them and the protestant party, who had been so long preserved (under God) by his excellency's providence and pious care, not without a vast expense out of his own estate, and the hazarding of his person in great and dangerous difficulties; and when he found himself too weak to resist an insolent, perfidious, and bloody enemy, had in his care transferred them into the hands of such as were able and willing to preserve them. For this earnest of his love to their religion, nation, and parliament, they, to perpetuate to posterity the memory of his merits and their own thankfulness, caused that instrument to be entered in the journals of both houses, and to be presented by both speakers to his lordship. The lord lieutenant was surprised with this remonstrance, which contained so voluntary and honourable testimony of the wisdom and in-

tegrity of his administration and conduct; and whilst he knew how to value it as he ought, he received it with that modesty which ever became as well as attended him on all occasions. As his master's service was never out of his view, and he never lost an opportunity of promoting it, he made use of this address to himself, to do an act of justice, and service to his majesty, protesting solemnly in his answer, "that in all the time he had the honour to serve the king his master, he had never received any command from him, but such as spake him a wise, pious, protestant prince, zealous of the religion he professed, and the welfare of his subjects, as well as industrious to promote and settle peace and tranquillity in all his kingdoms; and he besought the two houses to look upon himself no otherwise than as a ready instrument, set on work by the king's wisdom and goodness for their preservation; wherein if he had discharged himself to his satisfaction and theirs, it would be the greatest comfort and satisfaction that he could take with him wherever it should please God to direct his steps."

- 279 *All the writers, who have conveyed to us the history of these times, and particularly the lord chancellor Clarendon in the "*Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland*," &c. drawn up by him under a different title in the year 1653 at Cologne, mention another reason, which determined the marquis of Ormond to this point of his conduct. The king had, by an order of the parliament of 601 Scotland, carried by the united interest of the Hamilton and Argyle parties, been delivered to the commissioners appointed by the English parliament on Jan. 6 to receive him; and a treaty was carrying on with this last body for the settling of peace in all his dominions. About the same time, some persons of quality (particularly sir G. Hamilton the younger) arrived at Dublin, having been

* Sir R. Cox, p. 186; Borlase, p. 179; *Historical View*, p. 66. [vol. vii. par. 45, &c. edit. 1849.] *Vindiciæ Cathol.* p. 45.

privately despatched with signification of his majesty's pleasure, upon the advertisement he had received of the condition of Ireland, to this purpose; "that if it were possible for the marquis to keep Dublin and the other garrisons under the same entire obedience to his majesty they were then in, it would be acceptable to his majesty; but if there were or should be a necessity of giving them up to any other power, he should rather put them into the hands of the English than of the Irish." This was the rule by which the marquis of Ormond was to guide himself, and it would have been enough to have inclined him to that resolution, if it had not been made necessary by the other very important considerations beforementioned.

280 The lord lieutenant wrote^y on Feb. 6 to the parliament commissioners, offering to deliver up the sword and garrisons to such persons as the parliament should depute to receive them, upon the conditions which they had lately offered; desiring an immediate answer whether his offer was accepted, and pressing that it might be done by March 10; because he could not undertake to be able to subsist and hold them longer. Lieutenant Lee, being sent express with his letters, was drove by a storm into Strangford, so that, though his offer was accepted as soon as proposed, he did not receive advice thereof till the day before that, which he had fixed for waiting their answer. He had however, to provide against all accidents, taken care before to secure himself for a longer term, and by colonel Barry's negotiation at Kilkenny, had obtained a cessation first for three weeks till March 13, and afterwards for a month longer, with an enlargement of his quarters in the counties about Dublin, in lieu of the money which he demanded for the subsistence of his forces whilst it lasted.

281 As soon as the first of these cessations was concluded,

a proposal was made in the general assembly to treat of a peace or an accommodation. The nuncio opposed it; but the confederates, having notice of the application lately made to the parliament, thought it proper to take some step to prevent its effect, or at least to excuse themselves from the charge of imposing a necessity upon the marquis of Ormond to agree with the parliament. With this view, Geoffrey Brown and Dr. Fennel were sent to Dublin with ²overtures, which the nuncio, fearing the inclinations of those gentlemen should carry them further than he desired towards a peace, had taken care to make such as he was very sure would not be accepted. They proposed a conjunction of forces, but their commanders were to be independent on the lord lieutenant. They insisted on having the churches and livings, and on exercising their jurisdiction even in the protestant quarters; and required their troops to be admitted into all the king's garrisons, or to have the towns put into their hands. Unreasonable and insolent as these overtures were, their agents refused to put them in writing, for fear they should be bound by conditions which their party afterwards would not avow; and when the marquis of Ormond had by their dictating wrote them out on March 3, they refused to sign them. They were expressed so loosely, that he was forced to ask from them explanations of each proposition; and contented himself to tell them, that he would consider them, and send an answer by messengers of his own. He was in no haste to do so, and when the assembly sent major Theobald Butler to press him on that ⁶⁰² subject, he contented himself with returning an answer by him on the 22nd, that he could not assent to the propositions in the manner they were formed.

²⁸² This gained him time to receive a small supply of powder from lord Inchiquin for the defence of Dublin, but no succours came to enable him to provide for his

² U. 118. Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1527, &c.

other garrisons. Of these the castle of Catherlogh lay most exposed to the enemy; the marquis of Ormond borrowed a sum of sixty pounds, which he sent to major Harman for the relief of the garrison, but a party of fifty men, which he had ordered to reinforce it, could not get into the place, by Preston's investing it the very night of April 10, when the cessation ended. The castle held out till May 2, and was then surrendered; but the further progress of the enemy was stopped by a diversion^a, which, at the marquis's instance, the lord Inchiquin made in Munster, where he had an army of five thousand foot and one thousand five hundred horse, and was at this time strengthened by fresh forces out of England. Dromana and Capoquin were taken by him in the last week of April, and Dungarvan, being invested, did not hold out above six days. To stop his further progress and secure Waterford from danger, Preston's forces were recalled, for O'Neile would obey no orders, not even those of the nuncio; though his troops called themselves the pope's army, and set up to be the great defenders of the faith and of the clergy, whom their continual disorders and depredations rendered odious.

²⁸³ Lord Inchiquin's success produced another effect. The assembly had broke up in the beginning of April, having first appointed another to meet on Nov. 12 following, and chose a new supreme council of twenty-four persons, all (except lord Muskery and three others) of the nuncio's party, and averse to any treaty. Winter Grant had been sent over by the queen with some expedients to advance the peace, but with express orders to do no act nor make any proposal but by directions from the marquis of Ormond. The terror which Inchiquin struck into the members of the council made them embrace the opportunity of Grant's coming, and renew on May 10 ^btheir overtures for an accommodation. They had about three weeks before

^a V. 6.

^b V. 25, 62.

refused a cessation which the lord lieutenant had proposed for that space of time ; and what they did on this occasion was only for their own credit, and to clear themselves of the odium of forcing the marquis of Ormond to deliver up Dublin to the parliament. That they had no real intentions for peace appears from the letter being signed only by the four bishops, and four other members of the council, the most devoted to the nuncio, and from their insisting on the very same terms as the marquis had so lately rejected. They offered their service to assist him against the parliament, and to treat on those propositions in order to an honourable peace ; but to take away all expectations of it, they told him withal, that they should insist upon the propositions of the clergy voted in the late general assembly. The lord lieutenant replied, “that some of their propositions were fitter to be treated on in a league offensive and defensive between neighbouring princes, than between his majesty’s governor of a kingdom and his subjects of the same, declined from their obedience, with whom it was inconsistent with his majesty’s honour for his lieutenant to join, otherwise than by their returning to their obedience and submission to the king’s authority ; that till they had thus submitted, it could not be seasonable to treat of others ; and that as the votes on which they so positively insisted were inconsistent with those grounds upon which there could be any hopes of ever settling a peace in the kingdom, they would, if they had any real desire of the same, take a course to be freed from the obligation of those votes, and 603 to be invested with power to propose such things as might be hearkened unto with honour and safety. Thus an end was put to all negotiations with the Irish party.

284 In the mean time the treaty went on with the parliament, but their succours were not sent so speedily as the marquis of Ormond insisted, and the necessity of affairs required. This was partly occasioned by the divisions in

the parliament, and partly by a diffidence lest this treaty should prove as ineffectual as the former. To remove this last difficulty, the parliament proposed that the marquis should send over one of his sons, and some other persons of quality, as hostages for his performance of the articles; and then they would send their forces which were in Lecale, and some additional regiments, to be under his command till their commissioners came over, and the treaty was perfected. Lord Richard Butler, afterwards earl of Arran, the marquis's second son, with the earl of Roscommon, colonel Arthur Chichester, and sir James Ware, were accordingly sent over to Chester, where the first remained, and the three last proceeded to London, being charged with instructions from the lord lieutenant. °One of these instructions was to solicit leave for the marquis of Ormond to transport five thousand foot and five hundred men for horse service, unarmed, out of Ireland to France; which would be a means of ridding them of many unsure friends among the king's party, as well as of many certain enemies of the Irish, and thereby facilitate the reduction of the kingdom. He was willing to abate ten thousand pounds of the money to be paid him for what he had disbursed upon the garrisons, in case he obtained this license; which was at first agreed to by the committee for Irish affairs, and by the lords, but was rejected upon the report to the house of commons on July 16. The long delay of that refusal, as well as of cardinal Mazarine's answer to the proposal made by lord Digby on that subject, rendered that scheme impracticable to be executed: otherwise sir James Dillion, with a good body of men out of Westmeath and Longford, several of Preston's best officers, and a great number of his own forces, would gladly have ventured their fortunes with him abroad. The conditions offered by the French were very advan-

° U. 281—287.

tageous, and lord Muskery accepting of them, had sent over a regiment under his eldest son Cormac Maccarty, then a youth but thirteen years old, who continued to serve abroad till the restoration^d. M. du Talon set sail on May 15 from Waterford with that regiment on board five ships which he had brought from Rochelle; and Diego de la Torre sailing at the same time with another regiment intended for the Spanish service, Talon attacked him at sea, and carried both regiments into France. James Preston, the general's son, was colonel of the Spanish regiment, and quitted his command to avoid the suspicion of a secret understanding with the French agent.

²⁸⁵ The hostages being received in England, one thousand English foot and four hundred horse marched out of Ulster to Dublin, where on March 30 colonel Castle and on April 30 colonel Hungerford arrived with their regiments from England. The parliament commissioners came into the bay on June 7 with six hundred horse and one thousand four hundred foot, and were followed by colonel Long's regiment. The commissioners were Mr. Annesley, sir Rob. King, sir Rob. Meredith, colonel John More, and Michael Jones. The treaty was finished and signed on the 19th of that month; by which the lord lieutenant was to quit the sword on July 28, or sooner, upon four days' notice. The protestants were to be secured in their estates; all that had paid contribution, to be protected in their persons and estates; all noblemen, gentlemen, and officers that would go with the marquis of Ormond out of Ireland, to have passes; and the popish recusants who had not assisted nor adhered to the 604 rebels, to be encouraged to continue in their habitations, and in enjoyment of their estates, in confidence of the

^d Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1671.

favour of the parliament, according as they should demean themselves in the present service.

286 The marquis of Ormond had, when he first proposed to treat with the parliament, upon O'Neile and Preston's advancing to besiege Dublin, borrowed large sums, with promise of repayment before ever he would quit the government; and by means thereof procured so much money as served to compose the present discontents of the soldiers, and to supply those wants which could not be borne. All the world knew this engagement; and the accounts of what he had thus disbursed for the use of the garrisons in that extremity being audited by sir James Ware, and examined by commissions, the council certified that these sums amounted to 13877*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* This certificate was sent by sir Gerard Lowther and the commissioners first sent over to treat with the parliament. The council were very earnest with the marquis, to demand the much larger sums which he had disbursed in the service, what he had been hindered from receiving of his own rents, by those who commanded under the parliament, in their quarters; and what was due to him by reason of his appointments as lord lieutenant, lieutenant general, or on account of his other posts. There is little doubt to be made but the parliament would readily have complied with the demand; but the marquis, ever averse to self-interest, and ever jealous of his honour, would not mix any thing of himself in this transaction; and contenting himself with insisting on what he was necessarily bound to by his public engagement to others, refused absolutely to demand any thing which might afford the least handle for his enemies to charge him with having any view to his private advantage, or being influenced by so mean a motive. For this reason he demanded only the sum before mentioned, three thousand pounds whereof was to be paid him in money before he

left Dublin, and the rest in bills of exchange accepted by sufficient men in France and Holland, to be paid to such as his lordship should appoint, the one half at fifteen days after sight, and the other at six months.

287 The commissioners were not so exact as they ought to have been in the performance of their stipulation. The three thousand pounds in money was not brought, and the marquis was forced to leave his lady in Dublin to receive it, and discharge the debts to which they were assigned. Bills were indeed brought for the rest, but not accepted; and he was forced to send Theodore Schout and Peter Wybrants, two Dublin merchants, to Holland, to see the first accepted and paid. The commissioners indeed passed their words that he should be no sufferer for want of acceptance of the bills, and that he might depend upon the honour and faith of the parliament. He acquiesced with a seeming readiness in those assurances, but found by experience that bodies of men are not the most religious observers of their word. The bill for the first half was indeed paid, but the treasurers at Goldsmiths'-hall^e, who had drawn the second on their correspondent in Holland, had, before it was presented, taken care by letters of advice to forbid the acceptance of it; so that it was returned protested. In vain were the parliament and the committee of Derby house solicited by the marquis himself during near six months' stay that he made in England, and by sir Geo. Lane and others afterwards; they paid only some part of it at last to Mr. Maule, a friend of sir J. Clotworthy's, and others of his creditors who had an interest in them, without his consent; but after all that they did in this respect out of regard to others, one thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds still remained, and was never paid in any manner.

288 The commissioners, however they failed on their own, 605 were yet very instant with the marquis of Ormond to

^e W. 16.

perform what was stipulated on his part, and their forces having taken possession of the city of Dublin, they soon began to exercise their authority, after they had once the power in their hands. ^fThus, though the English liturgy was as yet established by law, and the act of uniformity was still of force in Ireland, and not so much as suspended by any ordinance of either or both houses of parliament, they published, on June 24, an order for the discontinuance thereof for the future, and requiring all ministers of congregations and others officiating in the several churches and chapels in that city to observe the Directory. They had on the 19th, the very day the treaty was signed, signified to the clergy of Dublin that it was expected they should leave off the English liturgy; but this had only put them upon making a representation of “the necessity of a set form of prayer; the excellency of that liturgy, which the assembly of divines at London had acknowledged to be for the most part transcribed out of the liturgies of the primitive church; the obligation laid upon themselves to use it, by the only law in force against popish recusancy in that kingdom; the pleasure it would give the papists, who hated nothing so much as the Book of the Common Prayer, to see the people denied the use of it, and deprived of the benefit of divine worship; the offence which the discontinuance of it would give to the protestants, who would think the forbearing thereof an addition to their many heavy sufferings; and the gap which the taking of it away would open to the Jesuits and other papists to enter in amongst them, to possess the pulpits and seduce the people.” For these and other reasons they could not consent to the proposal, and humbly besought the commissioners “to commiserate the protestants of that city, whose losses, sufferings, and pressures had been many and heavy by the violence and cruelty of their popish enemies, and allow

^f V. 155.

them peaceably and comfortably under their protection to enjoy their churches and faithful ministry of the gospel by the continuance of the Book of Common Prayer." This petition, instead of raising compassion, only produced the aforementioned order, which was rigorously put in execution. The clergy ceased to officiate; the liturgy was left off in all the churches of the city, except in the college, where Anthony Martin, bishop of Meath, and provost of the college, continued to use it, and to preach against the heresies of the times with an apostolical liberty, in a crowded audience, the people, who resorted thither in vast numbers, never feeling so deep a sense of religion as in times of persecution and calamities.

- 289 The marquis of Ormond had put off the delivery of the regalia till July 28, in hopes of getting time to receive from England a permission to carry men into foreign service, and to take measures for their levy and transportation. The commissioners did not care he should continue there so long, and to make his stay uneasy^g, they, on July 14, placed guards on lord Taaffe, colonel John Barry, and Milo Power, and issued orders for apprehending sir Edmond Verney, the colonels George Vane, Edward Hammond, and others. When the marquis complained of this breach of the articles, they did not offer to assign a reason for their proceeding, but told him they were competent judges, and would allow nobody else to judge of their own actions. On the 16th they gave him notice to remove with his family from the castle, and deliver the regalia, within four days. He found that they were uneasy whilst the castle continued in his possession, and was guarded by his own soldiers, pursuant to the stipulation in that behalf; and there-606 fore, as his remove at that time was inconvenient, he

^g V. 189, 190, 175, and Collection of Letters, No. DLVIII.

accommodated the business with them by consenting to leave immediately the securing of the castle to them, and deferring the ceremonial part of quitting the sword till the set time. On the 28th, having left the regalia to be delivered to the commissioners, he went on board captain Matthew Wood's frigate, attended by the prayers of the distressed clergy, great numbers of whom, with their wives and children, had been kept from perishing through want by his and his lady's bounty, and landed on August 2 at Bristol.

END OF BOOK IV.

I

AN HISTORY
OF
THE LIFE OF
JAMES THE FIRST DUKE OF ORMOND,
AND OF
THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND IN HIS TIME.

BOOK V.

*Containing an account of the duke of Ormond's conduct, and of the
affairs of Ireland, from his leaving that kingdom in July 1647,
to the restoration in 1660.*

THE marquis of Ormond, when he left Ireland, saw the affairs of that kingdom so perplexed, that they could not long continue in the same situation. As he was sailing out of the bay of Dublin, casting a look back to take a last view of that city, ^ahe could not forbear expressing his confidence that he should one day return thither with such power and forces, as would make his present departing thence, stripped of all, entirely forgotten. The greatest part of the Irish confederates, being of English race, wished for his return, as the only means of their preservation from the designs and menaces of the old Irish. Owen O'Neile had been lately, by the new supreme council, made general of Connaught, and

^a Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1667.

had a strong party for him in that province. All that part of Ulster which belonged to the confederates was absolutely in his power; and he was in possession of three or four counties of Leinster, upon which he quartered his forces; which though very numerous already, he endeavoured to aggrandize every day. Hence he was grown exceeding terrible to all the old English, who imagined that he designed their extirpation. It was with great difficulty that the nuncio kept him from making himself master of Kilkenny; and the gentlemen of Munster apprehended he had designs likewise upon that province.

- ² The earl of Glamorgan had been, by the nuncio's interest in the late assembly, made general of Munster^b. The gentry of the province considered it as an affront² that a stranger was put over them, and either for that reason, or because they imagined that he was blindly devoted to the nuncio, and ready, in conjunction with O'Neile and the Ulster army, to follow his measures, they did not care to serve under him. Lord Inchiquin was wasting the province, and had laid the greatest part of it under contribution; yet the common danger and suffering could not unite them, and it was not without great difficulty that a body of three thousand foot and three hundred [horse] were got together. These forces lay encamped, in the beginning of June, near Clonmel, where the new supreme council were sitting. Glamorgan complained that money was not furnished him in time to get the troops together, and laid the blame upon the collectors, who were friends to lord Muskery, and were guilty of this neglect, designedly to lessen the former's glory. Patrick Hacket, Philip Oduyre, and David Roche, three Dominican friars, endeavoured to raise disturbances in the army, preaching seditious sermons, and inciting

^b Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1638—1651. Vind. Cathol. p. 42.

the soldiers to plunder Dr. Fennel, and others of the confederates, who were desirous of peace, and friends to Muskery. Some of Glamorgan's officers conspired to ruin Muskery himself, and presented to the council a petition full of complaints against that nobleman and his friends, particularly Patrick Purcel, lieutenant general of the army. The council, composed mostly of persons that bore him no good-will, summoned him to attend: his friends dissuaded him from a step which they thought dangerous to his safety; he resolved however to obey, and repaired immediately to Clonmel. When he entered the council, on June 12, he was told that the army was distracted by seditions; and being asked his opinion of the matter, he said, that the authors thereof should be punished. The counsellors replied, it was certainly very proper to be done; but at present it was not in their power. As they were debating this matter in the council-room, a great noise was heard at the door, made by the officers who had conspired against Muskery, demanding in a threatening manner justice against his friends, and insisting that he, who was the encourager and patron of those against whom they complained, should be secluded from the council, whilst that affair was in debate. Muskery went out immediately, and getting on horseback, as if he was riding out to take the air, repaired to that army, which was to be made the instrument of his destruction. The common soldiers of it were many of them his dependants, and all of them used to reverence his name; the lieutenant general and abundance of the officers were his friends and relations; and it was so much the common cause of the province, that in an hour's time the whole army declared for him, and turned Glamorgan out of his command. The next day Muskery entered Clonmel, attended by a guard of soldiers, and laid open all the designs of his enemies, whom he might easily have destroyed: but being of a very mild temper, and a great

lover of the quiet of his country, he chose to forgive them; and contented himself with defeating their measures, and suppressing the sedition without any bloodshed.

- 3 The nuncio, grieved to see his friend deprived of his command, came to Clonmel, insisted on Glamorgan's being restored, and threatened Muskery (if he did not comply) with the censures of the church. The council sent three commissioners, to demand of Muskery by what authority he had turned out the former general. He replied, that he had done it for his own security against those who aimed at his life; and that being safe, he would take care that obedience should be paid to the council's orders, which the others slighted. Whilst the commissioners were going between both parties to adjust matters, Muskery and the Munster gentry presented a remonstrance against Owen O'Neile's conduct and design of attacking that army and province. They represented therein, "that he aimed at the absolute command of all Ireland; that he had his partisans in all the provinces; that he had levied a vast army above the kingdom's force, to execute his ambitious views; that he obeyed no orders, either of the assembly or council, but what he pleased; that he had slighted their commands, particularly in the affair of Athlone, and in several other instances; that Terence O'Bryen was, under pretence of his authority, actually raising forces, in breach of the express orders of the council; and others were doing the like in other places; that since the tumult at Clonmel, messengers had been sent by those who made it, to invite him and his army to their assistance; that his forces acted as enemies, interrupting husbandry, plundering all before them, and leaving nothing behind them but desolation and misery: that Kilkenny and the neighbouring counties had been ruined by the incursions of his forces, who gave out terrible threats of extirpating the English

Irish; and their clergy (whose army they boasted themselves to be) talked after the same manner; that having complained to the nuncio of the friars, who, to pave the way for O'Neile and his partisans to be masters of the kingdom, had sowed discord and sedition in the army, and thrown unjust and groundless suspicions and scandals upon the designs and actions of well-affected persons, no punishment had yet been inflicted, nor any mark of ignominy put upon them, to deter others from the like licentiousness." The Munster gentlemen on this occasion protested that their inclinations were such as became obedient sons of the church and sworn confederates of the catholic cause, but yet they would join Ormond, Inchiquin, or the Turk, rather than expose themselves to be destroyed and enslaved by O'Neile and his army. To prevent danger from thence, they desired "that what forces soever of the Ulster army came into Munster, without the consent of the council, should be declared rebels by a public proclamation; and that all officers in the Munster army should take an oath, to oppose all attempts that O'Neile should make against the immunities of the province. As bare orders were not sufficient for their security, they demanded that the province should be put into a posture of defence against him, whose faith and army they neither could nor would trust with their liberties, estates, and fortunes." The matter was at last compromised; the council interposed with the nuncio to order the Dominicans (who went so far as to publish theological reasons, maintaining the lawfulness of killing Muskery and the commissioners) to quit Munster, and retire to some convent in Leinster or Connaught. Glamorgan, by way of reparation of his honour, was restored in form to the command of the army for a few days, and then quitted it entirely to Muskery.

4 Leinster had actually suffered from the depredations of O'Neile and his forces more than Munster had reason

to fear. He lay in the heart of the province with twelve thousand foot and one thousand two hundred horse, and was able to reduce it all under his power, if joined by the Irish septs in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, who were suspected to be secret favourers of his measures. The gentry of those parts dreaded his power, and suspected the worst of his designs; but thought he would not dare openly to put them in execution, as long as the marquis of Ormond was in possession of Dublin, and able to draw out a party of men into the field. When news came that the marquis had quitted the castle to the parliament commissioners, and was within four days to give up the sword and leave the kingdom, Preston and the Leinster officers were seized with an incredible consternation. They freely acknowledged, that the lord lieutenant had been unavoidably forced by their proceedings and failures to take that resolution, and that they had undone themselves and the kingdom by giving way to the malice borne to his person by those, who (they now saw) would infallibly destroy them all, if he went as yet out of Ireland. They were apprehensive that their party would break if he went away, and that they could hold no longer united than they had their eyes upon him, and some means of feeding themselves with hopes that the government might be again reestablished in him from England. For this reason they entreated him in the most earnest manner to prolong his stay in the country for a month, offering him any thing he would demand for his security; and in that time they made no question, but the Leinster and Munster armies would so awe the counsellors, as to prevent the destruction which they saw visible before them by the council and Owen O'Neile, if he left the kingdom. They hoped likewise in that space of time so to order matters, that the chief part of the country should petition his majesty for the benefit of the

° See Collection of Letters, No. DLX and DLXI.

late peace, which, if the king were in power, they hoped to obtain by means of the marquis, and if not, they were ready to quit Ireland and to follow his fortunes abroad, the only party then left for their preservation. The marquis of Ormond could not conceive any use to be made of his stay in a private condition, at least none that could balance the danger and inconveniences to which he would thereby be exposed. Nor could he understand why his departure should lay men of courage, and in the possession of a yet prosperous army, open to that infallible destruction they apprehended, unless they were wanting to themselves, and neglected to make a seasonable use of it against the faction of the nuncio and Owen O'Neile. He assured them that he would use all his credit and industry to dispose his majesty and all others to entertain a good opinion of those whom he believed to be rightly affected to the English government, and that he would improve all opportunities of procuring advantageous conditions for them according to the peace. In the mean time he encouraged them to take proper measures for their own security and for the service of his majesty. This was the beginning of a negotiation between them and lord Digby, which paved the way for the marquis of Ormond's return to Ireland in the year following.

- 5 In their consultations for that purpose, it was resolved to strengthen the Leinster and Munster armies as much as was possible, and that Lord Taaffe should take upon him the command of the latter. Taaffe was a man of great courage and parts, but ambitious and warm in his nature, and too conceited [of] his own abilities and conduct, which betrayed him into the misfortune he soon after suffered. He was zealously affected to the king's cause, strongly attached to the marquis of Ormond, and a particular friend of lord Muskery's, who easily resigned to him the nominal command of the Munster forces, in order to advance the service. The reasons of that step

were, that the Leinster officers had a great opinion of Taaffe, and entirely depended upon him, so that it would establish a perfect confidence and union between the two armies; and that Muskery, being eased of the command, might be at leisure to attend all other things necessary for the execution of their measures; and particularly to attend in the supreme council, of which he was a member, and where, being a man of very good sense, and of great weight by his parts, quality, and fortune, he might be very useful in preventing any orders being made which might thwart their purpose. The measures concerted were very proper to be taken, but were not so well pursued by the generals, who were far from taking the same care to preserve, as had been used to increase their forces.

- 6 Preston had by the beginning of August got together an army of above seven thousand foot and one thousand horse. With these forces he advanced into the English quarters, took the Naas, with some small places thereabouts, and invested Trim. ^dJones marched out of Dub-5 lin with three thousand eight hundred foot and two regiments of horse to raise the siege, and being joined at the hill of Skreene by sir H. Tichburne and colonel Conway with one thousand two hundred foot and seven hundred horse, advanced towards the enemy, who, quitting Trim, retired to Portlester. Jones endeavoured to draw them to a battle, but not succeeding, he attacked Trimleston castle about two miles from thence, in hopes that the enemy would make some attempt, rather than suffer it to be taken in their sight, and thereby afford him the opportunity of an engagement. Preston having intelligence that there were no forces left in Dublin for its defence, besides the earl of Kildare's regiment, composed of the old soldiers who had served under the marquis of Ormond, and hated the parliament government, resolved to make

^d S. 130. V. 233 and 279.

an attempt on the city, whilst Jones was engaged in the siege of Trimleston. He caused his foot to march that way on the 7th of that month, and soon after followed them with his horse. Jones had advice of his motion, and guessing at his design, resolved to follow him. He had actually given orders for the drums to beat a march, when the garrison desired a parley, and surrendered. He marched with so much expedition, that he overtook Preston the next day at Dungan-hill, two miles from Linches Knock. Preston drew up his army in good order upon the hill, having the advantages of ground, wind, and sun on his side, and planted his ordnance so as it might be most serviceable to him in an engagement that was to decide the fate of Dublin. The English forces were very unruly, but eager for action, and those in the van began the fight whilst the rest of the army was on the march; and in that manner every division did as they pleased, without minding orders. It happened favourably for them, that Preston was weaker in horse, and his cavalry giving way at the first charge, broke in upon the foot, and disordered the whole army. A neighbouring bog tempted the Irish foot to retire thither for refuge, whilst their horse marched off with very little loss, and unmolested. The bog was too small to afford them protection: Jones surrounded it with his horse, whilst his foot entered it and attacked the Irish, who threw down their arms and begged for quarter. Above three thousand of them were put to the sword; all their arms, cannon, and baggage taken. Among the prisoners were the earl of Westmeath, lieutenant general Hugh Byrne, the colonels Warren, Brown, and Fitzgerald, with above eighty other officers. Jones could not improve his victory for want of provisions, and was forced to return to Dublin. Preston having deserted and burnt the Naas and other places which he had lately taken, retired to Catherlogh to recruit his army; and had the mortification soon after to be obliged

by order of the council to send two thousand of his foot and five hundred horse to reinforce Owen O'Neile, who upon this defeat was called out of Connaught (which he had much wasted, without taking Sligo, for which service he had been ordered thither) for the defence of Leinster. O'Neile laughed at Preston for being drawn to an engagement, and resolved to avoid the same error himself, declaring, that if all the forces of England were there, they should not make him fight but when he pleased. He lay still, till Jones finding that there was no forcing him to a battle, had dismissed his northern troops, and then he advanced towards Dublin, burning all the country up almost to the walls of the city. Jones endeavoured to reunite his forces, but O'Neile retired without any action, having done the business for which he came, and by destroying the country put the inhabitants and forces in Dublin to extreme difficulties for subsistence.

- 7 * Lord Digby was at Leixlip, waiting an opportunity of passing into France, when he received the news of the rout of the Leinster army, which gave him much more⁶ uneasiness than it did the nuncio and his party, who really rejoiced at that disaster, and fancied that if Preston had taken Dublin, he would have delivered it back to Ormond, and invited the prince of Wales over immediately. There was still an army of eight thousand foot and one thousand two hundred horse in Munster, ready to execute the measures concerted; and to prevent these falling into the like misfortune, he wrote, on Aug. 31, to lord Taafe, who commanded it, entreating him earnestly that he would not for any apparent bettering of his circumstances, or out of an impolitic courage and magnanimity, expose his troops that campaign to the hazard of a battle, but to stand as cautiously as was possible upon the defensive; always remembering that all their hopes, either of serving

* Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1760—1765, and 1860. See Collection of Letters, No. DLXVI.

his majesty in that kingdom, or in failure thereof, of making their own fortunes abroad, depended upon the preservation of that army. This advice seems to have had its effect at first upon Taaffe; for as lord Inchiquin had two months before laid the county of Limerick, and passing the Shannon, had put that of Clare also under contribution, he now treated Tipperary in the same manner, without any opposition from the Irish. ^f He entered this county on Saturday Sept. 3, very indifferently provided for any considerable enterprise, having no artillery with him, for want of oxen and carriages to draw it, nor any larger proportion of bread than his soldiers could carry in their knapsacks. Having taken ten or twelve small castles, he passed the river Sure near the castle of Cahir, an ancient fort, environed by two branches of that river, and on account of its situation, as well as of the apparent strength of its fortifications, deemed by the English officers, as well as the rebels, to be impregnable. This was enough to discourage all attempts upon the place, notwithstanding the great importance thereof, had not an accident occasioned an attack, and furnished Inchiquin with hopes of success. One of his horse plundering near the town, was wounded by some of the Irish, and carried prisoner into the castle, from whence he was allowed to send to the English army for a surgeon to dress his wounds. Inchiquin had of late encouraged officers, who had formerly served the king, to come into his army, and among others, had admitted one colonel James Hipplesley into his quarters, upon some assurance given him by a friend of his doing a service. Hipplesley was an ingenious man, skilled in surgery and fortifications, and undertook to go in a disguise into the castle, and to dress the wounded soldier. This he did with so much caution and circumspection, as he discovered perfectly the condition

^f Lord Inchiquin's letter to the earl of Manchester, Sept. 12, 1647. Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1827.

of the place in every respect, the weakness of the ward, and especially some defects in the walls of the outward bawn, which rendered it assailable. He observed likewise so much timorousness in the warders, that he judged the taking of the bawn would probably induce them to surrender the castle. Upon these observations it was resolved to make the attempt; and Hipposley himself, at the head of a party, attacking the defective place, carried the outward bawn and some out-turrets by storm. A few hours after, the castle surrendered upon quarter for life; though Inchiquin upon entering it found that he could not have reduced it by force, had the garrison but had the courage to stand on their defence. Thus easily was a castle reduced which in 1599 had held out for two months against the earl of Essex and an army of twenty thousand men. Taaffe was so incensed at the surrender of it, that he caused the governor, who had an hundred men under him in garrison, to be tried by a council of war, and shot. It was the most important place in the whole province, too strong to be retaken, as long as there was victual to support a garrison, and commanding a pass over the Sure, opened a way to continual incursions⁷ into the county of Tipperary, which had always furnished the principal contributions to the Munster army of the rebels.

8 Lord Inchiquin received great advantages from this conquest. His soldiers before had nothing to live upon but roots which they plucked out of the ground, and corn which was growing upon it; for all the cattle had been driven away before the army, as it advanced, out of their reach. He now ranged over the finest country in the kingdom at pleasure, took great preys, burnt above twenty thousand pounds' worth of corn, whereof no use could be made for want of hand milnes, the water milnes being for the most part either burned or deserted. The sudden reduction of Cahir struck all those parts with amazement

and terror; the gentlemen in the neighbourhood sued to be admitted to contribution. Taaffe, on Inchiquin's approach, retired from Cashel, the inhabitants whereof deserted the city, leaving the gates open, and fled to the cathedral, a large and spacious pile seated upon a rock near the walls of the town. It had been of late very well fortified, and Taaffe had provided it with a very strong garrison, so that the reducing of it was no easy enterprise. Inchiquin, before he attacked it, offered the inhabitants and garrison leave to depart, upon condition they advanced him three thousand pounds and a month's pay for his army. The proposal was rejected, and the place being taken by storm, a prodigious booty was found there, and great slaughter made of the garrison and citizens, before Inchiquin entered the cathedral and gave orders that none should be put to death. Fethard immediately submitted, and he would have besieged Clonmel, but sir Alexander Macdonnel (who had served under Montrose in Scotland, and had upon his return to Ireland been made lieutenant general of Munster) being in the place with a regiment of Scotch highlanders, he found it would be a work of time; and not being able to subsist longer in the field for want of provisions, he dispersed his army into garrisons.

- 9 Taaffe had all this while lain still, and done nothing to oppose him, either not to hazard his forces, or for want of money to draw them together. This inactivity the nuncio^s in his letter of Oct. 6 to cardinal Panzirolli (who upon Pamfilio's quitting the purple, and marrying the princess Rossano, had been made cardinal minister) imputes to a secret understanding between Inchiquin, Muskery, and Taaffe. If this was really the case, as that prelate imagined, it was a very strong reason against Taaffe's venturing an engagement. The parliament of England had certainly for some time entertained suspicions of lord

Inchiquin's designs. Lord Lisle had been made lord lieutenant of Ireland for one year, and had come over into Munster with supplies to carry on the war, which he managed unsuccessfully enough, till April 15 this year, when his commission expired, and he resolved to embark for England. ^hTwo days before that time came, Algernon Sidney, lieutenant general of the horse, and sir Hardress Waller, sergeant major general of the army, presented a petition to the council-board, declaring their right in the command of the army, in case of the lord Lisle's absence, and desired, for the avoidance of future contestations to the prejudice of the service, that it might be settled before his lordship's departure. To induce the council to favour their petition, they presented a paper, wherein colonel Grey certified, that lord Inchiquin had told him, in case the lord lieutenant left colonel Sidney behind him, he had a friend who would accuse him of treason. Sir Adam Loftus and sir John Temple being employed by the parliament as commissioners for that province, were members of the council, and fearing the consequences of such a dispute, thought the matter highly deserved their present consideration. Lord Inchiquin insisted on his sole right to command the army, as president of Munster, and the general officers insisted as strongly upon their claim. Both sides were heard, and to compose the difference for a time, the council thought fit to settle the command for the present in four commissioners, viz. the lord Inchiquin, the lord Broghill, general of the Munster horse, Algernon Sidney, and sir H. Waller, till the parliament should declare their pleasure therein. The pretence for this regulation was a nicety of law suggested by Basil, the parliament's attorney general, who gave his opinion that the lord president's power to command the army in chief had determined upon the parliament's pass-

^h Letter of sir A. Loftus and sir J. Temple to the speaker, Apr. 23, 1647.

ing the lord lieutenant's commission, and could not be revived again but by a new grant from both houses. The board left the civil power absolutely in the hands of Inchiquin, as lord president; and to reconcile him to this order about the military, they offered him, in case he would agree to it, to leave any person whom he should except against, out of the commission. He received the compliment with a good grace, but said, he could not give his consent without prejudicing his own right, though he knew how to submit to any order that the council should make. Inchiquin took it ill, that officers who had always hitherto served under him should now be advanced to an equality of command with him; and such a coordinate power in the army was not likely to prove of any advantage [to] the service. He knew that former presidents had always enjoyed the chief military command in Munster, when lord lieutenants were in other parts of the kingdom, and when they were removed, continued to enjoy it, without any renewal of their patents. The validity of his own had been allowed as to the civil power, and seeing no reason why it did not stand as good with regard to the military, he drew up a protestation against the order, (in which till then he seemed to acquiesce,) and delivered to lord Lisle the day that his commission of lieutenancy determined. Lisle, alleging that he was now a private person, refused to meddle in the matter, and prepared for his embarkation the next day. The three other commissioners ordered Lisle's own regiment to attend him in arms out of town. Inchiquin interdicted them, and caused proclamation to be made by beat of drum, that they should lay down their arms, and repair to their quarters on pain of death. The officers of the regiment however kept their men together in arms; but Lisle and the council resolved to defer their departure, and try to compose the difference. Inchiquin had the day before sent for several officers, in whom he confided.

to come to him from the out-quarters, where they lay with their companies, and had gathered about him in his house near two hundred officers and reformadoes that had been cavaliers. He had likewise ordered a troop of horse of his own regiment to come into the town of Cork, but the commissioners having brought in some troops of lord Broghill's regiment, opposed and prevented their entrance. The commissioners being thus superior in force within the town, resolved to stand upon their right; but the committee of parliament, dreading the consequences of the quarrel, and seeing no other way of prevention, but by declaring to the commissioners their resolution to protest against them, if they should use any violence to maintain their power, prevailed with them at last to suspend the execution of their commission, and to go along with them into England to make known the lord president's carriage therein to the parliament. Upon this resolution, the horse and foot within the town were ordered to lay down their arms; the commissioners departed for England, and Inchiquin was left in full possession of the military command of the province.

- 10 The parliament was at this time too much taken up with disputes between the presbyterian and independent parties, to attend to any thing else. Lord Inchiquin had a great number of friends in the two houses, and the complaints made against him came to nothing. Suspi-9
cions were however entertained to his prejudice, (especially by the independents,) and these were much confirmed by the declaration which he published in the August following against the proceedings of the English army, which had invaded the freedom, and openly disobeyed the authority of the parliamentⁱ. Copies of this declaration or remonstrance he sent to Lecale, to Monroe, and to Scotland, with letters proposing an union, and declaring a resolution to obey no orders from the parlia-

ⁱ V. 259.

ment as long as it continued to be overawed by the army. He began at the same time to treat for a cessation with the Irish; and though it was not likely to be attended with any effect, as long as the present members sat in the council of Kilkenny, yet it should have deterred lord Taaffe from exposing his army.

- 11 The clamour which the slaughter of near twenty priests in the cathedral of Cashel raised among the Irish, and the nuncio's jealousies, forced this general to assemble his army at a time when the season of the year seemed to forbid any further action. Inchiquin drawing his forces out of their garrisons to oppose him, both armies came to an engagement on Nov. 13, at a place called Knocknoness. ^kTaaffe had with him about seven thousand five hundred foot and four regiments of horse, making one thousand two hundred men; and took his post in the left wing with four thousand Munster foot and two regiments of his horse. The rest of the foot were posted in the right wing under lieutenant general Macdonnel, supported by colonel Purcel with two regiments of horse. When the battles joined, Purcel charged the English horse opposed to him with great bravery, and Macdonnel's highlanders, after a fire, throwing down their pieces, fell sword in hand into the enemy's left, and drove them two miles before them with considerable slaughter; and with very little loss on their own side, made themselves masters of the cannon and carriages, keeping possession of them for a full hour. Inchiquin in the mean time broke the left wing of the Irish army, all the Munster regiments (except lord Castleconnel's) after a single fire throwing down their pieces, and running away; nor could the general stop their flight, though he killed several of them with his own hand. Inchiquin did not amuse himself in following the runaways, but turned back to assist his left wing. Purcel seeing him advance, retired with

^k Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1832.

his horse, and left the highland foot, drawn up about the cannon which they had seized, without a general to command them. For Macdonnel, after his success, had sent to give notice of it to the other wing, and his messengers not returning, he had moved to an eminence at a little distance from his men, to observe from thence what was doing in the field. As he returned, he was intercepted and killed by a small party of fourteen horse. His men stood their ground, till seven hundred of them were killed, when the rest threw down their arms and cried for quarter. The Irish lost all their arms, ammunition, and baggage, and about three thousand men in this action, wherein the flower of the Munster army was cut in pieces. Thus were the two bodies of forces, on which lord Digby depended for the execution of the measures concerted, destroyed one after the other; yet such was the hatred and terror of O'Neile, and so general was the inclination to peace among the English Irish, that though it might possibly defer for a time, it did not defeat the design of calling back the lord lieutenant.

- 12 ¹His return with the same power as he had enjoyed before, was not the wish of this party of the confederates alone, but of all the protestants whom he had left in Dublin. The parliament had taken very little care to supply the forces there with provisions; and the marquis of Ormond had not been gone three days, before the soldiers grew unruly, threatened the parliament commis-10 sioners, and plundered the houses of the inhabitants, protestants as well as papists. Money was sent over for their pay, but this could not restore discipline among them; they continued their disorders, and beat their officers, if they offered to reprimand them. Jones durst not exercise his authority over his own men, though he was too starch to every body else, and kept them at such a distance as either did not become him, or was thought

¹ V. 227, 279, 293.

insupportable by those who had been long used to the humanity and courtesy of the lord lieutenant. The meanest officer in the army, or person in the city, might sooner speak to the marquis of Ormond, than men of the first quality and command get admittance to the presence of the new governor. New commissions were set on foot to compound with such as came in, and mean persons employed therein, who were guilty of the most scandalous extortions. Offices of trust and authority grew contemptible, through the inconsiderableness of the fellows invested with them; which was also the chief reason why the soldiers paid so little obedience to their superiors, thinking themselves as good if not better gentlemen than their officers. Hence there was not so much as the face of a state kept up, nor any footsteps of sovereign authority; every body said what they pleased, and did what was right in their own eyes. Jones finding himself unequal to the difficulties of his post, desired the parliament to ease him of the burden of the government, and to employ a person of honour and quality to command in chief, for it must be the work of nobles to reduce and settle the kingdom.

- 13 The time was favourable for that work; the nobility and gentry of the pale had offered their submission to Jones, if they might have the benefit of the late peace. The chief noblemen of Leinster and Munster, and officers of both those armies, were desirous to come in upon the same terms, and being allowed but a moderate exercise of their religion; wherein many of their clergy were ready to join with them, and all the cities and corporate towns in their quarters. In case this was granted, they would maintain eight thousand foot and two thousand horse at their own charge to suppress those who should oppose the peace. The protestants likewise, who had shewed the greatest aversion to the late peace, amazed at the late strange metamorphosis of the government,

and dreading the worst, now heartily wished to see a settlement of the kingdom. Nothing seemed wanting to the work but the marquis of Ormond's presence, which was universally wished, and some letters of Sept. 25, from Bristol, coming to Dublin with assurance of the marquis's speedy return to the government, the city was transported with joy at the news. Sir M. Eustace, in his letters of Oct. 6 and 8, giving the lord lieutenant an account of these facts, thought it his duty to press him not to decline the offer (if it were made him) of the government.

- 14 "It is a wonder," says he, "to see what effects your lordship's departure from hence, and the acts of this new people, have wrought here amongst us. That peace, which you could not by any means persuade this people to embrace, they would now fight for to a man, and overtures are already made by the pale to the governor for that purpose. How much more would it be done by the whole kingdom to your lordship, if you were here upon the place, every man doth see and acknowledge. But besides this great change, those amongst ourselves who desired nothing more than your lordship's removal, do now above all things wish and pray for your return to them in the same power and authority that you enjoyed amongst them. And I beseech your lordship, if you have not yet entertained any such thought, that you will endeavour it, for the advantage of your friends, your country, and this poor nation. Which if you can effect, it will set you straight in the affections of this poor people, who languish for you, and make you glorious to all ages. There is 11 no other way to preserve this nation, and to bring an happy reformation and settlement into the kingdom. The better and sincerer part of it do now see how they have been deluded; and though they have deserved very ill at your lordship's hands, yet it will be a glorious work to preserve a nation from extirpation, and to do the work which may introduce a perpetual settlement. Both these, it is thought, may be effected by your lordship, with very little expense of English treasure or blood, in a very short time, if that power be put into your hands, which without you, the wisest do believe, will not be done in an age."

- 15 This was indeed the sense of all that knew the state

of Ireland; the parliament of England knew it to be the case, but they did not care to trust such a power in the hands of a person whom nothing could corrupt or turn from his duty to his majesty. Mr. Hollis, sir Ph. Stapleton, and many of the leading members of the parliament, had a great affection, as well as esteem, for the marquis of Ormond, and it was possibly out of some regard to him that no successor was appointed in his post. For instead of sending over the lord Lisle, or any other, as lord lieutenant, they divided the charge; assigning to Jones the government of Leinster, and to colonel Monck that of Ulster, who, having taken the covenant and negative oath, landed, on Sept. 5, at Dublin, in order to repair to his province.

- 16 The marquis of Ormond, after some days' stay at his uncle sir Robert Poyntz's house at Acton in Gloucestershire, obtained from sir T. Fairfax a pass to go to London, and soon after, by the same means, leave to wait upon his majesty; the chief end of his coming into England. He went at the latter end of August to Hampton-court, and gave the king in writing^m a summary of the affairs of Ireland, to be considered by him at his leisure. They were frequently the subject of their conversation, and he had the satisfaction of finding his conduct in all the intricate and perplexed circumstances of those affairs entirely approved by his majesty. He received not long after ⁿletters from the queen and prince, expressing their abundant satisfaction in the loyalty, prudence, and honour of all his proceedings in that kingdom, and assuring him that the part he had sustained in those late troubles, with so great wisdom, and so much advantage to the king's affairs, had long since placed him in their high esteem, and should for ever make them account him a person worthy of the fullest confidence, and fit in all respects

^m See Collection of Letters, No. DLXV.

ⁿ Ib. No. DLXVII, and S. 278, 280, 290. Vind. Cath. p. 49.

for the greatest trusts and employments. The king was not less affected with the sense of the marquis's services, or less zealous in expressing that sense; so that when he tendered him his commission for the lieutenancy of Ireland, which had succeeded so unhappily in his hands, his majesty refused to receive it, and said, "that either the marquis himself, or nobody, should ever use it hereafter with better success." He stayed about a month in lodgings at Kingston, near Hampton-court, and went at the latter end of September to meet his lady, and carry her to London. He had not been absent above five or six days, before the king, on Oct. 2, sent for him by an express, having a very earnest occasion of speaking with him concerning matters of special and great importance, and desiring him to repair to Hampton-court with all expedition. Thither were likewise called the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Dorset and Southampton, lord Capel, and some few others; but the army being jealous of their consultations^o, they were obliged on the 9th of that month to depart the court.

- 17 The parliament had, on Sept. 7, presented to the king¹² several propositions, requiring his consent to them, though the same which he had before rejected at Newcastle. The army at the same time offered him other proposals, which he thought a fitter foundation for peace, and signified as much to the houses. The marquis of Ormond's judgment in this case^p, before he knew of the determination of the parliament, was, "that if they treated of the proposals, the Scots might take offence, and if they rejected them, the army, from whom they took their rise, might and ought to vindicate them; which being undoubtedly in their power, since their head quarters were at Lambeth, and there was no Scotch army in being, in case the proposals were laid aside, and the army ac-

^o Whitelock's Memorials, p. 275.

^p Letter to sir Maurice Eustace, V. 276, wrote Sept. 21, 1647, from Kingston.

quiesced therein, it would shew that the overtures made by the army were intended rather to facilitate the expulsion of the presbyterian party, than to procure a peace by those proposals." This plainly appeared afterwards; the parliament went on with their propositions, and the army, not insisting on their proposals, gave the king too just grounds to suspect their sincerity. This seems to have been the occasion of the resolution which the king took in this council^q, to rely no longer upon the fair professions of the army, and to close with the Scots, who made him great overtures, assured him that their whole nation would take up arms for restoring him to his rights, and made no question, but as a war would unavoidably follow, they should be readily joined by all the presbyterians in England. Pursuant to this resolution, he received at the same time directions from his majesty to confer with the Scotch commissioners at London, (and the earls of Lanerick and Loudon, who were just arrived there,) and to agree upon measures, the Scots for engaging their country, and the marquis for engaging Ireland, to act with all their power for his service. This was the last time the marquis of Ormond had an opportunity of seeing his majesty; for being now removed upon the jealousies of the officers of the army to London, he continued there till after the king, on Nov. 11, left Hampton-court, and went into the Isle of Wight.

- 18 It is very probable that the army's declaring against those counsellors being about the king, and forcing them to remove, was occasioned by some discovery of this resolution, there being always some or other of his majesty's servants who still revealed his most important and secret measures to the rebels. Mr. Maurice, chaplain to Roger earl of Orrery, in some manuscript memoirs that he collected of passages which he heard from the mouth

^q Clarendon, vol. iv. book x. par. 120. edit. 1849. Sir R. Southwel's Informations, p. 20.

of that nobleman, relates the manner of that discovery with such particular circumstances, that (however his memory might fail him in other cases, wherein I find many mistakes as to facts, and circumstances of time, place, and persons) what he relates of this matter seems to deserve credit. He says,

- 19 "That lord Orrery, in the time of his greatness with Cromwell, just after he had so seasonably relieved him in his great distress at Clonmel, riding out of Youghall one day with him and Ireton, they fell into discourse about the king's death. Cromwell thereupon said more than once, that if the king had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by none but trusty servants, he had fooled them all; and that once they had a mind to have closed with him, but upon something that happened, fell off from that design. Orrery finding them in good humour, and being alone with them, asked if he might presume to desire to know why they would once have closed with his majesty, and why they did not. Cromwell very freely told him he would satisfy him in both his queries. The reason," says he, "why we would have closed with the king was this; we found that the Scots and presbyterians began to be more powerful than we, 13 and were likely to agree with him, and leave us in the lurch. For this reason we thought it best to prevent them by offering first to come in upon reasonable conditions: but whilst our thoughts were taken up with this subject, there came a letter to us from one of our spies, who was of the king's bedchamber, acquainting us that our final doom was decreed that very day; that he could not possibly learn what it was, but we might discover it, if we could but intercept a letter sent from the king to the queen, wherein he informed her of his resolution; that this letter was sown up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle upon his head, about ten of the clock that night, to the Blue Boar in Holborn, where he was to take horse for Dover. The messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, though some in Dover did. We were at Windsor," said Cromwell, "when we received this letter, and immediately upon the receipt of it, Ireton and I resolved to take one trusty fellow with us, and to go in troopers' habits to that inn. We did so, and leaving our man at the gate of the inn, (which had

a wicket only open to let persons in and out,) to watch and give us notice when any man came in with a saddle, we went into a drinking stall. We there continued, drinking cans of beer, till about ten of the clock, when our sentinel at the gate gave us notice that the man with the saddle was come. We rose up presently, and just as the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him with drawn swords, and told him we were to search all that went in and out there ; but as he looked like an honest man, we would only search his saddle, and so dismiss him. The saddle was ungirt ; we carried it into the stall, where we had been drinking, and ripping open one of the skirts, we there found the letter we wanted. Having thus got it into our hands, we delivered the man (whom we had left with our sentinel) his saddle, told him he was an honest fellow, and bid him go about his business ; which he did, pursuing his journey without more ado, and ignorant of the harm he had suffered. We found in the letter, that his majesty acquainted the queen that he was now courted by both factions, the Scotch presbyterians and the army ; and that those which bade the fairest for him should have him : but yet he thought he should close with the Scots sooner than with the other. Upon this we returned to Windsor, and finding we were not like to have good terms from the king, we from that time vowed his destruction."

20 This relation, suiting well enough with other passages and circumstances at this time, I have inserted to gratify the reader's curiosity.

21 ^rThe two parties of Hamilton and Argyle in Scotland continued well enough united, till after the distribution of the money received for the sale of the king : but towards the conclusion of the parliament, in the beginning of April this year, some misunderstanding happened between them. They both however agreed in the dissolution of the present, and in the calling a new parliament ; the latter, in hopes of a new president better affected to them, the former, in expectation of getting a greater number of their partisans chosen in the next. The nation

^r Negotiations de M. de Montrevil en Ecosse en 1647.

had generally disliked the giving up of his majesty, and those who had been most for it had occasions of discontent given them by the parliament of England. One of these was the demand made of Belfast, which the Scots thought necessary for the security of their troops as long as they continued in Ulster. Another was the English insisting on Monroe and his forces' return into Scotland, and instead of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was owing for their arrears, offering them only a fortnight's pay to defray the charges of their transportation. The English parliament, ever since they had got the ¹⁴ king into their hands, treated the Scots with great contempt; and the independents being likely, by the help of the army, to get the governing power in that parliament, the Scots were apprehensive that, when that design was effected, and the presbyterians were crushed in England, so as to be able to make no longer opposition to their adversaries, the old enmity between the two nations would revive, and the independents would labour to raise troubles in their country. In short, they hated the independents mortally, and considered their power in England as the sure means of the ruin of their religion, and (what they had more at heart) their fortunes. They thought there was no way to prevent these calamities, but to keep up the divisions in England; and for fear the presbyterian party should be crushed by the other, or submit to their superior force, they offered to send an army into England to their assistance. To give some credit to their cause, to call in all help to their succour, and engage the cavaliers to join them, they pretended the greatest zeal for restoring the king to his rights, offered his majesty to send an army into England for that purpose, and invited the prince of Wales over into Scotland.

- ²² The Scots pressed this last point with great earnestness, and yet were very irresolute about levying an army, deferring it from time to time. News coming at the

latter end of June to Scotland, that the king expressed himself very well satisfied with the civilities paid and freedom allowed him by the English army, and that there was like to be an accommodation between them, their main pretext for raising forces was taken away, and the ministers could only insist in their sermons on the covenant, which obliged them to see the presbyterian government established in both kingdoms. To prevent that accommodation, the duke of Hamilton and earl of Lanerick made the strongest professions to the French minister, (who believed little of either,) that they were entirely attached to the king's interests, and if the prince of Wales would but come over to support the cause, the first of these would march with him at the head of a powerful army to restore his father to the throne. The duke despatched away Robert Lesly and Robert Laire, one after the other, to the king, to give him the like assurances, and to keep him from closing with the independents. The earl of Lauderdale and the Scotch commissioners residing at London, plied continually about his majesty, and insinuated to all that were thought unalterably devoted to the interests of the crown, with passionate declarations and confident undertakings, that their whole nation would be united to a man in any enterprise for his service.

- 23 Robert Lesly returned in the beginning of August to Edinburgh, with accounts that were not agreeable to those who sent him. He brought advice that the army were masters of London, and that the presbyterian party was entirely crushed all over the kingdom. As for the king, he could not be brought to promise satisfaction to the Scots; only he gave them his word, that if they would begin with declaring themselves openly for him, he would make no agreement with the independents to their prejudice. Hereupon it was resolved in the committee of estates to send the earl of Loudon chancellor of the kingdom and the earl of Lanerick to the king,

and the levying of an army was deferred till the issue of their journey was known. Whilst they were waiting for a safe conduct from England, (for they would not venture their persons there without one,) two letters came in the beginning of September from the earl of Lauderdale; the first of which gave them advice, that the commander of the English fleet had offered him to declare for the Scots, and the English presbyterians, with twenty-two men of war, if they would victual his ships; which, if their kingdom was unable to do, might yet be done by the help of France. In the other, the earl wrote word that the in-¹⁵dependents were willing to accommodate matters with the Scots; that he was actually treating with one of the most considerable persons of the English army for that purpose, and was assured by him, that in case Scotland would agree with the independents in the single point of abandoning their king, they should very easily agree with one another in every thing else; that Ashburnham was the only man who hindered the king from striking in with the independents; that at any rate W. Murray should be sent away to be about the king, who did not give them satisfactory answers, and who, he foresaw, would be absolutely ruined, if he believed the independents. Sir H. Vane the younger was the man who made the afore-said proposal in the name of the independents to Lauderdale.

- ²⁴ M. de Montrevil, the French envoy, was entirely persuaded that the only design of the Scots was to make up with the independents, and that the true reason of their courting the king so much was, to get the better bargain from that party. But it was an age of jealousies, and they did not know how to trust the independents. These last had by a vote established the presbyterian government in England for a limited time, and with liberty of conscience to nonconformists; but the very manner of that establishment raised violent clamours in Scotland.

They had made an apology for an affront lately offered by the parliament to Lauderdale, but it had more the air of a reproach than an excuse. These things increased their distrust, but a new order of the parliament for the Scots to quit Ulster immediately put them out of all patience; and in their resentment they sent five thousand pounds to Monroe to clothe his forces, he engaging with that supply to maintain his footing for another year in Ireland. Thus stood matters in Scotland, when Lanerick at the latter end of September set out for London, and was followed in a day or two by the earls of Loudon and Calender, the last of which was invited by the king's own letters to come to him, as a person in whom he much confided, though he was secretly united to the Hamilton party. Upon their coming to London, and the king's resolving to close with the Scots' offers, the marquis of Ormond was appointed to transact with them; and there was laid the foundation of that engagement, which was openly declared in the year following, and in which the Scots pretended fully to assert and retrieve his majesty's rights and authority.

- ²⁵ The king's escape from the Isle of Wight, the uncertainty of his condition, and especially his not consenting to all the unreasonable propositions the Scots made, caused some delay in settling the measures to be observed by all parties for preventing the traitorous designs of the army, which were now manifest to all the world. But all things being at last adjusted, except the king's signing to those conditions, which the Scotch commissioners pretended to be necessary to enable them to engage the kingdom, and they being gone to the Isle of Wight to obtain it, the marquis of Ormond left London on Christmas-day, nine days before the vote passed of non-addresses to the king. Robert Lesly was despatched at the same time to Scotland to give an account of the agreement made with the king, and to prepare matters for the per-

formance of the engagement. The marquis went to Acton, about ten miles from Bristol, a place convenient for the correspondence which he had now entered into with lord Inchiquin, for the better performance of the part assigned him in Ireland. He stayed there till an order was sent him from the committee of Derby-house^s, dated Feb. 15, and requiring him to send them in writing an engagement upon his honour, that he would not during his stay in England do any thing that should be of disservice to the parliament. He had liberty by his articles to stay twelve months in England, and at the end thereof to transport ¹⁶ himself into parts beyond the seas, if in the mean time he made no composition for his estate with the parliament. This was what he never intended to do; and the reason of his stay thus long was his expectation of getting the three thousand five hundred pounds remaining of the money to be paid him for his disbursements in Ireland. He had solicited that affair in London, with a great charge in attendance, till he was banished thence by an ordinance enjoining all persons who had served the king to leave that city. He had waited afterwards in the country for the money, that he might satisfy his creditors, who were very importunate with him for payment. He had indeed, by his capitulation, protection from them for six months, but that time being on the point of expiring, and very little hopes left of speedy payment, it was high time for him to decamp, and steal off as privately as he could for fear of an arrest. These circumstances served for excuses, but were not the true reasons of his departure. He did not care to be served with the order above mentioned; there was as yet no charge of disservice against him, but he found the parliament was grown jealous of him, and wanted a pretext to seize his person. He had notice likewise given him, that a warrant was actually issued out for that purpose, though in breach of the articles.

^s W. 21, 16 and 17.

Upon this advertisement he quitted Acton, and crossing the country to Hastings in Sussex, he took shipping for France, and landed happily at Dieppe in Normandy. From thence he went in the beginning of March to Paris, there to wait upon the queen and prince, and assist with his advice in the present conjuncture of affairs, when matters of the greatest consequence, the most intricate nature, and the most embroiled circumstances, were under their consideration, and resolutions to be taken therein for his majesty's service.

- 26 The^t earl of Glamorgan had come to Paris a few months before him, recommended by the nuncio Rinuccini to cardinal Mazarine, and to the pope's nuncio in that place, on account of his attachment to the holy see, though unfortunate in all his undertakings, and not endued with that prudence which was necessary in the post he desired. His business there was to solicit the queen to make him governor of Ireland; but he met with so ill a reception at court, that he soon despaired of succeeding. His lady, to whom the marquis of Ormond had once made his addresses, (before he had hopes of marrying his cousin and uniting the estate of his family,) resented the neglect shewed of her lord, and imputed it, as well as his imprisonment at Dublin, to the influence and power of the marquis. She carried her resentment so far, that when he waited upon her after his arrival at Paris, and offered to salute her, she turned away her face with great disdain. The marquis thereupon made her a reverence, and with great presence of mind said, "Really, madam, this would have troubled me eighteen years ago;" and then went to the next, the company present being of his acquaintance, and much pleased with what he had said.

- 27 Soon after the marquis of Ormond's arrival, some agents deputed by the general assembly, which met on Nov. 12 before, arrived from Ireland at Paris. The nation^u had

^t Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1818. Ireland, III. 100.

^u V. 319.

suffered so much from the horrible depredations of the Ulster forces, and the measures of the clergy, that they generally wished for peace, to put an end to their present miseries, and their apprehension of greater, particularly of a famine. Mr. Darcy and other considerable persons had resolved to meddle no more in public affairs, but at lord Muskery's instance they resolved to make one push more to save the nation, before they quitted it, from ruin ; which only could be done by getting a majority in that assembly. They exerted themselves so strenuously, that ¹⁷ they succeeded in their design, notwithstanding all the disadvantages they were under through the power of a council composed for the most part of the nuncio's creatures, and generally observant of his directions. In one point indeed they had lately proceeded contrary to his will, but the case was too odious to allow them to act otherwise^v.

- ²⁸ A scandalous and treasonable book, entitled, *Disputatio Apologetica, de Jure Regni Hiberniæ pro Catholicis Hibernis adversus Hæreticos Anglos*, had been lately published, wrote by an Irish Jesuit in Portugal, and there printed. The author, whose name was Constantine, or Cornelius Mahony, a Munster man, called in his order *Cornelius a Sancto Patricio*, endeavoured in it to persuade his countrymen, that the kings of England never had any right to Ireland ; that supposing they once had, they had forfeited it by turning heretics, and not observing the conditions of pope Adrian's grant ; that the old Irish natives might by force of arms recover the lands and goods taken from their ancestors upon the conquest by usurpers of English or other foreign extraction ; that they should kill, not only all the protestants, but all the Roman catholics in Ireland that stood for the crown of England, choose an Irish native for their king, and throw

^v Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1820. P. W.'s Remonstrance, p. 667 and 737.

off at once the yoke both of heretics and foreigners. This book had been privately dispersed over the nation, and one of them being found with John Bane, then parish priest of Athlone, complaint was made of it to the council. The nuncio saved Bane from punishment, refusing to deliver him to the secular power, and would fain have saved the book too from censure. But the contents of it were so expressly contrary to the oath of association, and the tendency thereof towards raising a civil war among the confederates so very manifest, that the council were forced to condemn it as traitorous, and as such ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman at Kilkenny. The nuncio was much displeased with the council for this sentence, which he imputed to the power of the lawyers, who detested the proposition, *that an heretical king is not a lawful one*, as ruinous to all those who had any churchlands by grant from the crown. If this treatise, industriously spread, and calculated to favour the schemes of the clergy for making the pope their protector, and of the Ulster Irish for setting up O'Neile for their king, was not intended for that purpose, it certainly much increased the general apprehensions of such designs, and made the confederates of English descent, whose extirpation was thus openly advised and encouraged, more desirous than ever of a peace, which was never more necessary for the king's affairs, than it was now become so for their own preservation.

- 29 The council were more complaisant to the nuncio in another point^w. To strengthen his party in the assembly, he had recommended eleven persons to be made bishops, and though not one of them was consecrated, nor any of their bulls come from Rome, (nor indeed did come till above four months afterwards,) he prevailed with the council to summon them by writs to sit in the assembly. Their entrance was disputed, the lawyers alleging that by

^w Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1835—1858. Vind. Cath. p. 53.

the law of England no bishop who was not consecrated, nor in possession of the temporalities of his see, could sit and vote in parliament. The nuncio pretended that their bulls were passed, and threatened to consecrate them himself; but fearing such a step might not be approved at Rome, thought it best to order them to go and take their places in the assembly, as if they had no doubt of their own right, and see who would dare to turn them out. The assembly, dreading the consequences of such a proceeding with men under the direction of a papal nuncio capable of any rash and violent measures, acquiesced in 18 their sitting, and the nuncio derived great advantages from this increase of his partisans. Encouraged by this success, he tried his interest in another point, but it did not end to his satisfaction. There came nine deputies only from Ulster, which used to have sixty-three representatives in parliament. These nine, alleging that the war hindered a choice of their full number, insisted upon being allowed to have sixty-three voices. The other three provinces were all of them defective in that respect, though not in an equal degree, and might have demanded the like privilege. The claim was rejected, and the Ulster members, though they continued to sit, yet seeing the general bent of the assembly was for peace, thought fit to declare that their province would look upon every thing done therein as invalid.

30 When the assembly entered into a consideration of the state of the kingdom, it was easily agreed that there was no way of saving the nation but by a peace. The difficulty was how to treat of that affair, when, since the lord lieutenant's departure, there was nobody in the kingdom who had power to treat with them upon that subject. It was therefore resolved to send agents into France to the queen and prince for that purpose. The nuncio was afraid that such a deputation to France would end in inviting the prince of Wales over, and recalling the

marquis of Ormond ; and opposed it with all his might. It was objected, that possibly the queen and prince might not be willing to grant them good conditions, and in that case it was proper to put themselves under the protection of some foreign prince. The nuncio pressed the assembly to make choice of the pope for their protector, ^xthough he had on July 22 before received express orders from Rome, not to let that point ever come into consultation, for a protection at such a distance could be of no use to the Irish, who could expect but little succour from the pope ; it would expose the papal see to the jealousy of princes, and exhaust its exchequer, besides a thousand other reasons which forbad any thoughts of that nature. This motion was strongly opposed by the nobility and gentry, who thought no protector ought to be named till after they had been deserted by their lawful prince ; and even then, it was so weighty an affair, and required such a consideration of the inclinations, situation, condition, and abilities of the prince, and of the conditions of that protection, to which it would be proper for them to submit, that it could not be hastily determined. It was resolved however to send agents, not only to France, but to Rome and Spain.

- 31 The nuncio laboured hard to defer all the embassies, except that to Rome ; and when he could not prevent agents being sent to France, he still insisted that those designed for Rome should depart first, and the others should expect an answer from them in France, before they returned into Ireland. He was complied with in this respect ; yet it did not quiet his terrible fears about the French negotiation. To guard against the effects of it, he got the bishops and prelates to his house, where he engaged them to sign a declaration, “that they would never consent, that either the queen or prince of Wales should be invited over, till the pope’s articles about reli-

^x Nuncio’s Memoirs, fol. 1588.

gion were secured to them ; or that any body but a Roman catholic should be lord lieutenant ; that the forts and armies of the confederates should be delivered up to heretics, or that any peace should be made to lessen the present state and public exercise of their religion, let the majority of the general assembly determine what they pleased in those points."

32 When the choice of agents came into question, the bishop of Ferns and Nicholas Plunket were proposed to go to Rome, and readily agreed to ; though the nuncio 19 suspected that the party which was so zealous for peace, did it purely to get them out of the kingdom, that they might not obstruct them in the measures which they designed to carry on in their absence. He suspected there was the same politic view in naming the bishop of Clogher, a man of great interest and power with the Irish, to go with lord Muskery and Geoffrey Brown into France. Clogher excused himself from the employment as very unfit for it, being odious to the queen of England, and understanding neither French nor English ; but the assembly upon the question resolved that he should be sent as an agent. He thereupon rose up in his place, and with an air of contempt told the house positively that he would not go. This caused a great disorder in the assembly ; Clogher was admonished not to stir out of the city ; the lawyers moved for his imprisonment and punishment ; the nuncio complained of the breach of the immunities of the clergy ; Preston went out of town to join his army for support of the civil power, and O'Neile was sent for to come to the assistance of his friend. This confusion lasted five days, at the end of which the matter was compromised without any notice being taken of the nuncio or his complaints, and the marquis of Antrim appointed in the other's stead.

33 As to the instructions to be given to the several agents, a draught thereof being presented to the assembly the

last day but one of the session, the clergy openly protested they would not agree to them, unless they might frame them to their own mind, and either add to or expunge any of them, as they thought most serviceable to their religion. The discussion of each particular would have taken up too much time; so that the final adjusting of them was left to the clergy and the supreme council. They were accordingly on Jan. 4 delivered by the council to the clergy, who corrected them, and those corrections being approved, they were signed by nine bishops and six of the council. Those for France and Spain directed the agents to apply to those respective courts for succours, and assistance to procure them an happy peace; and if they found such a peace could not be had, and the pope should decline the protectorship, they were to inform themselves where it could be placed most for the advantage of the nation, and manage the disposal of it accordingly. The Roman agents were to assure the pope, that the confederates would insist on such concessions in matters of religion as he should approve of and be satisfied with; particularly on having always Roman catholic lord lieutenants and governors for the future; on publishing the religious articles of the peace at the same time with the civil, and on the continuance of their present government till the peace should be published and a settlement made. They were to solicit for aids, and in case a settlement could not be had, nor sufficient succours to preserve the nation without a protector, they were to apply to his holiness for his being protector of the kingdom, and by special instance endeavour his acceptance thereof.

34 The party that laboured for peace did not trouble themselves so much about these instructions as about the choice of the members of the council, which was to govern in the interval of the assembly. They proposed those very persons who had made the rejected peace, and been imprisoned by the nuncio. The clergy absolutely excluded

them, upon which a medium was proposed, that an equal number of both parties should be chosen. This appearing equitable, and liable to no inconvenience, when eight out of twelve were to concur in any resolution or order, before it could be of force, was assented to by all parties. This would indeed have obstructed all measures towards a peace, if lord Muskery and his friends had not, towards the end of the session, prevailed to have a new regulation made by the assembly with regard to the council. As²⁰ the members might several of them be absent on occasion, so that a sufficient number to sign an order might sometimes be wanting, it was proposed that there should be appointed some supernumeraries to supply the places of such as were absent. The assembly accordingly named a few at first, and went on to name others, till the very last moment of their sitting, so that at last forty-eight of these additional or occasional members were chosen, all of lord Muskery's partisans. The nuncio complained heavily of the bishop of Fern's suffering himself to be overreached in this regulation, which (as he said) made the Ormondists absolute masters of the council, well knowing that as soon as they had declared their measures those who opposed them would retire, and they should never want enough to vote with them. The resident council consisted of R. Belling, Pat. Brian, and Robert Devreux for Leinster, lord Athenry, sir Robuck Lynch, and sir Lucas Dillon for Connaught, the bishop of Clogher, Henry O'Neile, and Terence O'Reily for Ulster, and the bishop of Limerick, Dr. Fennel, and Gefferey Baron for Munster.

- 35 The agents appointed to go abroad judged it would be safest for them to go all together under a good convoy; but the nuncio would not be satisfied unless the Roman set out first. Thus Ferns and Plunket sailed from Waterford on Feb. 10, but meeting with storms were forced to put back, and sailed again on the 17th, charged with par-

ticular instructions from the nuncio, and with a joint petition from eight bishops, as well as letters from Owen O'Neile and the bishop of Clogher to the pope, entreating that he would make Rinuccini a cardinal. He was very ambitious of that dignity, and would have been promoted to it, if Dublin had been taken ; which made his disappointment in that enterprise the more grievous to him. Muskery and Brown left the port of Waterford on the 11th, the day after the Roman agents, but were like them drove back by ill weather and contrary winds. The nuncio had taken care they should be tied down in their treaty with the queen and prince of Wales, by the same instructions as the others, and by another, which restrained them from inviting the prince over into Ireland, till all the articles of the peace were settled and received ; thinking that the party for peace could execute none of their schemes without his highness's coming. This and the other instructions for insisting on Roman catholics being always governors of the kingdom and generals of the armies, and on the religious articles of the peace being published at the same time with the civil, and for using instances with the pope preferably to all others to accept the protectorship, were all added by the clergy to those which had been drawn by the council, with some others relating to the restitution of the old Irish to the planted lands in Ulster ; which the council had the less reason to dispute about with an obstinate set of men at home, because the agents were resolved to make no use of them abroad, nor to insist on matters which they knew had been already, and ever would be rejected ; and the insisting on which would have made all peace with their own prince impracticable, and immediately have subjected them to a foreign power, which was now the declared design of the clergy and the old Irish.

³⁶ Antrim, having different views from his colleagues, would not go along with them, but sailed (seven days be-

fore them) on Feb. 20 from Waterford, full of hopes of being made the Roman catholic lord lieutenant desired in the instructions. His own vanity, and the great opinion he entertained of his merit and services, the favour of Rinuccini and the Irish clergy, and the interest he proposed to make in the court of France by the credit of the nuncio at Paris to whom he was recommended, were the foundation of those hopes which his natural confidence and eager wishes advanced in a manner to an assurance of success. Muskery and Brown knew the man, and leaving him to his visions, resolved to take their own measures for the saving of their perishing country. They landed at St. Malo on March 14, and soon after waited upon the queen and prince at St. Germain, by whom they were favourably received. They brought with them and shewed some private instructions^y, signed by Taaffe and Preston, generals of the Munster and Leinster armies, and directing those agents to assure the queen and prince “that no power nor expectation of self-interest, should ever make them decline those principles of loyalty to their king which they had always professed, and should to their dying day continue unalterably in their minds and actions; that such was the condition, the strength, and affections of their armies, that they little valued those that had a mind, if they had ability, to oppose them; and that all the well-affected persons in the kingdom were resolved to join with them, and contribute their lives and fortunes to compass the end they aimed at, which was the reestablishment of the king’s authority in all his dominions; that though there was a party which endeavoured to traverse their measures and to introduce a foreign jurisdiction, yet the practices of that party were well known, and it would be in their power to destroy it, if they had but assurances of assistance and countenance from the queen and prince; that in their opinion, the

only way to reduce Ireland and make it entirely obedient and useful to the king was, that the prince would be pleased to come over with a considerable proportion of money and arms, and with a resolution to condescend to the requests of his moderate and well-affected subjects; in which case they engaged to put under his command such a body of forces as would not only settle Ireland, but, with some assistance in England, be serviceable to regain his rights and interest in his other dominions; and that if the prince would neither come over nor send supplies, he would at least be pleased to direct them how to dispose of themselves, and his other subjects, who would willingly know no other obedience but what they owed to him."

- 37 These were the instructions which Muskery and Brown had most at heart. They were however obliged to join with Antrim in presenting to the queen on April 2 the other propositions given in charge to them all and dictated by the clergy. ²In these, waving all demands in point of religion, which they were not ready to make, till they heard from Rome, they desired "not only the benefit [of] all the concessions in temporal matters, contained in the articles of the late peace; but also that the act to be made for confirming the peace should pass in Ireland without being transmitted into England; that the clause about universities should have no other limitation than that about inns of court, or at least the regulations thereof should be known before the conclusion of the articles; that places in the civil government as well as in the martial should be conferred by special instances on the Roman catholics upon conclusion of the articles; that peers who had no estates in Ireland should purchase the estates specified in the article of the late peace about them, before they sat or voted in parliament; that plantations since Jac. 1 should be exempted from the cognisance of the

council-board ; that the clause in the act of oblivion for excepting special crimes should be omitted ; that all who should not submit to the peace within forty days after it was proclaimed should be declared traitors ; that all planted estates in Ulster, recovered from the parliamentarians, and in the hands of any of the Irish, whose ancestors formerly enjoyed them, should continue in the hands of the present possessors ; that all others, whose ancestors²² had been dispossessed by any plantation since Jac. 1 should be admitted in the next parliament, or in any other court to sue for the recovery of their estates ; and that the estates of all such as should forfeit them by not submitting to the peace, should be restored to the descendants of those Irish who had enjoyed them before the plantation.”

- 38 The queen received the propositions, and took time to consider what the king had formerly absolutely refused, and what she for that reason was already determined not to grant. She consulted the marquis of Ormond on this subject, and desired his opinion with regard, as well to these demands, as to what was necessary further to be done for the affairs of Ireland. He^a told her, that he thought “ the answer to the Irish propositions should be so contrived, as to shew (to the greatest advantage that general terms could express) his majesty’s gracious inclinations towards the settlement of that kingdom, upon such conditions in matters of religion and of civil concernment, as should satisfy all those who had any desires towards peace. But to give present particular answers, by way of concession to any of their propositions, (he conceived,) could be of no use; it being as uncertain whether they would satisfy or not, and full as uncertain (if they would) what advantage could come of it, till the issue of other negotiations appeared. On the contrary, those concessions would be subjected to the debates of their

^a W. 37.

council or assembly, and to the cavils of such, as, for want of satisfaction in their private and perhaps unjust ambitions, would object 'against them: and when it should be necessary to make them offers, if they were but the same, the people would be prepossessed with prejudice against them, if for no other reason, yet because they were not new. To this (says he) the commissioners can take no reasonable exception, since in the matter of religion (which is the point of greatest difficulty, and that for want of satisfaction wherein, they say, the last peace was broken) they are not ready to propose what they would have. And it should be considered, whether it may not be fit to let them know, that his majesty will not admit of the pope's interposition in the reconciling of differences between him and his subjects. For if in the answer now to be given no exception be taken to that, it may furnish the disaffected with a plausible excuse for delay, when offers shall be made them.

- 39 “An answer being thus given, the next thing to be done (I conceive) is, to make, with all possible speed, preparations of money, ammunition, arms, and shipping; that if our hopes of the Scots and lord Inchiquin resolve into assurances of their declaring for the king, there may be no time lost in giving them those countenances of authority and assistance that they will in such case expect, and which may be procured. After the ways of making those provisions are thought of, it will be fit to consider what is really to be given the confederates, to purchase their submission to the king's authority and concurrence in his service; and that being resolved upon, how far it may be fit to preacquaint some of the best affected and discreetest of them therewith, as well to keep them from apprehensions of being neglected, as to give them that advantage of working upon the people which we would keep from the disaffected. And the better to know what is fit to be given them, it will be needful to look over all

that was offered to them in matters of religion before my lord Glamorgan put himself into that affair; as also what hath been since offered upon any later treaty. These papers and copies of them may be had from the commissioners."

40 The marquis of Ormond did not as yet know the re-23
sult of the negotiations, which he was carrying on by the means of sir G. Hamilton with the Scots, and by colonel John Barry with lord Inchiquin; and whatever opinion the well-affected Irish had of their own power, he was persuaded that, without the assistance of one or both of these, they would never be able to carry their point against the nuncio and O'Neile so clearly, as to be able to do the king much service. But he received soon after letters^b from the earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Lanerick, of March 28, in answer to his of the 17th of that month, sent by sir W. Fleming, wherein they acquainted him, "that the obstructions which they had met with from the committee of the kirk, and Argyle's party, had delayed the engagement of that kingdom longer than they expected; and that till the parliament had actually engaged, they could not send over such an order as his lordship desired. But they would write their advice to Monroe and the Scotch officers in Ireland, (who, they were confident, would comply therewith,) as well to obey the marquis's orders according to the treaty they had made, as to give all possible diversion to Owen O'Neile; and as soon as the parliament should engage, they would obtain the like order from the parliament, and give him notice thereof." The Scotch parliament did engage some time after, and in the last week of April ordered the kingdom to be put into a posture of defence.

41 Lord Inchiquin, though his resentment as well of the neglect shewed him at court in respect of his pretensions to the presidency of Munster, as of the ill-treat-

^b W. 32.

ment he had received from the Irish, had carried him to a breach of the cessation, and to support himself by the assistance of the English parliament; yet always retained a true affection to the monarchy and constitution of England. Acted by this principle, when he saw the independents going such great lengths towards the destruction of both, and taking measures to dethrone and murder the king, to level the nobility, and to confound all ranks and orders of men within the kingdom, he resolved at any hazard to serve his majesty, and endeavour to restore him to his rights. With this view he had corresponded with the marquis of Ormond whilst he was [in] England, and the marquis had in February sent colonel Barry over to him to concert measures for the king's service, and to recommend to him the making of a cessation with the Irish, that he might be at leisure to attend and advance the king's service, wherever it should be deemed most necessary. Inchiquin had, in the first week of February, surprised Carrick Mac Griffin, and on the 13th of that month having blown up the gate of Callan by a petard, he entered the place, took two castles in it by storm, and reduced some other forts in those parts. By the advantage thereof, he laid a great part of the counties of Kilkenny and Waterford under contribution, and his troops made incursions up to the very walls of Kilkenny. That city was in no small danger, and the council were on the point of quitting it; which if they had done, it would have fallen an easy prey into his hands. He did not think himself strong enough to undertake the enterprise, and had sent for assistance to Michael Jones, who, marching from Dublin to join him, was repulsed by O'Neile at Cashinegearigh, near Monstereven, in attempting to pass the Barrow. Inchiquin, disappointed of that reinforcement, retired to Carrick, upon Preston's coming up with three thousand foot, and Taaffe's advancing with his army to Kilkenny. The council were however terrified enough

by their late danger, to be desirous of preventing the like by a cessation; and even the nuncio thought it necessary for them to make one, either with Inchiquin or Jones. Clanrickard, Taaffe, and the well-affected part of the ²⁴ council, were all for making the cessation with the former, as most likely to be serviceable to the king; and Inchiquin himself was sufficiently inclined to it, though he did not care to have it declared soon, because such a step would be an open breach with the parliament, from whom he still expected supplies, and would be too early a discovery of his designs.

- ⁴² ^cBarry had just entered upon this negotiation, when George Sing, bishop of Cloyne, arrived at Cork at the end of February, being despatched by the marquis of Ormond (just as he was going to embark for France) to lord Inchiquin, with an account of his departure for that country, of the measures taken with the Scots and the king's friends in England, and of his own design to come for Ireland, as soon as he had made provision in France for such an expedition. Inchiquin hereupon despatched one of his officers to Edinburgh, to attend the resolutions of the Scotch parliament, to assure them of his own declaration at the same time, and to settle matters for their mutual assistance and joint concurrence in promoting his majesty's service. But he could not wait their resolution, being obliged to declare himself much sooner than he wished. Some officers of his army, suspecting his design, or desirous to curry favour with the independents, formed a plot to seize Cork and Youghall, whilst Inchiquin was abroad with the army. They had sent a ship to England for supplies to be landed at Youghall, and as soon as they arrived, did not question but to persuade the greatest part of the army to desert him and join with them. The conspiracy was discovered and prevented; sir W. Fenton, colonel Temple, lieutenant colonel Faire, and Major, the

^c W. 24, 38, 39, 42 and 44.

chief contrivers of the plot were seized, and imprisoned in several castles, by order of a council of war, and all the officers of the army took an oath to stand by lord Inchiquin, and be true to one another.

- 43 This, though necessary for his security, discovered his designs; the parliament ships in those parts stood out to sea, and blocked up the harbours of Cork, Youghall, and Kinsale. Inchiquin thought it necessary to send immediate notice of this event to the marquis of Ormond, to caution him against coming to any of those ports, and to advise him to make some harbour more to the west between Kinsale and Limerick, where he would take care for his security upon landing. He at the same time recommended to the marquis, to get for him a promise from the court of France of a safe retreat in that kingdom, and of some provision for his subsistence there, in case of the worst. But what he pressed in the most earnest manner was, that the lord lieutenant would come away immediately, with a supply of money, if he could; if not, without it; for his presence was absolutely necessary, and would make the king at once master of the provinces of Leinster and Munster. He was apprehensive of nothing but of the parliament's offering a great sum of money (which they had resolved to send with some commissioners lately appointed) to seduce his men; but if the marquis was once landed, every thing would be secure. Mr. Henry Tern was sent on April 16 with this account, by whom colonel Barry also wrote, pressing the same thing, and assuring the lord lieutenant, "that he might safely land at Waterford, if he did not care to land in the west of Ireland as proposed; that the most considerable persons, both for number and quality in the kingdom, were very desirous of a settlement, and ready to entertain a motion of it, if any body appeared with a commission from his majesty to conclude with them; that indeed the nuncio, Italian like, never forgave any

whom he had injured, and the clergy and Ulster Irish were more inclined to an accommodation with Jones than Inchiquin, (the former having declared for the independents, and the other intending to serve the king of England and the marquis of Ormond,) conceiving that, if²⁵ they agree with Jones, they shall have leisure to bring O'Neile's army into Munster, and crush both Inchiquin and Taaffe, whom they wished to destroy for no other reason so much as for fear they should join with the marquis, and unite all the well-affected of the kingdom for the settlement thereof, and for the king's restoration. But it was the opinion of all, that if the lord lieutenant came over in any seasonable time, it would not be in the power of all his and the king's enemies to hinder his design, especially if he brought with him sufficient or considerable aids of money and other provisions, and power to give the papist as well as protestant some reasonable content in religion; Taaffe and Preston having taken a solemn oath to stand by one another in support of the king's right, and in obedience to the lord lieutenant; and Inchiquin having made the strongest protestations of his observance of the marquis of Ormond's commands in all things, and of his resolution to live and die with him in the prosecution of his majesty's service." Barry added, "that Inchiquin, upon his being forced to declare himself, had sent him to Kilkenny to settle a cessation, with some provision for his army, till the marquis of Ormond came into Ireland, by whom he desired all things should be concluded, but having attended the council for a week with propositions upon that subject, he did not find that ready acceptance thereof which he expected, being obstructed by the nuncio and Ulster party; which had put him upon getting the generals to settle that matter between themselves. This however should not discourage the marquis from hastening over in any manner, if he found no occasion of discourage-

ment from some other place; for the opposition he would meet with in Ireland was not worth his apprehension, especially if the Scots and Inchiquin stood right, and the disaffected party were attacked in time." He was entirely confident of Inchiquin; and the Scots^d soon after sent by major W. Paterson, Inchiquin's agent, "assurances of their joining with him against Owen O'Neile, and all the Irish that should continue in their disobedience to the crown, as well as against the prevalent independent party in England and Ireland, and of their resolution to include him in all their treaties. As to his comportment with Clanrickard, Taafe, and the Irish who were willing to submit to the king's authority, they left it to Inchiquin himself, provided the terms of that submission were not prejudicial to the protestant religion. But as for the marquis of Ormond, they looked upon him as a person so full of honour, loyalty, and good affection to religion, as they conceived lord Inchiquin and the protestant army in Munster would do themselves great right in acknowledging and submitting to the authority which he had from his majesty."

- 44 These advices for hastening the marquis of Ormond's repair into Ireland, and the leaving of all matters to be adjusted by him there, furnished them at Paris with a proper answer to the general propositions of the Irish agents. The queen^e on May 10 desired to know, "whether they were yet ready to propose any certainty in the matter of religion, whether they had power to alter and recede from what they had proposed, and to conclude thereupon, and for what particular persons they proposed redress in the business of the northern plantations." The marquis of Antrim answered in the name of the rest, "that they were not ready to propose any certainty in the matter of religion, being by their instructions to be

^d W. 153.

^e Ib. 49, 56 and 57.

guided in that particular by the pope, but expected to hear speedily from the agents employed to Rome for ²⁶ that purpose; and if her majesty would be pleased to declare what she would grant in that particular, they were hopeful to make use thereof for his majesty's service. And as for other matters they had in charge, they were ready to proceed upon them, if her majesty pleased." The queen thought fit to take this opportunity of dismissing them, with an answer delivered to them in writing on the 13th of that month, signed at the top by the queen, and at the bottom of the instrument by the prince. In that answer, after gently touching upon their former failings in the violation of the late peace, which if submitted to by the Irish Roman catholics, according to their duty, would have put them by this time into a very happy condition, they expressed "a readiness to have given them all the satisfaction in the particulars proposed that could consist with his majesty's honour and interest. But as the agents were neither ready to propose their particular desires in matters of religion, or other points which themselves conceived to be of the greatest importance, nor had such powers in the said points to alter, to recede, or to conclude, as were necessary for a final resolution of the business, there was no giving them a particular and conclusive answer. So that all that could reasonably be expected on that head was, to assure them that the queen and prince would speedily give power to some such, as they should think fit, to receive there upon the place more particular and full propositions from the Irish confederates; and that upon a due consideration of what should be proposed, as well concerning matter of religion and other public interests, as private grievances in matter of attainders and plantations, he or they so authorized should likewise be instructed to condescend to whatever might consist with justice, and with his majesty's honour and interest to

grant them for their satisfaction, and thereupon to conclude with them finally.”

- 45 It was not thought proper as yet to declare publicly, or to let the marquis of Antrim know, who was the person intended to be thus empowered; but it was easy enough to guess it could be no other than the marquis of Ormond. This was privately signified to the lord Muskery and Mr. Brown, who had in a particular ^fmemorial pressed earnestly, “that since a peace or settlement could not be then made, the prince might at least come over with aids, promise to make good Clanrickard’s engagement in matter of religion and the temporal articles of the peace, with such enlargements as were consistent with his majesty’s safety, and reside among the confederates as their governor till all matters were secured by parliament; employing them in the mean time in the chief offices of trust and command civil and military, and in the government of the army and places of strength. They assured him in this case of an army of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, and represented with great confidence that the prince’s arrival in Ireland would unite the whole nation, would break all factions among the confederates, and would draw more than half Jones’s army to him, as having been before of the king’s party, or affected that way, and now little encouraged, by any benefit they received for their service, to continue of the parliament party. Whereas otherwise the country would be wasted by their own armies, divided against each other in the summer, and they should be destroyed by an universal famine in the winter, unless a peace were made, or his highness came over by that time in the manner proposed, or at least some other eminent person, acceptable to the nation, were deputed by his commission to command and govern in chief within the realm.” The other person whom these agents had in their view

was the marquis of Ormond, he being brother-in-law to the one, much esteemed by the other, and desired by all of the nation that wished for peace. Being assured that ²⁷ he was to come over without delay, and with such aids as could be procured from France, they left Paris very well satisfied, without insisting further on their proposal in relation to the prince; which otherwise would not have been complied with, the prince being determined⁵, whatever the consequences of a refusal were, never to set foot in Ireland as long as the nuncio remained in the kingdom.

- ⁴⁶ The Irish were not the only people that desired the prince's coming into their country; the Scots had for several months insisted on his immediate repair into Scotland, and promised mighty matters upon his coming, particularly to march with him at the head of a powerful army into England. The king's late unhappy experience of the faith of the covenanters had induced him absolutely to refuse his consent to that proposition, till after the Scots had actually entered into England with their army. ^bBut the queen was inclined to it, and believed the Scots (who had held of late a very diligent correspondence with her) so entirely, that she earnestly pressed the king to trust them, as the only persons who had power and credit to do him service, and to redeem him from his captivity. Itⁱ is very probable that Denzil Hollis, who, forced by the violence of the independents, had taken refuge at Rouen, and from thence made application to the court of St. Germain, where he was in great favour, and much considered on account of his credit with the English presbyterians, contributed to inspire her majesty with that notion. He still justified all that he had done in the field or parliament, but declared warmly against the independents, and professed great zeal for the king's service. He

^g Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1868.
Rebellion, book xii. par. 121. edit. 1849.

^b Clarendon's Hist. of the
ⁱ W. 47.

had in April meetings and consultations with those who were in the greatest favour about the queen, and it was resolved that he should go along with the prince, as a counsellor, into Scotland, and had actually his mules of carriage in readiness, and made other preparations for that expedition. The king however did not alter his opinion, nor could the court of France, whose consent was necessary, be brought to approve of the prince's journey. M. de Montrevil, the French minister in Scotland, had constantly, in all his letters for some months past, represented in the strongest manner the danger and mischiefs of that design, assuring the comte de Brienne, then secretary of state, "that whatever professions the Scotch made of serving the king, they really had no view but of serving themselves, and of getting the money which was due to them from England; that their design in pressing for the prince's coming was, to make use of him for accommodating their own affairs, which were much disconcerted, to make a better bargain with the independents by selling him as they had done his father, or by keeping him in their hands, to oppose him against that party, whenever they should make an attempt upon Scotland; that the prince's coming over would hasten their agreement with the independents, would prevent their invasion of England, which otherwise they might possibly enter with an army, and in short would absolutely ruin the king's affairs, and perhaps be fatal to his life, the best security of which lay in the prince's safety." M. de Brienne did not fail to represent all this to the queen of Great Britain; but she was so possessed by Scotch counsels, that he could not divert her from her resolution of sending the prince over, and from teasing the court of France on the subject for their consent. He was forced to write to the envoy to reason the matter at length, and write his sentiments fully in a letter directed to the queen

herself. Montrevil complied, and on May 3^k, even after the parliament of Scotland had engaged, and put the kingdom into arms, (therein justifying their professions in a great measure by their actions,) he wrote to her by sir W. Fleming to the following effect :

- 47 He began with telling her majesty his sense of the Scotch designs in general, “ that though they had put the kingdom in a posture of defence, and named commissaries for the levies, and commanders for the forces when they began to march ; yet, this was gone no farther than to make lists of officers and soldiers, without taking either of these from their houses or employments ; that they had indeed published a declaration and sent demands to London, but these were as much to demand justice of the English parliament, and introduce a treaty of peace, as to begin a war ; that it was for their own advantage to have an army on foot, as well to recover a little of the reputation they had lost, and to make the world believe they were not the authors of the imprisonment of that prince, whom they would now set at liberty, as to engage the king’s party, and the English presbyterians to make an insurrection against the independents, thereby to expose their neighbours and enemies to a danger from which they would save themselves, and to make a gain by their common ruin ; that they proposed, by the temptation of that army, to draw over the prince, whose coming they desired above all things, as what would most contribute to their own security, and to the ruin of their enemies, and of the king himself ; but it was still uncertain whether they would not make use of that army, to procure a beneficial peace to themselves, rather than undertake a war, the events of which are always uncertain. This had been their conduct, when the king, whom afterwards they delivered up so shamefully, was in their hands ;

^k Negotiations de M. de Montrevil en Ecosse.

they had threatened then, as much as they did now, to break with the parliament of England, and they feared nothing so much as that the royal party should derive any advantage by a quarrel between the two parliaments. It was probable indeed that they would invade England, or else they would lose a favourable opportunity of ruining the independents, and thereby of establishing their own affairs, of which they never could be sure, as long as the others were in power; but still it was doubtful what advantage would thence accrue to his majesty. For should they succeed, and entirely suppress the independents, they would perhaps carry him to some of his houses, till they had forced him to consent to those very propositions which he had so often rejected; and his case must be very bad when left to the discretion of persons who had nothing more to fear, and could not want excuses for the worst treatment they could give their prince, whilst they acted by the direction of a committee of the kirk, who would tell them they were obliged in conscience to ruin him and all his servants. The very terms of their late declaration shewed they would not serve the king, unless he took the covenant and established presbytery; and it was very certain their only design in arming was to oppose and ruin the independents.

- 48 “As to the coming of the prince of Wales, if her majesty had forgot what the Scotch had done to the king his father, and did not suspect the artifices which they used at present, yet he thought she might encourage their designs in some other way, than by his presence, by a step which might ruin his interests, without any hopes of a resource. And he could not forbear taking the boldness to assure her majesty, that whatever party the prince could take on this occasion, the Scots would take care to give him reason to repent of it; for if he put himself into their hands, he was in danger of being destroyed; if he did not, they would say, that by his ab-

sence he had deprived them of the means of preserving him. As for the duke of Hamilton and marquis of Argyle, he freely owned their manner of living together was a ²⁹ secret he could not as yet comprehend. For except the necessity which they had hitherto been under of appearing divided, in order to make the resolutions passed in parliament with great difficulty seem more useful than they really were to the king's service, (for without that opposition they might well have been deemed prejudicial to his interests,) he must say that he had found as strong reasons to prove they were still well together as that they were otherwise. If it was difficult to know the truth of the case, yet that knowledge was of little consequence to the king's service, since whether they acted by concert, as many believed, or were really enemies, as they would make the world believe, there was reason to think matters would not be conducted otherwise than they were in what regarded the king's interests; since the general management of the kingdom was much of a piece with what the duke of Hamilton observed in his private affairs, in which (he believed) the duke was as ready and as well able to shew that he had done nothing but with a view to his master's interest. These doubts of his, which were common to all who knew the Scots, were not at all lessened by a circumstance observed with regard to the colonels employed for enlisting fencible men, not one of which, among more than eighty, had ever been of the king's party, though several of these were capable of serving, and had taken the covenant, as every body that engaged was obliged to do. In short, he thought the prince's presence of no manner of consequence with regard to the engagement; for the sole dispute was between the presbyterians and independents, who should have the government of Great Britain, and neither party minded either the king or the prince, but as they could make them instruments to further their ends in that respect; and the

prince would run the greater danger in coming, because of the violent opposition made by the kirk to the measures of the parliament; which whether feigned or real would equally furnish a pretence to destroy the prince upon his arrival, without any blame falling upon those who had been the great promoters of his coming."

- 49 Such was the impartial opinion which this minister, after two years' residence among the Scots, entertained of those who entered into the engagement with the duke of Hamilton; from whom, as well as from the principal nobility that joined with him, he had continually received vehement professions of their duty to the king and their zeal for his service. He never so much as once suspected them of being sincere in those professions, and whatever faint inclinations any of them had to restore the king to his throne, they were certainly overruled by the fears of the greater part, who knowing their own iniquity better than his majesty's clemency, and having offended and deserved him (as they thought) past a possibility of forgiveness, dreaded nothing more than to see him reinvested with a greater measure of power than they should think fit to allow him, and in such an independent situation, that he might hearken to any other counsels than their own. They hated indeed the independent party, but not to the same degree as they did the royalists; and though they were necessitated to make use of the assistance of the latter, to carry on their own ends against the former, yet they were much more careful to guard against their making any advantage by their engagement, than they were to oppose and destroy their declared enemies. Hence they would hardly suffer a man in their own army who had ever served the king; and though they suffered some of the English cavaliers to take refuge for a few days in their country, it was only for their own benefit, to get Carlisle and Berwick into their hands, whilst the others took their measures for surprising those places, and un-

derwent the dangers of the enterprise. Thus, having allowed sir Marmaduke Langdale to join them in their³⁰ march, they exposed him with his troops afterwards to the whole force of Cromwell's army, and suffered them to be oppressed by numbers without moving to their relief, and then delivered up themselves an easy unresisting prey to the enemy. Such was the issue of this Scotch engagement, and such will ever be the issue of all enterprises, wherein the undertakers have either no determinate end, or have some secret clandestine view, that governs and directs their measures, and yet clashes with their declared purpose. One and the same action may possibly contribute to more than one purpose, but it is impossible in a course of action that the same measures should serve to different ends, and whoever attempts to reconcile and adapt them to two jarring designs will hardly ever succeed in either.

50 Whilst the parliament of Scotland were debating whether they should enter into the engagement, which their commissioners had undertaken in their behalf, the marquis of Ormond was endeavouring to make the best provision he could for his speedy return into Ireland, which was equally pressed by the well-affected part of the confederates and by the lord Inchiquin. His great dependence was upon the latter, and on the body of troops which were under his command, and had a very great affection for their general. There were however many of the officers, as well as soldiers of the Munster army, much devoted to the lord Broghill, who as general of the horse was next in command to Inchiquin. There had long been a dispute and jealousy between their two families, and frequent occasions had happened of renewing an animosity which has sometimes interrupted the public service in that province. Upon the last of these, when lord Lisle's commission determined, and the council had ordered the military command to be vested in four

commissioners, lord Broghill went over into England to complain of Inchiquin's not submitting to that order. The parliament did not think fit to interpose for some time, but growing daily more and more jealous of the president's designs, they resolved to send over lord Broghill with a supply of forces, and three commissioners with money and provisions, to secure the army in their service. The marquis of Ormond was very sensible of the obstruction which a person of lord Broghill's enterprising genius and courage, beloved by the soldiers, and of great credit with the gentry and inhabitants of the province, might give to Inchiquin's measures; and thought it a matter of great consequence to reconcile them together, and unite them both in his majesty's interests. Broghill had in secret the same inclinations to the royal cause, which his brother the earl of Cork declared openly; but he knew better how to dissemble his sentiments. The¹ marquis of Ormond, as soon as he was satisfied of Inchiquin's resolution, to leave no way untried of advancing his master's service, endeavoured to engage Broghill likewise in the affair; and found in him all the readiness that he could desire. The marquis, when he went to France, left him in this disposition, and expected good effects from it as soon as he landed with his forces in Munster. But Inchiquin's seizing sir W. Fenton, and the three other officers before mentioned, had like to have caused another revolution of lord Broghill's sentiments. They were all of them related to him, and his particular friends; and supposing them taken up and committed by Inchiquin, rather for that reason than because they were independents, he resolved in the first heat of his resentment either to decline the affair, or to carry the supplies (which the parliament intended to send with him) to Dublin, to join with Jones and Monck, who, he believed, had the same inclinations. But reflecting more coolly on the matter, and considering

¹ W. 34 and 41.

that, besides the access of those supplies, his own reconciliation with Inchiquin would indisputably settle the³¹ whole business in Munster, and that otherwise either the discontents of that army, which were very great, and chiefly on account of his interest, might cause a disturbance, or that the parliament might use some other means to suppress Inchiquin, if he should go to Dublin, he judged it would be more for the king's service, that he should adhere to his former resolution and be reconciled to Inchiquin. The earl of Holland, and other friends of that nobleman, laboured to bring about this reconciliation; but he would trust none of them with the secret of his intentions, nor would he make the first offer or advance to Inchiquin, fancying that, as he was his superior officer, it would look too like a submission. He would trust nobody in the affair but the marquis of Ormond and his friend Mr. Denham, who carried on the correspondence between them. He desired the marquis to let lord Inchiquin know, as from himself, that out of a belief they both intended the king's service, he was desirous to settle a right understanding between them, and had proceeded in it so far as to be able to assure him, that lord Broghill would attempt nothing either against his person or command, but laying aside all animosities would be ready to join with him in the common interest of their prince. It was particularly recommended to the marquis, in bringing about this reconciliation, to take care that it should not appear to be either sought or offered by lord Broghill, and should be communicated to none but the queen and prince, lord Jermyn, and lord Colepepper. The marquis of Ormond received this account from Mr. Denham in the middle of April; and lost no time in assuring lord Broghill, that his overture was as well received as he could wish by the queen and prince; that it was and should be a secret to all, but those he desired should know it; and that his own way should be observed in the effecting

of that reconciliation, of which he should very soon have a further account. Lord Broghill's joining with Inchiquin would have absolutely secured the army and province of Munster from all danger of defection; but either the cessation with the Irish, or the apprehension of the disturbances then breaking out in England, diverted the parliament from sending the forces they had designed for that part of Ireland, and thereby prevented the good effects of this overture.

- 51 It hath been already observed how coldly the proposal of that cessation, which Inchiquin made by colonel Barry, was received by the council of Kilkenny^m. This was owing to the nuncio, who but three weeks before had advised the making of a cessation with him; but when he found that Inchiquin had declared himself for the king, he altered his sentiments, and dreading nothing so much as the kingdom's being united in his majesty's obedience, he opposed the proposal with all the violence imaginable, declaring it to be against his conscience, now Inchiquin was returned to his loyalty. Barry had recourse to Taaffe and Preston to settle a cessation by their own authority; but those generals durst not attempt it without the concurrence of the council, fearing their officers and soldiers would not be proof against the excommunication, which would certainly be denounced against them for such a breach of their oath of association. They used their instances however with the council, in which they were well supported by the marquis of Clanrickard, who had under him an army of three thousand men, and a great influence on the deputies of Connaught. Five of the members were fully determined to promote it; the rest were not so steady as lord Muskery imagined, being afraid of the nuncio, though otherwise their inclinations were good. At last, being assured of support, and im-

^m Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1921—2002, and Collection of Letters, No. DLXIX.

portuned by the complaints and remonstrances of the Munster gentlemen, who were almost ruined by the³² ravages of Inchiquin's forces, the council agreed to send deputies to Dungarvan on April 22, to treat of a cessation for six months. To give the greater weight to their proceedings, they summoned the provincial assemblies of Leinster and Munster to meet at Kilkenny on the 20th of that month. These having considered the present state of affairs and the condition of their respective provinces, came unanimously to a resolution, "that they found themselves too weak to oppose Jones and Inchiquin; and therefore judged a cessation with Inchiquin not only useful, but necessary; especially since he had declared for the king, was a native, and had an estate in the kingdom, and consequently better disposed than Jones to consult the interests thereof." They called a meeting of the great council at the same time and place. This consisted of all the counsellors appointed out of the four provinces by the last general assembly, to supply the places of any of the twelve resident members of what was called the *supreme council*, when they had leave or occasion to be absent; in which case some of these additional counsellors were substituted in their stead, not taken out of any province indifferently, but out of that of the members who were absent. The great council agreed with the provincial ones in determining that the truce proposed was both necessary and expedient.

- ⁵² The nuncio in his letters of April 8 and 10 to Panzironi, giving him an account of colonel Barry's negotiation, tells him, "that the design of it was to bring back the lord lieutenant, and unite the nation in the king's obedience; in which case both the Scots and Inchiquin would agree with the confederates, so that they would have no enemy but the Dublin forces; that with this view the council were treating with Inchiquin for a cessation, which he was resolved to oppose, and if he could not stop the

torrent, would remonstrate against it, and then obey his orders, and meddle no further in the matter." This conduct would indeed have been justifiable, because it was agreeable to his instructions; but he had too much pride and warmth in his nature, and was too impatient of contradiction, to pursue them. He went from Waterford to Kilkenny, whither he had been invited by the council, and offered reasons against the cessation, drawn purely from this extravagant principle, that it was unlawful to make truces with heretics, and to leave any churches in the hands of protestants, and from the ridiculous pretences of Ormond, Inchiquin, and even colonel Barry's being secretly in the interest of the parliament, though they appeared openly so zealous for the king. The council in their answer refuted his pretences, urged the examples of Henry III of France and Philip III of Spain, who had made truces with the Huguenots and the Dutch, and represented their want of money, the waste of the provinces, the miserable condition of Munster, overrun in every part of it by the English, who were in possession of all the strong towns in the province, from whence they might ravage it at their pleasure, which made a cessation necessary; and to oppose it now that Inchiquin had declared for the king, and purely for that reason, would do them no service in foreign courts, and was contrary to their duty of allegiance and the oath of association. The nuncio could not dispute the facts upon which these reasons were founded, and made very weak cavils against them; but to supply all defects of that nature, (even after the generals, to whom he appealed at first in regard of the necessity of a truce, had determined against him,) he intrenched himself strongly in his resolution to oppose the cessation. The council had sent J. Walsh and Patrick Gough to be at Dungarvan on the 22nd, and two days after they sent sir Richard Everard with new instructions to finish the affair. The nuncio hereupon thought them

resolved to proceed, and according to his usual practice got the bishops then at Kilkenny on April 27 to his house; and there, by false representations of the weak-³³ness of Jones's and Inchiquin's forces, and by his own undertaking to pay O'Neile's army, which, he said, was able to destroy both the others, out of the pope's money, and to bear all the burden of the Munster war, prevailed with them to sign a paper against a cessation; even Limerick, who subscribed the instructions to the agents for concluding it, signing the paper with nine other bishops. Five of these, with those of Dromore and Clonfert, signed on May 2 another act, delegating their power to the nuncio and titular bishops of Dublin, Clogher, Killala, and Limerick, to do in their absence what themselves might do in matters of religion, particularly in regard of the declaration against the cessation, and for confirming it by ecclesiastical censures, ratifying all that they should do, and giving the nuncio power to call in whom he would in the place of any of them that were absent.

- 53 The agents returned on May 10 from Dungarvan, not able to adjust the quarters to be settled for both parties. Taaffe to continue the treaty, by direction of the Munster assembly, made a truce for fourteen days with Inchiquin; and the assembly, which was then sitting at Clonmel, wrote to the council, "that they were concerned to find the agents returned without concluding any thing; that the dispute was trifling, being only about the baronies of Glannehire and Glantire, which contained but fifty-eight plough-lands; and they desired that the cessation might be proceeded in without delay; for the assembly could do nothing till the dispute was ended, and if there was any delay in the matter, they must take some other method to provide for their safety; and if the council thought the welfare of that province worth their care, it was necessary for them to finish that matter without delay, for if any was made, it would certainly create divisions

among the confederates.” The council were afraid that the Munster gentlemen, if they did not receive immediate satisfaction, would make a private agreement with Inchiquin, which would ruin the confederacy. They conferred on the subject with the bishops, who had no expedient to offer but the making a cessation with Jones, and drawing O’Neile with his army into Munster to oppose Inchiquin. This they proposed, but it was very uncertain whether Jones would hearken to a cessation, and O’Neile’s forces had made such havoc in Leinster, that the Munster gentry would as soon have admitted a body of Tartars into their country. The council desired them to shew why it was unlawful to conclude a cessation with Inchiquin, and not so with Jones, and why they should reject one that was certain, and attended with great and undoubted benefits to the whole kingdom, in order to attempt another, the issue whereof was uncertain, the advantages less, and the difficulties greater. However, if the clergy could shew any way how an offensive war could be carried on in any one province, and a defensive made in the rest, they would still decline the cessation. They confessed themselves unable to shew any such way; upon which the council sent their agents again to renew the treaty. The cessation was at last made on the 20th of that month, with a clause of mutual assistance against all persons that should oppose it by arms and hostilities; this qualification of the opposers being made to prevent its being thought to be levelled against the clergy.

- 54 The nuncio finding the resolution taken, stole privately on the 9th out of Kilkenny, and joined O’Neile the next day at Maryborough. Thither the council sent on the 11th two deputies to invite him back, to propose to him, if he would lend them ten thousand pounds, to break off the treaty, and invest Dublin; but unless he could supply them, and shew them some way of carrying on the war, they could not bring an army into the field for that

purpose, money in a wasted country not being to be collected without great difficulty. The nuncio had no money, 34 nor indeed expectation of any; but was for their trusting Providence, and insisted that the generals of the Leinster and Munster armies should be displaced; that the Ulster army should be regularly paid, and assigned good quarters; that the clergy and their adherents in Munster should have satisfaction given them as to the civil government; that all governors and military officers should take an oath, neither to move, do, or agree to any thing that might be deemed to their prejudice, without leave from the clergy; and that the council should swear they would not suffer any peace to be made, but such an one as agreed with the instructions given to the agents sent to Rome. The council, seeing the nuncio obstinately resolved to go on in his own way, confirmed on May 22 the articles of the cessation agreed on by their agents, seven of the constant residents, besides lord Montgarret and others of the substituted members, signing the ratification.

55 The nuncio, to oppose their measures, had recourse to his usual methods. He first caused the declaration of the clergy against the cessation to be fixed on the doors of the cathedral of Kilkenny, from whence it was pulled down by Dr. Fennel. Of the bishops delegated by the clergy, he had only Clogher with him; the other three were Dublin, Killala, and Limerick. These being summoned to attend him, excused their coming, and recommended to him pacific measures. They went further, and lord Inchiquin having granted more advantageous terms in the cessation than had been at first expected, or were suggested when the declaration was framed, they with some other prelates took occasion thence to declare by a public instrument, that the paper signed by them was not intended against the cessation now made with Inchiquin, but against another represented by the nuncio, as then

ready to be concluded on terms more disadvantageous to their religion. The nuncio failing of their support called to him the titulars of Ross, Cork, and Down, and substituting them in the stead of the others, issued out on May 27 an excommunication against all persons that either adhered to or favoured the cessation, and interdicted all cities, towns, and places which received it, forbidding all divine offices to be used therein. He expected these censures would have produced the same effects, and have been attended with as general a submission as those which had been published in 1646; but the times and circumstances of affairs were very different; and he had not temper enough to consider this difference before he took a step which exposed his person and censures to contempt, and was directly contrary to the instructions he had received from the court of Rome.

- 56 He had carried himself with the appearance of temper till the congregation of Waterford; but ever since that time his conduct had been a continued series of violent and unreasonable actions, arbitrary and obstinate measures, directed by ambitious views, and tending to the division of the confederates and the ruin of the kingdom. He had not only hurt his personal reputation by those proceedings, but had made his spiritual censures cheap, by thundering them out on trifling occasions, in civil matters, and even in his own private concerns, particularly for bringing the captain of his own frigate to an account for the prizes he had taken in a piratical way of cruising at sea. He was in the former excommunication and interdict joined by a considerable number of bishops; but now he had but four to support him; and eight others published a paper justifying the cessation. The supreme council on May 31 appealed in form from his censures; and were supported in that appeal by two archbishops, twelve bishops, and all the secular clergy in their dioceses; by the whole orders of the Jesuits and unshod

Carmelites, many of the Augustinians and Dominicans, and above five hundred of the Franciscan order alone,³⁵ and by the most regular, strict, exemplary, and learned religious of these orders, who, by their number, zeal, learning, industry, and pains taken in preaching and otherwise, quite defeated the nuncio's measures and worsted his party. The pretence for the former excommunication was a peace in which no care had been taken of their religion, and the most favourable in that respect was secreted; but the present was issued out against the adherents to a cessation, evidently advantageous, and even necessary in the present situation of affairs; so that nobody could see any harm in what had been formerly submitted to universally, and been renewed after the nuncio's coming, without any offence against conscience, or any thought of censures. The divisions, losses, and miseries which had followed the breach of the late peace, had disposed the nation more readily to enter into pacific measures. But what was of still greater consequence, the nuncio's money was at an end, and De la Torre, the Spanish agent who had supplied him before, was gone, and the new agent was suing him before the supreme council, for a prize which his ship had formerly taken in the Bay of Biscay as an English ship, but in reality freighted by the court of Spain with ammunition and one hundred thousand crowns in money for the pay of the Spanish army in Flanders; so that he knew not how to raise any on his credit. The council too had taken their measures better than before, and knowing the nuncio's practices, had provided against them. Taaffe had modelled his army so that his officers were all excommunication proof. Clanrickard had with him no inconsiderable body of forces, all of the same temper. Preston and his officers were now better united, and more resolved to carry their point. They lay encamped at Roscrea when the censures were published, and might easily have taken the nuncio and O'Neile then

at Maryborough with only eight hundred men ; but they did not care to be the aggressors in a civil war, or to carry matters to extremity. They contented themselves to send back F. Joseph Anhamon a Theatin, whom the nuncio had sent to solicit them, with a request that he would not trouble them with any letters or orders, but what were conveyed to them by the hands and with the approbation of the council, whom they were sworn to obey ; and then marched with three thousand foot and four hundred horse to Kilkenny.

- 57 O'Neile retired into Connaught and Ulster, where his forces were most of them quartered, in order to get a strong army together. In his way he made an attempt upon Birr, which was garrisoned by sir Phelim O'Neile's men, who, with lord Iveagh's and Alex. Macdonnel's regiments, fell off from the Ulster army. But Preston advancing with his army, reinforced by six hundred of Inchiquin's horse and some of Taaffe's, he raised the siege. The nuncio made his retreat first to Athlone, and thence to Galway, where the mayor had been desirous to proclaim the cessation, but was hindered by the populace. All the other great towns in the Irish quarters received it readily, except Wexford, which was soon reduced by sir James Preston and sir Walter Dongan. The nuncio seeing his censures despised, thought to make them more effectual by engaging the clergy to confirm them in a body. For this purpose he called a synod to meet at Galway on Aug. 15 ; but the council forbidding the clergy to repair thither, and ordering all civil and military officers to stop their passage, he could not get a sufficient number of them together. He was indeed openly opposed in that very town by the titular bishop of Tuam, and after being unable to defend his cause in writing against the solid reasonings and solemn admonitions of the marquis of Clanrickard, was besieged by him in Galway. This nobleman, besides his own forces, had the

command of all the forces of the confederates in Connaught conferred upon him; and being joined by some of Inchiquin's army, had lately taken the castle of Athlone. Having afterwards recovered James-town, Mote,³⁶ and other castles, which had been seized by O'Neile, he drew his forces about Galway, beleaguering the place, and hindering all access of provisions by land and water, so that the besieged were at last, on Sept. 1, forced to proclaim the cessation, to pay a considerable sum of money, and renounce the nuncio and his adherents.

58 O'Neile had in the mean time assembled his forces, and made a cessation with the Scots, and with Michael Jones, whose brother sir Theophilus was thereupon set at liberty. He had offered but eight days before to make an agreement with Inchiquin to leave him all Munster, in case he would not oppose him in the other provinces; but the overture was rejected. Jones was the readier to agree to this cessation, because the general expectation of the marquis of Ormond's coming into the kingdom with the power of lord lieutenant, and the known affection of a considerable part of his forces to their former general, had made him very jealous of the old officers of the army. Out of this jealousy, rather than any reasonable grounds to imagine a formed design in those officers, he, on July 22, seized on sir John Giffard, sir F. Wilmoughby, sir W. Flower, sir J. Stephens, major Capron, with several other commanders who had distinguished themselves in the service, and sir M. Eustace, speaker of the house of commons, and sent them immediately prisoners into England. Not being so sure of his own army as he wished, and willing to encourage the Irish to destroy one another, he came to an agreement with O'Neile, who having thereby secured the families and herds of his Creaghts, was enabled to march with all his army into Leinster. He advanced too late for the relief of Athlone, and for the surprise of Kilkenny, which by

F. Paul King, guardian of the Franciscan convent, and a party within the place, was to be betrayed with the council into his hands; but the design being discovered by intercepted letters was prevented. Disappointed of his main design, he wasted lord Mountgarret's lands; and being invited by some of the Obryens into Thomond, he marched to the silver mines, took the castle of Nenagh, and found means to surprise Banagher, alias Fort Falkland, on the side of the Shannon, in the King's County. From thence he marched to the relief of Athy, then distressed by Preston, who upon his approach raised the siege.

- 59 He was about to prosecute the war on that side, to favour Jones's reduction of Ballysonan and other places, when an express brought him word that Inchiquin had recovered Nenagh, and blocked up Fort Falkland. Upon this advice he marched back with all expedition to Bal-laghmore, since called Owen Roe's pass, and there encamped, endeavouring to cut off Inchiquin's provisions. Both armies lay thus near one another for a fortnight, till Clanrickard, coming up to Inchiquin's assistance, straitened O'Neile to such a degree, that his army would have been famished, if his men had not lived on green corn, which in that extremity served them for subsistence. Inchiquin offered him battle, but O'Neile, averse on all occasions to put things to the hazard of a general engagement, declined it at this time very prudently, being much weaker in horse, and labouring under a great scarcity of powder. Whilst the two armies were facing one another in battalia, colonel Purdon, with a party of four hundred horse from Birr, fell upon O'Neile's camp, and remained master of his artillery for an hour. This gave occasion to Inchiquin's forming a design in concert with Purdon to attack his camp before day; but O'Neile, having notice of the design, marched off in the night, leaving an empty camp to the enemy; and retiring into

the county of Cavan, continued there till the spring, without any action, or attempt, except laying part of Westmeath under contribution. Fort Falkland upon his retreat surrendered to Inchiquin, who putting it into Clanrickard's hands, marched back with his forces into Munster.

- 60 Such was the situation of affairs in Ireland when the marquis of Ormond returned into that kingdom. He had early moved the court of St. Germain's to consider of and provide all necessaries for his speedy departure into that kingdom with supplies necessary for the subsistence of the army, as well as powers and instructions requisite to enable him to effect a settlement of the nation. The court of France was applied to for the supplies wanted, but the affairs of it were so embroiled at this time, by the cabals of disagreeing ministers, the discontents of the people, the refractoriness of the parliament, and the miserable state of the finances, that, after repeated assurances, followed by excuses and delays, it appeared that none could be obtained from that quarter. What money the queen of England found means of raising was in the hands of lord Jermyn, who, not caring to want himself, was always averse to the parting with any sums that might expose her majesty's court to difficulties, whatever detriment the public service thereby received. The marquis of Ormond was very importunate to be despatched with at least six thousand pounds, which lord Inchiquin had insisted on as the lowest sum that was necessary to provide for the support of his forces, and to preserve their affections entire to his majesty's service. ⁿThose forces had endured great extremities through the scarcity of provisions, and straitness of his quarters; their expectations of relief depended solely on the lord lieutenant's coming; and if he came without sufficient supplies, and with a company that would rather add to their burden

ⁿ See Collection of Letters, No. DLXX.

than contribute to their relief, there was too much reason to apprehend that army, (upon which the hopes of success in Ireland chiefly depended,) finding themselves disappointed, might cool in their affections, and being pressed by their urgent wants of all sorts, might be discouraged to such a degree as to be induced to hearken to those temptations and overtures which would certainly be offered and made them of revolting to the parliament. Every thing serves for a pretence of discontent to a necessitous army; and those forces might perhaps take offence at the concessions to be made the Irish, which would not move them, at a time when their own wants did not dispose them to complaints. Nor could they be useful to the service (though they should not revolt or moulder away) without some supply of money, and a reasonable quantity of corn wherewith to make biscuit for a march; but if these were furnished, the marquis did not question but to succeed in his measures, and to settle the kingdom so far in a short time, as to be able to send five thousand men thence to join the prince in any country where he should have occasion for their service.

- 61 There was at this time money to be provided for another important affair. A great part of the fleet in the Downs had revolted from the parliament, and it was thought proper for the prince to put himself on board them, to encourage the seamen to persevere in their duty, and to be ready to land or give his assistance, in any part of England, where his presence would most further the service, in a juncture when the Scots were ready to enter the kingdom with a numerous army, and considerable parties had taken arms in different counties. It was not without difficulty that his royal highness was supplied with five thousand pistoles for this expedition, for which he set out with sir Edward Hyde and other counsellors in July; and after lying some time before the mouth of the Thames, retired, upon the earl of War-

wick's being ready to put to sea with a stronger squadron, to Holland, where he continued till the Dutch were weary of his stay, with some intentions of going to Scotland, even after the rout of duke Hamilton's army in England, but always deterred by the suspicious proceedings of the Scots from putting that design in execution. The marquis of Ormond did not so much as receive his³⁸ powers and instructions till almost the very moment of the prince's departure from St. Germain's. He waited afterwards there till Aug. 11 before he could receive any money to enable him to begin his journey. The whole that was promised him on this occasion was three thousand six hundred pistoles, and part of it being then paid, he left sir G. Hamilton to receive what he was further to expect, and to send after him some things necessary to be provided, he set out for Havre de Grace, whither a Dutch man of war of forty-six guns, with a pass from the States, was sent by the prince of Orange to take him on board. It was necessary to victual this ship for her voyage, and to put on board her a quantity of arms and ammunition; but the captain refusing to admit them into his ship, he was forced to hire another vessel to carry them, and a retinue of about an hundred persons attending on him; the charge whereof, with that of subsisting them, and other necessary expenses, consumed all the money received for the service, before he got his despatches from St. Germain's, and embarked for Ireland.

- 62 °This was not the only care incumbent on the marquis before he left France. It behoved him to make some provision for the subsistence of his lady and family during his absence. The marchioness of Ormond had landed in that country on June 23d, with her two sons and three daughters, and had taken up her residence at Caen. The marquis had there made her a short visit before, and now going to expose his life for the king's

° Sir R. Southwell's Narrative.

service, took Caen in his way, to bid adieu to his family. From thence he purposed to ride post down to the ferry, opposite to Havre de Grace; but having rode the first stage to Dive, he there met the master of an half-decked boat laden with cider, who promising to convey him that evening to Havre, and the marquis having with him a new book which he was desirous of reading by the way, he and his servant (for all the rest of his company were gone before) went on board that small vessel. The wind turned, and set so cross, that they were all night on the water. Towards morning the wind blew very high, and the master being at a loss, asked the marquis of Ormond what hour it was by his watch. The marquis's impatience to be on shore betrayed him into an error that had like to have proved fatal to him, and indeed occasioned the loss of the vessel. He told the master it was an hour later than in fact it was; this made the man so miscount his tide, that he ran upon the flats, the boat was split, and the marquis with some difficulty escaped in the cockboat, which brought him so near the shore, that men waded into the water, and carried him to land on their shoulders. This happening on a Sunday morning when all people were at church, those helps were wanting which otherwise might have saved the cider boat.

- 63 The marquis, delivered from this danger which his eagerness to be in Ireland occasioned, had the mortification of being forced to stay some weeks at Havre before he was able to set sail from thence; ^Plord Inchiquin in the mean time sending first captain Davys, and afterwards captain Dyamon, to press his immediate coming over, though without money. He fancied the inconveniences from that want might in some measure be supplied by pretending to have bills of exchange on merchants at Limerick, Galway, and Waterford; or were at

least not so considerable as those which arose from the want of authority, to give security of life and estate to the well-affected Irish, who were desirous of promoting the king's service, and to settle the kingdom by a peace, the only way of preventing a new rupture, which the distress of his army, through the deficiency of his quarters, and the confederates failing to make good their promises to him, was likely to occasion. He represented to the marquis, "that the delay of his coming put them ³⁹ in danger of losing the Dublin army, which they were sure of, till Jones (hearing that his lordship was suddenly expected) seized the principal officers whom he suspected to stand well-affected, sent them to England, and secured a great many others in the castle, upon no other ground but his own jealousy that they would betray his army to the marquis of Ormond; that sir H. Tichburne was got to Trim, and refused to come to Jones, being resolved with many others to come away for Munster, if they could with safety, in case they found they could not maintain their garrisons against Jones's forces, till Inchiquin could come to their relief, who with that view, principally, (though he proposed at the same time to assist the council of Kilkenny against O'Neile,) began his march that day (Aug. 19) towards Leinster; not without some hopes that he might be able to gain a good part of Jones's men, who were coming away upon a rumour of the marquis of Ormond's landing, but forbore when they heard the report contradicted." These representations, with the advices of the defeat of the Scots at Preston, and of the suppressing of the other insurrections made in England, which had given great hopes to the Munster army, who might well be supposed to be much affected and disheartened by those misfortunes, added much to the marquis's uneasiness at his stay. At last, on Sept. 21, sir G. Hamilton left St. Germain with the queen's despatches and instructions, and as soon as the

wind served after the receipt thereof, the marquis of Ormond embarked, with the earls of Roscommon and Castlehaven, his brother Richard Butler, and Daniel O'Neile, on board the Dutch ship, as sir Edmond Verney, the colonels George Vane, Dan. Treswell, T. Trafford, captain G. Matthews, and other officers, did on the other vessel. They had a very fair passage, and arrived on the 29th of that month in the harbour of Cork. He landed the next day, and was received into the city, with all the respect due to the dignity of a lord lieutenant, by the major general who commanded, and the officers left there by lord Inchiquin, who was not yet returned from his expedition against Owen O'Neile.

- 64 When he landed, he had but thirty pistoles left in his pocket, of the three thousand four hundred which he had received since his arrival in France, to prepare ships and necessaries for this expedition^a. Unqualified to answer the expectations, or remove the wants of a needy army, he was forced to pay them with promises, and in despite of all his aversion to such sort of coin, to make use of the pretences suggested by lord Inchiquin, till he could raise money upon his own credit, to satisfy them in some degree. He had great hopes in the assurances which the prince had given him of sending the fleet (victualled for four months, and the wages of the seamen paid) to some port in Munster to attend the service of Ireland; and to convoy thither a number of merchant ships laden with corn, under a dearth of which the province and the army suffered extremely. The fleet could not but be a great countenance to the service, would give proper encouragement to the soldiery, and by a continual bringing in of prizes, contribute much to the relief and enriching of the country. The prince likewise promised to send him full instructions in all particulars, wherein he had desired directions.

^a W. 224. See Collection of Letters, No. DLXXII. et seq.

65 These were not the only instructions the marquis wanted. His authority of lord lieutenant still subsisted ; but his commission for treating and concluding a peace with the Irish had determined upon the signing of that in 1646, and had not been since renewed. The queen and prince indeed, to supply this defect, had given him powers for that purpose ; ^r but he was still apprehensive that some disaffected persons might cavil at those powers, as not coming directly from his majesty, and thereby ob-40 struct his endeavours for the king's service. To prevent the inconveniences which might thence arise, he desired from his majesty authentic confirmations of the authorities he had received for resuming his place of lieutenant, and to conclude a peace upon the instructions he had received from the prince. If the king apprehended any inconvenience or danger in a formal confirmation thereof, he hoped it would be sufficient for the purpose, if his majesty pleased to write letters with his own hand, one to himself, signifying his absolute pleasure and commands in those points, as advantageously to his affairs as he should think convenient ; and another to lord Inchiquin, to assure that nobleman of the performance of all that had been promised him by the queen and prince. These desires he communicated to the king by lord Hatton, who, it was expected, would be summoned to attend at the treaty of the Isle of Wight. His majesty not being allowed to call any of his council, but only some of his bedchamber, to assist him at that treaty, his lordship did not go ; but took care to convey the marquis of Ormond's requests to the king. This produced a letter from his majesty on Oct. 28 to the marquis, " approving of the orders given him ; requiring him to obey the queen's commands, and to disobey all his own publicly given, till he should give him notice he was free from restraint ; and enjoining him to prosecute the instructions

^r W. 240, 281.

he had received, till others should be given him under his own hand."

66 This letter was wrote during the treaty at Newport, which had been set on foot by the parliament, not with any intention or desire of peace, but purely to obtain, from the king's refusal of their demands, a pretence to depose or treat him in that execrable manner which soon after appeared to the world. Hence they framed such a set of propositions, that his very consenting thereto would give them up by his own act that crown which otherwise they were resolved to take from him at any rate. Hence they not only insisted on the substance of things, but on every insignificant circumstance thereof; and not content with obtaining an establishment of every thing aimed at in the covenant, they insisted that he would swear to it, and declare in his conscience that he believed episcopacy to be antichristian; which could serve to no end but to gratify an outrageous malice by involving him in the guilt of perjury, and in the consequences of it—damnation. The commissioners had not power to relax the least matter in any one proposition, so that the answer to each was to be transmitted to the two houses; and every concession, how large soever, that the king made was received by them with the utmost contempt. Nothing would satisfy them, but an absolute complying with all and every of the demands in the manner and form proposed; and as these had been sent before the independents knew their own strength so well as they did after the treaty began, they added from time to time new propositions, thereby to have it always in their power to make an accommodation utterly impracticable; it being contrary to the views and interest of the independent party, as well as of the army. For a peace being once made, all pretence would be taken away of keeping up the army, which they considered as their only security; being fully persuaded, that if the army were once dis-

banded, the kingdom would soon dissolve the parliament. The king was very sensible of his own situation, and of the designs of his enemies ; he knew that if he peremptorily refused any one of their propositions, of which he saw no end, he should be made a close prisoner, and the treaty would be immediately dissolved, without the nation's having an opportunity of knowing what he intended graciously to grant upon the whole of the matters proposed. To prevent as well as he could the inconveniences which he apprehended, he took care to have it stipulated, that nothing should be binding upon him or ⁴¹ made use of to his prejudice, unless all were concluded ; and made the larger concessions as knowing that none of them would take effect. Some which he had made in relation to Ireland gave occasion to the letter above mentioned, and made him as well caution the marquis of Ormond against believing any report, as if the treaty was likely to be concluded, as enjoin him to pursue the way he was in, with all possible vigour, and to deliver the like command to all his friends.

- 67 The only visible means of saving his majesty's life, and retrieving his affairs, was the uniting of all Ireland under his obedience. This was the end of the marquis of Ormond's return into that country, and reassuming of the power of lord lieutenant. With this view he published, on Oct. 6, a declaration of his intentions, for the satisfaction of lord Inchiquin's army, and the protestants of Munster. In that instrument, after mentioning " his delivery up of Dublin to the parliament, in hopes that upon an happy composure of affairs in England, then expected, they might revert to his majesty, and the power of that kingdom being unhappily devolved to hands employed only in the art and labour of subverting the fundamentals of monarchy ; he declared, that conceiving it to be his duty to use his endeavours for the recovery of his majesty's just rights in any of his dominions, having observed

the protestant army in Munster to have found means to manifest their integrity by disclaiming all obedience to those powers or persons who had so grossly varied from their own professed principles, of preserving the king's person and rights, by confining him under the strictest imprisonment; and his majesty having also graciously vouchsafed to accept the declaration of that army, as an eminent and seasonable expression of their fidelity towards him; and in testimony thereof, having laid his royal commands upon him to repair unto that province, to discharge the duties of his place: he had therefore resolved to evidence his approbation of the proceedings of the said army, by publishing to the world his own like resolution in the same particulars, to employ his utmost endeavours for the settlement of the protestant religion, for defence of the king in his prerogatives, and for maintaining the privileges and freedom of parliament as well as the liberty of the subject. That for these ends he should oppose, to the hazard of his life, all rebels that should refuse to obey his majesty upon such terms as he had thought fit to require it; and he should endeavour to suppress the independent party, who had so fiercely laboured the extirpation of the true protestant religion, the ruin of their prince, the dishonour of parliament, and the vassalage of their fellow subjects; that as no higher testimony could be given of the king's acceptance of their proceedings than by his resorting to them with his majesty's authority, so, out of his especial regard to their present undertakings, accompanied with a real sense of their former sufferings, and out of a desire to prevent all distrust from former differences in judgment, he thought himself obliged to declare, that he was qualified with special authority from his majesty to assure them, that no distinction should be made on any such account, but all persons now engaged in the cause should be treated with equal regard and favour; that he should make it his

business to improve his majesty's gracious disposition towards them, by never calling to mind any past difference in opinion, judgment, action, or profession to the prejudice of any member of the army, and by doing them all the good offices in his power ; that he should use his utmost diligence to provide for their subsistence, and preservation from such hardships as they had formerly undergone ; and in return, he only expected from them an honest perseverance in their present engagements for his⁴² majesty's service, with such alacrity, constancy, and affection, as might suit with their late public declaration and professions."

- ⁶⁸ With the same view, soon after his landing, he signified to the general assembly then sitting at Kilkenny, that he was arrived with power to treat and conclude a peace with the confederate Roman catholics, and expected, pursuant to the paper delivered to their agents on May 13 at St. Germain, to receive deputies and propositions from them at his house at Carrick. This place lying nearer to Kilkenny, he thought much fitter than Cork for the place of a treaty, in which the king's service required despatch, and which late experience had shewn could not be effectually concluded with any other power but the representative body of all the confederates. The assembly had met on Sept. 4, and consisted of members, the greatest part whereof were well disposed to a peace. They had readily approved the cessation with Inchiquin as absolutely necessary for the saving of the nation, and returned thanks to the council for their proceedings in that affair. They had invited the nuncio and his adherents to measures of peace and concord ; but he still exerting himself to raise new disturbances at Galway and other places, and having declared by a public act, " that it was a mortal sin and perjury to suffer the cessation to be proclaimed, and that all persons were obliged to lose both lives, goods, liberties, and all that was dear to them in

this world, rather than obey it, they unanimously condemned that declaration, as wicked, malicious, and traitorous, repugnant to all laws human and divine, and tending to the utter subversion of the government both in church and state." They had likewise on Sept. 30 publicly proclaimed Owen O'Neile a rebel and a traitor. Notwithstanding all this, they were still afraid of his power, and desirous to keep measures with the clergy, so that when, after that proclamation, O'Neile wrote them a letter jointly with his principal officers, desiring a safe-conduct for such of their number as they should think fit to employ, to lay their grievances before the assembly, and to impeach some of the council, particularly sir Lucas Dillon, R. Belling, G. Fennel, and J. Walsh ; insolent as this address was, they had complied with it, if lord Taaffe had not strongly remonstrated against receiving into their protection a proclaimed traitor, and a person who manifestly endeavoured to subvert the English government, and to extirpate all that were of English race. His lordship ran the hazard of a committal in expressing himself thus freely ; and though he succeeded so far as to get O'Neile himself, and such as had been proclaimed rebels, excluded out of the safe-conduct, yet it was granted to any four of his other officers.

- 69 It is pretty clear, from the fears of the assembly and council, that if they had not been supported by the additional forces of Inchiquin and Clanrickard, the nuncio and O'Neile would have carried their point, as they did before. The lord lieutenant's arrival gave them new courage, and they were further animated by the success of their forces against the opposers of the cessation in the county of Wexford. The marquis of Antrim had returned a little before from his agency in France, highly discontented at not being made lord lieutenant, a dignity which his vanity had long made him desire, and which the nuncio had flattered him with hopes of obtaining. He had

the year before brought over the laird of Glengary with a regiment of Scotch highlanders, who had been quartered in Munster. These he drew from thence to join the Cavenaghs in Wexford, and oppose the cessation. As they marched on Oct. 8 from the neighbourhood of the town of Wexford towards Arckloe, to raise the Cavenaghs' and Byrnes' countries in arms, making in all about one thousand five hundred foot and fifty horse, sir T. Esmond and Mac Thomas fell upon their party, and being stronger in horse entirely routed them. About 43 four hundred of them were found dead on the spot; all the Scotch officers were either killed or taken prisoners; which last was the fate of Glengary and his uncle. The marquis of Antrim lay at Wexford expecting the event, having appointed a rendezvous with the Byrnes on the 11th at Arckloe; but as soon as he received news of the defeat, he put himself with three hundred arms on board a boat, and made the best of his way thither. From thence he went to Dublin, where he made an agreement with Jones, and entered into those measures which were settled in his and Owen O'Neile's behalf by F. Reily at that place, and by Abbé Crelly with the independent party at London. Jones escorted him into Ulster, where he was chose general in chief of the province, O'Neile being appointed to command the army under him as lieutenant general; but failing to perform his mighty promises to bring all the gentlemen of the north into their party, the good intelligence between him and O'Neile was of a short duration; he was turned out of his command, despised by all the world, and found incapable of doing service or mischief in any cause, but in the low and detestable way of treachery.

- 70 The assembly, encouraged by this success, proceeded to draw up a charge against the nuncio, representing "the manifold oppressions, transcendent crimes, and capital offences, which he had been continually for three years

past acting within the kingdom, to the unspeakable detriment of their religion, the ruin of the nation, and the dishonour of the see of Rome, which suffered much by his actions and proceedings in the nunciature." With this charge sir Richard Blake, chairman of the assembly, a man of great activity, prudence, moderation, and integrity, sent him an admonition to make his repair to Rome for his defence, and to intermeddle no more in the affairs of the kingdom. Copies of these were at the same time sent to the mayor and corporation of Galway, with express orders, on pain of high treason, to hold no correspondence with him, nor to obey or countenance any of the censures, decrees, or proceedings of the nuncio or his adherents. This was done as they were entering into a treaty with the marquis of Ormond, who being arrived on the 11th at Carrick, they appointed commissioners on the 18th to treat with him about a peace. They were not so moderate in their propositions as was expected, resolving (agreeable to a late proclamation published by them against flying reports, reflecting on their intentions) to proceed upon the plan of former assemblies in that matter. For this reason they insisted on the same propositions which had been given to the agents lately sent to France and Rome; that if they were rejected, they might at least say they had endeavoured to obtain them. They named also a bishop among the commissioners; and though the lord lieutenant had always before excepted against any of the clergy being delegated to him, he thought fit to comply with it, at this time, hoping to find a proper return by their moderation in other points, particularly on the subject of religion. This was the only point in which there was danger of the treaty's breaking up unfinished; it being very difficult therein to give content to the Roman catholics, without at the same time disgusting the protestants.

71 Affairs were now in such a situation, that without an

union of both these, nothing of consequence could be done for the king's service. The great hopes which the Munster army had conceived in the summer of being able to crush the independent party had now failed. All the insurrections raised in various parts of England were quelled, and the independents were absolute masters of the kingdom. The Scotch army under duke Hamilton had been either cut off, or sold at two shillings an head to work in the English plantations in America, or to serve under the Venetians and other foreign powers.⁴⁴ A considerable army in Scotland under the earl of Lanerick and sir G. Monroe, able to make head against the enemy, had tamely made an unaccountable submission; and a new parliament was to be called in Scotland, wherein no members were allowed to sit that had been concerned in the late engagement. Cromwell and Argyll were now at Edinburgh, deeply engaged in daily consultations, wherein, it was generally believed, the resolution was taken to bring the king to a trial, and put him to death; which notion, whether true or false, afterwards cost the latter his head. General Robert Monroe and the new Scots in Ulster, having lived many years upon the inhabitants of that province, were odious to the old Scotch inhabitants thereof. By intelligence with these, if not (as some suspected) by secret agreement with that general himself, and in consideration of a large sum of money, colonel Monck had lately surprised Belfast and Carrickfergus, taken Monroe, and sent him prisoner to London. What countenanced those suspicions against him was, that the ship which wafted him over into England had waited a fortnight in sight of one of those garrisons before the design was ripe, without appearing to raise any jealousy in the general, or putting him on measures to disappoint the enterprise. Sir Cha. Coote had also treacherously seized on sir Robert Stewart's person, forced him to order his castle of Cullmore

to be delivered, and then sent him prisoner to London. This treatment of so gallant an officer, after a course of sufferings for many years, and of services greater than any other commander then in the kingdom had performed, without any pretence but mere jealousy of his affections, highly incensed the old Scots, and all the forces that had used to serve under him. But by this means the independents were not only entire masters of Great Britain, but of all the north of Ireland, and all the forts in Ulster, except Charlemont.

72 This last disaster of their friends, and accession of strength to their enemies in Ireland, exceedingly discouraged lord Inchiquin's forces, though it did not render them disaffected. Some of his officers who were really so, thought it a favourable opportunity to raise mutinies and discontents among the soldiers. To this purpose they endeavoured to make their fellow officers uneasy about their arrears of pay, which they could not now expect from the parliament. The lord lieutenant, to quiet their fears on that subject, assured them, that he should in the king's behalf take upon him those arrears as his majesty's debt, and would assign the speediest means for payment thereof, either out of forfeited lands or otherwise, that should be in his majesty's power. Another pretence was drawn from one of the Irish propositions assented to in the treaty; by which they were to appoint commissioners to act jointly with the marquis of Ormond in ordering all matters relating to their party, during the interval between the conclusion of the peace and settlement of the kingdom. This being called a coordinate power, was represented to be not only fatal to the protestant forces, in case of the marquis's death, but directly inconsistent with the engagement of the army, the main point whereof was the restoring of his majesty to all his just rights and prerogatives, to which nothing was so opposite as a coordinate power. To this objection the marquis answered,

that those commissioners had no part in his majesty's councils, nor any coordinate or surviving power in case of the lord lieutenant's death or removal, nor could act in any case without the consent of himself or his successor, to whom they were subordinate; that all the powers to be allotted to them were to be derived from the king's authority in the lord lieutenant; that this derived power of theirs was to be limited, in the extent of the exercise of it, to the quarters allowed them by the cessation, and in point of time, till the articles of peace were confirmed by parliament, when it was to cease, in the whole or in such part as the king or his chief governor should think 45 fit; that as well by the derivation of their power, as by the limitation of its exercise, the king's authority was acknowledged, and the usurped government of their assembly and council dissolved in present, and waved for the future; by which means the protestants were not only freed from any fears of oppression in their own quarters, but even their estates within the Irish quarters were better secured from partial dealing in point of taxes, and their persons from other oppressions; since nothing could be done to effect either, but in concurrence with the lord lieutenant.

- 73 Thus was the objection answered, yet the disaffected officers were not satisfied. Colonel Doyley, with much craft and confidence, came to lord Inchiquin on Nov. 8, at Castle-Lyons, and entering into a discourse about the uneasiness of the officers, took occasion to say it arose from an apprehension of his lordship's having formed a resolution to restrain such as would not submit to a peace; and that, if he would sign an instrument under his hand, assuring them of freedom from committal for any such cause, they would, in case the peace succeeded, freely quit the service, or in case of a breach of the treaty, would continue in it with all possible faithfulness. Lord Inchiquin was a man of too much courage and

good sense to be betrayed, either by fear or weakness, into so impolitic a step. He told Doyley that he was going to Cork, to find means to remedy the distractions of the army, and to satisfy the officers; that he was willing enough to subscribe such an instrument as might secure any who were called to deliver their opinions; but he would never give such an allowance to persons that were further guilty than in delivering their opinions; since in confidence thereof they might be encouraged to take measures on which otherwise they would be afraid to venture. Doyley protested he had made this motion not for himself, but for others who were jealous, and had proposed it purely to restrain people from any desperate attempt; for as to himself, he was resolved not to stir from Cork till all the distractions were over. Upon this he went out to his horse, in order (as lord Inchiquin supposed) to go along with him to Cork; but instead thereof went post to get the cavalry together in the county of Limerick, giving notice to those of his party to shift for themselves. Inchiquin immediately seized captain Rutter at Castle-Lyons, and colonel Blunt and Marshal at Cork, as they were going to take horse; and offering impunity for what was past, and liberty to depart when they pleased, broke all the measures of the party.

- 74 This disaffection reigned only among the horse; for the foot were entirely attached to lord Inchiquin's person and the king's cause; and of the horse, none of his own regiment, except Doyley, nor any of sir W. Courtenay's, were infected. The design was to march in a body into Leinster to join Jones, and if they could not make their way to his quarters, to get to Owen O'Neile; but Inchiquin sending word of it to the marquis of Ormond, care was taken to stop their passage with parties of Irish horse; so that Doyley and the rest, seeing it impracticable to execute their scheme, thought it their best way to submit, to express repentance of their past unsteadiness.

ness, and make professions of their future constancy. Inchiquin did not think it proper to use severity towards them in that juncture, whilst there was a general uneasiness in his forces on account of idle reports about the peace. To remove these, he pressed the marquis of Ormond to come to Cork.

75 The marquis was at this time at Kilkenny, having been invited thither, on Oct. 28, by the assembly, in order to a more expeditious settling of the points in dispute. He had made his entry into that place in a pompous manner, having been met at some distance from the town by the whole body of the assembly, and all the nobility, clergy,⁴⁶ and gentry in the neighbourhood, and received into it by the mayor and aldermen, with all those ceremonies which such corporations use to pay to the supreme authority of the kingdom; and was lodged in his own castle with all his guards about him. He was there wholly taken up in debating and adjusting the several propositions of the Irish, with great hopes of success, when he was importuned in the strongest manner by lord Inchiquin to come to his assistance to quiet the distractions of his forces, who were so prepossessed against the peace, that unless some satisfaction were given them on that subject, or he could secure the heads of the faction, it would be difficult to prevent their making a treaty with the parliament, who (it was suggested) would, in case of a peace, treat them in the same manner with the Irish. To prevent that evil, Inchiquin had appointed a meeting of all his officers at Cork, and desired the marquis of Ormond to be at that convention, to satisfy the most moderate that the terms of peace then in agitation were both honourable and advantageous to his majesty; and till this was done, to delay the conclusion of the treaty in such a manner as to induce the mutineers to think it would be wholly waved for their satisfaction.

76 The lord lieutenant was under a great difficulty how

to act in this case. It was certain that no conclusion could be made with the confederates by treaty so valid and effectual as what should be made immediately with their general assembly. It was full as clear that there never could be expected an assembly so fitted by their moderation to bring matters to a conclusion as the present; and if it were once dissolved, all thoughts of ending matters with the Irish by an agreement must be laid aside for ever. There was some danger, lest so sudden a delay of the treaty might have an ill effect on the temper of the assembly, and change their present good inclinations into apprehensions that there was no real intention of concluding with them; or if there were, yet, notwithstanding all the good affections they had shewn, and the hazards they had run to manifest them, it was still to give way to the desire of contenting the army. All delays in the treaty were dangerous; but he chose to run that danger, rather than the army should be lost. He resolved therefore on the journey, but recommended to lord Inchiquin to see those officers, who gave the present interruption to the settlement, removed from a possibility of doing it any more; it being plain that they had only delayed their design in hopes of executing it on a more favourable opportunity. Their removal would facilitate the work of rectifying the misunderstanding of the more moderate, and was very necessary as well for both their securities (who were intended to be delivered up to the independents) as for giving the confederates a reasonable satisfaction of the sincerity of their proceedings with them. These had given in all their propositions, and were very importunate with the marquis for a speedy answer; yet such were his admirable talents of persuasion, and so great was the credit, which the steadiness and wisdom of his conduct, the faith which he had observed in all his transactions with them, and a series of eminent and disinterested loyalty, had gained him with

the principal persons of that body, that he prevailed with them to consent to the delay. He promised to return from Cork in fourteen days, and to give answers within four days more to their propositions. The assembly thereupon resolved on Nov. 20, and engaged themselves to continue sitting during that time in expectation of an happy settlement; ordering that no member should depart the city, without leave from the chairman, nor any leave to be given, but upon a promise in writing to return by that time.

- 77 The marquis going to Cork used his endeavours, in conjunction with lord Inchiquin, so successfully, that they quieted the distractions of the army. It happened 47 luckily at this time, that Mr. Richard Fanshaw landed, with instructions and despatches from the prince of Wales, and assurances that the fleet was coming into those parts with supplies of ammunition and provisions for the forces. This raised the spirits of the soldieryⁱ; and Mr. Fanshaw was directed to tell the officers, that the duke of York would certainly come with the fleet, and that he believed the prince would likewise come himself, as soon as he had recovered strength enough for the voyage after his late sickness of the smallpox. The first of these steps had been indeed resolved on already; and the latter was so evidently necessary, that no other party appearing for him to take, sir Edward Hyde and the greatest part of his council were entirely of opinion that the prince's journey to Ireland ought not to be delayed a moment longer than the conclusion of the peace, which seemed in a fair way of being soon perfected. The marquis of Ormond thought it his duty on this occasion to press his highness to come over, and bring with him a recruit of men, though but one good regiment, with supernumerary arms for horse and foot, and a sum of money, though but for the support of his own person and court

ⁱ W. 176 and 450.

for a few months. These supplies, however, he did not think so necessary as his presence only, either to prevent the rekindling of any mutiny in the army, or to reap the fruit of his endeavours for the settlement of the kingdom, and effectuate the entire union of it under his majesty's authority. The preservation of the army was of the utmost consequence to that union, and in case the prince arrived speedily, the power of his fleet, the awe of his presence, and the obligations laid upon them by trusting his person with them, and laying the foundation of his fortune upon their faith and courage, would undoubtedly confirm such as were wavering, and give his highness power to mould the army into what shape he pleased. Soon after the mutiny was quieted^k, lord Inchiquin found that colonel Doyley and colonel Townsend had in the name of the Munster army sent propositions to the parliament of England; and colonel Edmond Temple arrived in the harbour of Kinsale with two frigates, being sent by the committee of Derby-house to treat with them upon the subject. His lordship's name had been made use of by them in that address, which occasioned Temple's writing to him, and furnished him with good reasons as well as evidence to justify the seizing of those officers, and the disposal of their commands. They did not care to stand a trial before a court martial, so quitted their employments and departed for England.

- ⁷⁸ The marquis of Ormond leaving the Munster army pretty well pacified, returned to Kilkenny within the time he appointed, in order to give his answer to the propositions of the assembly. There were among these some demands that were new, (in one of which it was insisted that the succeeding lieutenants should be Roman catholics,) others that were impossible, and very many that were unreasonable. This was owing to the different passions, humours, interests, and designs of the multitude

^k X. 7, 13, 14 and 16.

of persons who composed the assembly ; for though the majority thereof were well inclined to peace, yet there wanted not several who endeavoured to obstruct it, and by their own obstinancy and working on others of weak judgments, prevailed to have such propositions admitted. But there had happened in the lord lieutenant's absence an event which contributed much to make the assembly qualify or wave those demands. The bishop of Ferns and Nic. Plunket (made by the pope knight of the golden spur) returning from Rome, gave the assembly on Nov. 26 an account of their negotiation at that court. The substance thereof was, "that having represented to his holiness the desperate condition of the kingdom, the little hopes they had of preserving either their religion or na-⁴⁸ tion without present and good supplies, and the reason they had to expect them from him, pursuant to what his nuncio had in his name undertaken in their general assembly, they waited four months before any answer was given them ; that upon their importunity, they were at last told, that the pope had as yet received no account how the money was disposed of which he had sent by the dean of Fermo ; that the Turks were in Candy, and threatened Italy ; that there was a great scarcity of corn in and about Rome, and a large sum of money was to be issued to satisfy the commoners ; that his predecessor had left the treasury empty, and the see deeply in debt ; that the cardinals were poor and scarce able to maintain their families ; that no supplies could be expected from thence ; and if the nuncio had engaged that the confederates should be supplied by his holiness in their maintenance of the war, he had done it without any commission from him, his holiness being resolved to give no money upon the event of war ; and that as it was not proper for him to appear in expressing his sense of the conditions fit to be demanded in matters of religion, so he left them at liberty to proceed as best suited with the good of the kingdom.

This answer was given in August, before advice came to Rome of the divisions between the council and the nuncio; which made them consider Ireland as lost, and say, that were the pope able to furnish supplies, he could not tell to which party to send them; they being fleshed in blood against one another." This account, putting an end to all expectations of foreign succours, put every body upon reflecting on their own condition; and disposed the confederates to moderate their propositions for a peace, which was become absolutely necessary for their preservation.

- 79 The lord lieutenant upon his return to Kilkenny was taken so ill, that he could not give in his answer to the propositions till Dec. 19, when he agreed to the repeal of the penalties in any statutes which affected the free exercise of the Roman catholic religion; not intending thereby either the grant of churches or church livings, or the exercise of jurisdiction; though he assured the confederates, that they should not be molested in their present possession and exercise thereof, till his majesty, upon a full consideration of their desires in parliament, should declare his further pleasure therein. The assembly voted this answer unsatisfactory, and it was debated for some days between their commissioners and the marquis of Ormond, (who had nobody at all to advise with and assist him in the treaty,) with so much obstinacy on their side, that he almost despaired of success. He found it necessary on this occasion to put them in mind of their own desperate situation, and to caution them against depending on miraculous successes and deliverances, so far as to neglect the use of that free reason which God had given men, and commanded them to employ for their preservation. He represented to them, "that if the holiest people that ever were would have offended God by neglecting rational means offered of providing for their safety, and relying upon or gaping after extraordinary manifestations

of Providence by miracles to do it, so if they reflected duly on the present lives and deportment of the greater number of both clergy and laity, it would be found that unrepented disobedience to lawful authority, the cry of unrevenged rapine and innocent blood, and the continued endeavour of preserving the perpetrators from justice, lay heavy on the land ; it would be found that religion itself, which, if rightly taught, commands an abhorrence of such crimes in all, and the punishment of them by lawful power, was so far profaned as to be made a stale to wild, unwarrantable, or at least unnecessary, ambitions and lucre, and for those ends taught to plead against her own most holy sanctions, and for the impunity and reward of the breakers of public faith, the pro-⁴⁹miscuous plunderers of all honest men's goods, and the cruel shedders of human blood ; so that they had much more reason to fear miracles for the destruction of the nation, than to expect them for saving it. And if they considered only the human means offered them of preserving their religion, estates, and country, it was evident that this could not be done but by the restoring of their sovereign to his just rights in all his dominions ; that they could not expect any degree of security or comfort in the exercise of their religion, but under a monarchical government ; that infinite calamities, divisions, impieties, and other horrid confusions must necessarily attend that monstrous anarchy, in which church and state, Christian religion and civil society, were going to be involved by the independents, who, having reduced England and Scotland under their lawless power, were ready with the united force of those kingdoms, to enslave Ireland, and root out all the professors of their religion ; that the only visible means left them of preventing that calamity, was, to forward the conclusion of a peace upon the conditions he was empowered to grant ; and that whoever opposed or retarded the same, upon what pretext soever, did really,

if not maliciously, for private, sinister, and ambitious ends, as much as in them lay, cooperate with the independent rebels in extirpating the Roman catholic profession, and in the subversion of monarchy.

80 It happened at this time that the remonstrance of the army in England on Nov. 16, being brought over to lord Inchiquin, was reprinted by him at Cork, and sent to Kilkenny, as proper to raise in all parties of men the utmost abhorrence of the proceedings of those successful rebels, who now publicly avowed their design of subverting every thing that had hitherto been known for government in these nations. It had a wonderful effect in Ireland; it not only silenced all complaints in the protestant army, but it removed all the difficulties which the Roman catholics in zeal for their religion had thrown in the way of peace. The assembly receded from their demands in that point, and on Dec. 28, upon consideration of his majesty's present condition, and their own hearty desires of spending their lives and fortunes in maintaining his rights and interests, they resolved unanimously to accept of the marquis of Ormond's answer to their propositions for religion. There was indeed some difficulty to bring the bishops to declare their satisfaction in it, but when they found the assembly resolved to rest satisfied therewith, however they should declare themselves, they thought it best to concur with the rest. The only difficulty then left was that of the interval-government, as it was called; in some parts of which, the lord lieutenant thought the confederates had so much reason on their side, that he apprehended it would be no easy matter to bring them even to what it was absolutely necessary they should wave, for the satisfaction of the English. For this reason, as well as to agree on some course for the subsistence of the forces, he sent for lord Inchiquin (who best knew the temper of his own army, and the proper expedients to content them) to assist at the treaty. Their joint endea-

vours, and the great readiness of the confederates in complying with what it was in the lord lieutenant's power to grant them without prejudice to the king's affairs, easily removed the difficulty apprehended, it being judged very unseasonable to dispute about circumstances of government at a time when the whole frame of it was so near subversion. The commissioners of trust who were to act in the interval-government were next to be chose, and the viscounts Dillon and Muskery, lord Athenry, Alex. Macdonnel, sir Lucas Dillon, sir N. Plunket, sir Rich. Barnewall, Geffrey Brown, Donnogh O'Callaghan, Tirlogh O'Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennel, were appointed for that purpose. All the articles, being at last⁵⁰ adjusted, were to be severally agreed to in the assembly, the forms whereof took up so much time, that they were not all passed till Jan. 16, when it was resolved *nemine contradicente*, that the said articles being thrice read and fully debated, should be established and confirmed by the assembly. Nine bishops present at this vote, joined the next day in a circular letter, which they sent to all the cities and corporations of their party, exhorting them to receive and obey the peace now concluded; which was in substance the same with that which had been made in 1646, but rejected by another assembly.

- 81 The same day (Jan. 17) the whole assembly repaired to the presence of the lord lieutenant, in his castle of Kilkenny; and there, with all the solemnity imaginable, presented to him, sitting on a throne of state, by the hands of sir Richard Blake their chairman, the articles of peace, which he received, and having confirmed them on his majesty's behalf, caused them to be publicly proclaimed. The chairman in presenting them having made an elegant and loyal speech, in the name of the assembly, the marquis of Ormond expressed himself in these words :

“ My lords and gentlemen,

82 “ I shall not speak to those expressions of duty and loyalty so eloquently digested into a discourse by the gentleman appointed by you to deliver your sense ; you will presently have in your hands greater and more solid arguments of his majesty's gracious acceptance than I can enumerate, or than perhaps you yourselves discern ; for besides the provision made against your remotest fears of the severity of certain laws, and besides many other freedoms and bounties conveyed to you and your posterity by these articles ; there is a door, and that a large one, not left, but purposely set open, to give you entrance by your future merits to whatsoever of honour or other advantage you can reasonably wish, so that you have in present fruition what may abundantly satisfy, and yet there are no bounds set to your hopes ; but you are rather invited, or (to use the new phrase, but to an old and better purpose) you seem to have a call from heaven to exercise your arms and uttermost fortitude in the noblest and justest cause the world hath known ; for let all the circumstances incident to a great and good cause of war be examined, and they will be found comprehended in that which you are now warrantably called to defend, religion, not in the narrow circumscribed definition of it, by this or that late found out name, but Christian religion is our quarrel, which certainly is as much, as fatally struck at, (I may say more,) by the blasphemous license of this age, than ever it was by the rudest incursions of the most barbarous and avowed enemies to Christianity ; the venerable laws and fundamental constitutions of our ancestors are trodden under impious, and for the most part mechanic feet.

“ The sacred person of our king (the life of those laws, and the head of those constitutions) is under an ignominious imprisonment, and his life threatened to be taken away by the sacrilegious hands of the basest of the people that owe him obedience ; and to endear the quarrel to you, the fountain of all the benefits you have but now acknowledged, and of what you may further hope for by this peace and your own merits, is in danger to be obstructed by the execrable murder of the worthiest prince that ever ruled these islands.

“ In short, hell can add nothing to the desperate mischief now openly projected. And now judge, if a greater, a more glorious field was ever set open to action, and then prepare yourselves to

enter into it, receiving these few advices from one thoroughly embarked with you in the adventure :

“ First, let me recommend unto you, that to this, as to all holy 51 actions, (and such certainly is this,) you will prepare yourselves with perfect charity ; a charity that may obliterate whatever of rancour a long continued civil war may have contracted in you against any that shall now cooperate with you in so blessed a work, and let his engagement with you in this, whoever he is, be, as it ought to be, a bond of unity, of love, of concord, stronger than the nearest ties of nature.

“ In the next place, mark and beware of those that shall go about to renew or create jealousies in you, under what pretence soever, and account such, as infernal ministers employed to promote the black design on foot to subvert monarchy, and to make us all slaves to those that are so, to their own avaricious lusts.

“ Away, as soon and as much as possibly may be, with those distinctions of nation and of parties, which are the fields wherein the seeds of those ranker weeds are sown by the great enemy of our peace.

“ In the last place, let us all divest ourselves of that preposterous, that ridiculous ambition and self-interest, which rather leads to our threatened general ruin, than to the enjoyment of advantages unseasonably desired.

“ And if at any time you shall think yourselves pinched too near the bone by those taxes and levies that may be imposed for your defence ; consider then how vain, how foolish a thing it will be to starve a righteous cause for want of necessary support, to preserve yourselves fat and gilded sacrifices to the rapine of a merciless enemy.

“ And if we come thus well prepared to a contention so just on our part, God will bless our endeavours with success and victory, or will crown our sufferings with honour and patience ; for what honour will it not be, if God have so determined of us, to perish with a long glorious monarchy ; and who can want patience to suffer with oppressed princes ?

“ But as our endeavours, so let our prayers be vigorous, that they may be delivered from a more unnatural rebellion than is mentioned by any story, now raised to the highest pitch of success against them.

“ I should now say something to you for myself, in retribution to the advantageous mention made of me and my endeavours to

bring this settlement to pass ; but I confess my thoughts were wholly taken up with those much greater concerns ; let it suffice, that as I wish to be continued in your good esteem and affection, so I shall freely adventure upon any hazard, and esteem no trouble or difficulty too great to encounter, if I may manifest my zeal to this cause, and discharge some part of the obligations that are upon me to serve this kingdom."

- 83 It was no small satisfaction to the marquis of Ormond that he had carried on the treaty for his master with honour, freedom, and safety, and had at last concluded a peace, clearly within the limits of his instructions, at a time when the situation of affairs might have tempted him to have exceeded them, and would have justified him in so doing. He reflected with pleasure upon the terms whereon this peace was made, and having occasion, soon after the king's death, in ^ua letter he wrote to sir C. Coote to persuade him to return to his duty in the service of the crown, to take notice how the articles of it had been misprinted at Dublin, misrecited, and most falsely misconstrued, in order to hinder his majesty's service, he adds the following words: "I shall thereunto with much confidence say, that upon a fair and equal debate, (consideration being duly had of the condition of all affairs,) the ground of that agreement shall be made appear to up-52 hold a perfect security to the English nation and interest, and the protestant religion in this kingdom, and to have contained in all the parts of it as much of equality and equal indifferency as could at the perfection thereof be reasonably expected ; and that the advantages which the Romish professors are supposed to have, in point of religion or authority, are no other but pledges for his majesty's confirmation of the other concessions, and are to determine therewith." To the like purpose he expressed himself in a declaration, which he published on occasion of the peace, the day the instruments thereof were exchanged, but chiefly calculated to shew the iniquity of

the late remonstrance of the army in England, and to gain Jones's men and the other parliamentary forces in Ireland; who, having engaged for the king and parliament, could not, consistent with their oath and covenant, or agreeable to any rule of conscience or honour, adhere any longer to an army that avowed so openly the destruction of the one and the dissolution of the other, not only in their individual being, but for ever, in the very essence and proper definition of an English king and parliament. In this declaration he thought fit to mention the care he had shewn in his former actions of the protestant religion and the interest of the crown, and to observe, "that he had continued the same care in the conclusion of this peace, for which he appealed to the articles, the sum whereof, upon a serious and impartial consideration, would appear to be the indulging of some moderate concessions to the confederates, together with such necessary things as they insisted upon in order to their security, till such time as the act of oblivion, and the other matters agreed on, should be passed in parliament; that he had not made this peace with those who had any hand in the barbarous and inhuman crimes which were committed in the beginning or course of the rebellion, but had by special proviso excepted the actors or procurers thereof out of the act of oblivion, and prescribed a course for the discovery and trial of them; a thing not usually obtained in the settlement of kingdoms after so great commotions. And yet those articles were not condescended unto till all hopes of the treaty then on foot in England between the king and the parliament were overpast, and the army were not ashamed to proclaim their purpose to commit an horrid and execrable murder and parricide on the sacred person of his majesty. This (says he) we mention not as thereby in the least degree to invalidate any of the concessions made unto this people, but on the contrary to render them in every point the more sacred and inviolable,

by how much the necessity on his majesty's part for the granting thereof is greater, and the submission on their part to his majesty's authority, in such his great necessity, more opportune and seasonable; as also to call the world (and whomsoever either any peace at all with the Irish or the terms of this peace may be distasteful unto) to testify hereafter, that as the full benefit thereof cannot without great injustice, and somewhat of ingratitude, (if we may so speak, in the case of his majesty, with reference to this last act of theirs,) be denied unto them, so any blame thereof ought to be laid upon those alone who have imposed the said necessity, the saddest to which any king was ever reduced."

- 84 The news of the conclusion of this peace did not reach England soon enough to deter the execrable authors of the murder of the king from perpetrating a villainy, which, how long soever they had intended it, they durst not attempt to execute till they thought themselves secure of impunity by being absolute masters of Great Britain, without any considerable force in any part of these nations to oppose their measures or take vengeance on their crimes. The army having subdued all before them, resolved to subvert the constitution entirely; they had invaded the freedom of the commons, turned out 53 members as they pleased, and left it only the carcass of an house; they now went on to suppress the house of lords, and abolish monarchical government. They were better agreed among themselves as to what they were determined to destroy, than in what they had a mind to set up in its stead. The levellers, acted by the true independent spirit, with Harry Martin and colonel Lilburn at their head, were for a perfect democracy; but the superior officers were for subjecting all to their own authority, and introducing a kind of aristocratical government in their councils of war. They had all sinned too far, as they imagined, ever to be forgiven; the crimes which

they had already committed were only to be justified by committing greater, and for fear of a day of vengeance they determined never to submit to being disbanded, nor to suffer the power to be taken out of their hands. They easily resolved to lay the foundation of this power in the blood of their sovereign, and though their predecessors in parricide had usually chose to act a crime of so black a die in a secret manner, or by a sudden blow, they conceived it would best express their own dauntless resolution, and strike a greater terror into their enemies, to proceed deliberately in the affair, to bring the king to a public trial, to condemn and execute him as a common malefactor, with all the formalities of justice, and with all the pomp of a theatre before his own palace, and in the sight of the world.

85 Oliver Cromwell, a man of the greatest art and most unmeasurable ambition of any of his party, which he well knew how to lead to his purposes, found his convenience in that manner of putting the king to death. He aspired to the sovereignty of these kingdoms, and as all usurpation is a violence to the constitution, and the source of endless oppression to the people, he depended on the army for his support. He had wrought up the officers and soldiers of it to a perfect abhorrence of monarchy, and was apprehensive they might be as averse to see that kind of government revived in his person as to continue the establishment of it in king Charles and his descendants. "The king (as the earl of Bristol said of him in his Royal Apology published at Paris upon the vote of non-addresses) had no vice to make him terrible or odious to his subjects; he was known to be a prince of a most pious life, constant and exemplary in the practice of all acts of devotion; no blood had been drawn by his anger or revenge; no noble family dishonoured by his lust; no debauchery or excess had received encouragement by his example; no oaths or profaneness had ever been heard

to come out of his mouth. His prudence, ability, invincible courage and industry were known to his fiercest enemies, who had likewise seen his patience and composedness of mind in the highest afflictions and wrongs that had ever almost befallen any king, as well as his goodness and clemency in desiring to bury all past injuries in perpetual oblivion." Those men whose hatred of royalty, or whose fondness for power, made them break through all laws human and divine, to shake off the government of such a prince, could not easily be thought inclined to submit tamely to the like government in another, and to the worst of tyrannies, the tyranny of an usurper and a fellow subject. It was necessary therefore for Oliver (who despised the levellers, and imagined he could manage or suppress them as he pleased) to engage all the chief officers of that army which was to uphold his power, in a crime not only necessary for his own ambitious schemes, but such an one as must for ever exclude them from all possibility of pardon, if any of the king's race should ascend the throne. Hence he put so many of them into the commission for trying the king, and drew in all he could to sign the warrant for his execution; and having thus involved them in the most execrable of his crimes past a retreat, he found them ever after, by the necessity of their circumstances, attached to⁵⁴ his fortune and supporters of his power, however the absoluteness or the exercise thereof clashed with their avowed principles and inclinations.

- 86 It is hard to say which is the juster subject of astonishment, whether the daring impiety of those parricides who thus murdered their sovereign publicly on a scaffold, or the unconcernedness with which the princes of Europe saw the majesty of all kings violated and trampled upon by that action. The marquis of Ormond heard the news of it with inexpressible grief, and with a suitable resentment; he loved and esteemed the person of his master

above all the world; and took the unhappy end he made so extremely to heart, that all the afflictions he met with afterwards sat the lighter upon him, and he vowed to dedicate the remainder of his life to the taking vengeance upon the contrivers and perpetrators of a villainy, for which the history of former ages could never furnish a parallel. It fixed an indelible mark of infamy for ever upon the nation, and was an earnest of those intolerable oppressions, miserable confusions, and horrid impieties which overspread it for several succeeding years. The king in his last speech on the scaffold, when souls leaving the earth look (if ever) into secrets of heaven, said, with a kind of prophetic spirit, to the people, that *God would never prosper them in the way they were then in, nor indeed in any way, till they did him justice in his successors*. The calamities which the nation endured immediately after this monstrous deed were enough to awaken them generally to a sense of their guilt; and yet there is too much ground to fear that sense is almost worn out before the fatal effects of the sin are removed. Men have generally a very wrong notion of God's judgments, and are apt to mistake in the application thereof on particular occasions. An immediate calamity, a fatal accident, or sudden disaster, affecting the lives, persons, and even the fortunes of a man, shall easily be deemed a judgment of God on some forbidden action; but if a man's son sacrifices his virtue, or his daughter her honour, though really the severest calamities of any, yet they seldom pass for divine judgments in common account. The earl of Clarendon judged it an inestimable loss which the nation then underwent, in being deprived of a prince, whose example would have had a greater influence upon the manners and piety of the nation than the strictest laws could have. The nation hath since felt the unhappy consequences of depriving his children of the benefit of that example, and driving them for protection and education into foreign coun-

tries, where it might well be expected they would be corrupted in their religion by popish doctrines, and in their morals by that licentiousness in practice which some of those doctrines too much encourage men of strong passions to indulge. I am very sensible there is too great a scope given to imagination, and too much arbitrariness used in conjecturing to what particular sins certain calamities are to be ascribed, and considered as God's judgments thereon; but one rule in this case must be allowed to be certain. The natural tendency and effects of actions being settled in the very constitution of things, and their relation to each other, by the wise and almighty Author of nature, we are as reasonably and as surely justified in deeming the calamities which are the natural consequences of any unlawful action to be the judgments of God upon it, as we are in imagining that our eyes were given us to see with, or the sun was made to give light to the world. Let any reasonable man take this rule with him, and reflect upon the want of virtue and public spirit, the irreligion, immorality, and corruption which reign generally throughout these nations, with the heats, animosities, divisions, burdens, grievances, and calamities of various kinds under which they at present groan; let him examine coolly into the original and causes of these evils, and he will see reason to think it is not asserted without just grounds, that the worst and the most irre-⁵⁵mediable of them may be traced up to this detestable murder of the king, and the subversion of the constitution at that time, as naturally and as surely as a stream may to its fountain.

- 87 There are certain omens and prognostics, which sometimes precede and forebode the misfortunes of great men, and have therefore been thought by the best writers not unworthy of a place in history. Dr. Wellwood has in his memoirs touched upon a passage of this sort concerning

king Charles, but has related it inaccurately, and left it imperfect. It may not be amiss here to supply what is wanting therein, to gratify the reader's curiosity, as I have it from a very reverend author, who hath often seen the statue, and well knows the fact to be true. Sir A. Van Dyck having drawn the king in three different faces, a profile, three quarters, and a full face, the picture was sent to Rome for the cavalier Bernini to make a bust from thence. It was given to that great master in his art by the cardinal protector of the English nation, who pressed him to make a good one with despatch. Bernini was unaccountably dilatory in the work; the cardinal complaining of the slowness with which it advanced, pressing him to finish, and wondering how he could be so tedious in making the bust of so great a prince; the other said, that he had set about it several times, but there was something so unfortunate in the features of the face, that he was shocked every time that he examined it, and forced to leave off his work; and if there was any stress to be laid upon physiognomy, he was sure that the person whom the picture represented was destined to a violent end. The bust was at last finished and sent to England. As soon as the ship which brought it arrived in the river, the king, who had an excellent taste in those polite arts, and was very impatient till he saw the piece, ordered it to be carried immediately to his house at Chelsea. It was brought thither and placed upon a table in the garden, whither the king went with a train of nobility about him to take a view of the bust. As they were viewing it, an hawk flew over their heads with a partridge in his claws, which he had wounded to death. Some of the partridge's blood fell on the neck of the statue, where it always remained without being wiped off, and was seen by hundreds of people as long as the bust was in being. It was put up over the door of the

king's closet at Whitehall, and continued there till it was burnt in the fire, which consumed that palace about forty years ago.

88 The marquis of Ormond, as soon as he received an account of the king's death, caused the prince to be proclaimed king in all the towns of Ireland that owned subjection to his authority. The nuncio had hitherto lingered in the kingdom, waiting some favourable turn that might enable him to draw the nation into his measures; but had failed in all his expectations. He had seen the peace made, submitted to by all the kingdom except O'Neile's army, and proclaimed in all the great towns, even before his eyes at Galway. *He now saw the murder of the king received with such detestation universally among the Irish, that he judged they would all come in and submit to the lord lieutenant; and therefore determined to leave Ireland for a time, till there was a greater probability of succeeding in his schemes, and he could be fortified with new powers, and decrees from Rome, to subdue the refractory clergy, and, by a general concurrence of all the ecclesiastics, to engage the laity blindly to follow his directions, and raise a new flame in the nation. The bishop of Ferns and N. Plunket, the late agents to Rome, took a journey to part fairly with him, and were empowered from the lord lieutenant to tell him, "that if he would, even now at his departure, take off his excommu-56
nication, and dispose the people to an absolute obedience to the peace and the king's authority, he would make full amends for all the divisions, and the evil consequences of them both to the king and country, whereof he had been the occasion; and that thus doing, he should not only receive from him during his stay in Ireland, and upon his departure, all possible civilities, but he should also make a very advantageous mention of him to the queen,

* Y. 109. See Collection of Letters, No. DCIV. X. 310. Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 2603.

whose distressed condition would certainly gain her some credit at Rome, if it was not worse than London." The nuncio did not stay their coming, but on Feb. 22, at night, when they were eight miles short of Galway, went on board his frigate, and landed on March 2 at St. Vaast in the lower Normandy. His last instructions sent by Nic. Bern, O'Neile's chaplain, to that general, and Richard O'Ferral, were, to stand firm for the defence of the pope's authority, and that he should certainly be back very soon in such a posture as to make all opposition fall before him. He stayed in Normandy till June, all that while corresponding with the Irish clergy, and inciting them to persist in his violent measures; and though he was fond of visiting the French who were men of quality, he never made that compliment to any English nobleman who had faithfully served the king, though there were a good number of them in those parts. The reason of his so long stay in that country was to attend the issue of Abbé Crelly's negotiation at London, and some confirmation of his censures from the pope; and then either to return to Ireland, or to pass into Flanders, where more frequent opportunities of corresponding with that kingdom offered. But the court of Rome, though it was contrary to their maxims to fix a public mark of censure upon the conduct of their ministers, disapproving his conduct, sent him orders to make haste thither.

- 89 The marquis of Ormond thought the nuncio's departure and the king's murder afforded him a favourable opportunity of persuading Owen O'Neile to submit to his majesty's authority^y. He had before, on Nov. 21, sent Daniel O'Neile to him; but he was at that time so devoted to the nuncio, that he would hearken to no overtures, nor submit to any peace that should be concluded, unless it had the approbation of the nuncio and clergy,

^y X. 4, 5. W. 451. Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 2501. X. 359. Y. 20, 205, 220, 222, 248.

and made a particular provision for the province of Ulster. His son Henry about that time in a drunken quarrel killed one of his best officers, called Phelim Toole O'Neile, colonel of a regiment of foot, and captain of a troop of horse. This raised great discontents in his army; some of the principal commanders of the Macmahons, Macguires, and O'Cahans, were ready to desert him, as colonel Arthur Fox did, with their regiments, if they might but have assurances of titles and estates in their respective countries. Lord Iveagh, colonel Miles Lesly, colonel Terence (son of Henry) O'Neile of the Feues, and others, who did not want so much to get others' estates as to keep their own, had already submitted. The common soldiers too deserted in great numbers; but having been long used to rapine, and being supposed ready to return whenever they might gratify their appetite of plunder, it was not thought proper to trust them; so that two thousand of them were sent with O'Sullevan Beer into the Spanish service. O'Neile thus weakened, kept himself in the county of Cavan, and the neighbouring parts of Westmeath and Longford, till after the conclusion of the peace, and the nuncio's quitting of the kingdom. Then a new treaty was set on foot with him; by means of Daniel O'Neile, to whom he had applied for a safe-conduct for himself, and the commissioners whom he should send to treat. He now waved all matters concerning religion, being ready in that respect to submit to 57 the peace; but insisted on some conditions for himself and army, which the commissioners of trust, who always hated, and now began to despise him, were unwilling to grant. He demanded to have his post of general confirmed, independent of any command but that of the lord lieutenant; and that an army of six thousand foot and eight hundred horse might be maintained to serve under him at the general charge of the kingdom, if the applotment on Ulster fell short of the expense. The

marquis of Ormond knew the great consequence of O'Neile's submission to the peace; that nothing could be more for the king's service; that it would unite the whole nation in vigorous endeavours to promote it, and enable him without difficulty to drive the parliament forces entirely out of the kingdom. He was afraid that, if O'Neile still stood out, the quarrel between the king's and the nuncio's parties would be kept on foot, the force of the kingdom divided, several counties of it wasted by that division, the refractory clergy countenanced and upheld in credit with the people, and the great cities encouraged to refuse garrisons, to deny the payment of impositions, to slight his own and the commissioners' orders, and to put themselves (as they had always been inclined to do) on an independent foot, which must necessarily prove of infinite detriment to the service. His excellency for these reasons was entirely for allowing O'Neile the full number of troops; but the commissioners being the sole judges of the number of forces which the country was able to maintain, and being absolute (though in nothing else, yet) in the levies and taxes to be laid upon their own and that part of the people's freeholds which formerly acknowledged their jurisdiction, would not allow him above four thousand foot and six hundred horse. This was a matter in which the lord lieutenant, by the articles of the peace, could do nothing without the commissioners' concurrence; and they were so obstinate in this point, that O'Neile's agents returned without any agreement. The commissioners were afterwards prevailed with, by the sufferings of Westmeath, and the terror which the adjoining counties had of O'Neile's army, to send two of their own number, viz. sir R. Barnewall and Mr. Plunket, to treat with him, and offer him his full complement of men; provided lord Iveagh's, sir Phelim O'Neile's, and Alex. Macdonnell's regiments, which had formerly deserted him, were part of the number. This

proviso (which he thought inconsistent with his own safety) made him suspect the sincerity of the commissioners' proceedings, and doubt their future performances; he knew they bore him no good-will, and by the inconsiderableness of their offers he judged they slighted him, and did not care for an agreement. He resolved to shew them their mistake, and rejected the conditions proposed.

- 90 He was master of an army of five thousand foot and three hundred horse, the best and most experienced of all the Irish forces. With these he made no question but he should be able to maintain his ground for some time, and at last make a good capitulation for himself and them to quit the country, and enter into the Spanish service. The greatest difficulty he laboured under was the want of powder; and he could expect a supply thereof from no quarter but from Monck or Jones. He depended upon their furnishing him a quantity in his exigence, not only because it was their interest that he should not be crushed, or put out of a condition to cause a diversion to the enemy; but because he was not without hopes of good conditions being granted him by the independents, with whom Abbé Crelly had been some time carrying on a ²negotiation at London, by the assistance and intervention of the Spanish ambassador. This treaty was not confined purely to O'Neile and Antrim, and the Ulster Irish, by whom Crelly was particularly intrusted; but took in also the English Roman catholics. 58
- The design of it was to draw in that party of men to support the new established scheme of government in England, upon granting them the benefit of that general toleration which was to be extended to all kinds of sects, and to all communions, except that of the church of England. Upon this treaty an order was made in parliament for admitting the Roman catholics to compound for their estates on easy terms. A new oath of supre-

² X. 240, 283. Y. 8, 9, 10, 21, 22, 47, 151.

macy was drawn up to be taken by Roman catholics, especially by such as were in orders; for by that gentle appellation the parliament now began to distinguish them. The supremacy to be acknowledged and sworn was confined wholly to temporal matters, so that it was very suitable to the independent belief, and did not thwart the pope's pretensions; and the king's being laid aside in it created little or no difficulty in the affair. One Watson, who had formerly been a broken goldsmith in Lincoln, from whence he was forced to fly for cozening people by selling alchymy for silver, and had afterwards been scout-master general to Fairfax's army, in which post he still continued, was sent abroad to carry on this treaty. Sir Kenelme Digby, sir John Winter, and other Roman catholics then at Paris, entered into it with great zeal. The former having a pass sent him from Cromwell, went to England to promote the affair, and sir John Winter was designed to go for Ireland on the same errand. The king was very apprehensive that the scheme would take mightily with the nuncio's party, and be of fatal consequence to his service in that kingdom. For this reason, on March 12, he signed an order, commanding the marquis of Ormond, "if sir John Winter should come into Ireland, to cause him to be immediately apprehended and kept close prisoner till further order; to examine him privately and strictly upon the causes of his coming into that kingdom, what instructions he had from the pretended house of commons in England, or from any officer of the army; and what offers or overtures he was to make to any of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects in Ireland; to what particular persons there he was addressed, and to whom he intended to make application." This order for his imprisonment probably made sir John Winter proceed no further than England, and leave the management of this scheme in Ireland to Mr. Walsingham, who had engaged in it, and might pro-

bably have done much mischief, if the peace had not been concluded before his arrival. But upon the general acceptance thereof, and the remonstrances of those who had an influence over him, he seems to have acquiesced, and to have dropped the affair in that country.

- 91 Owen O'Neile was not the only rebel whom the lord lieutenant endeavoured to reclaim. ^aHe made the like application to Jones and Coote; but with as bad success. Michael Jones had ever been puritanically inclined; and for this reason probably sir Robert Byron was preferred before him to the post of lieutenant colonel, which was the ground of that resentment which made him quit the king's army in Ireland, and enter into the parliament's service in England. He was not deemed disaffected to monarchy, and being the son and brother of a bishop, could hardly be suspected of desiring the extirpation of the church of England. The lord lieutenant however would not apply to him till he had first consulted his brother Henry Jones, who had been made bishop of Clogher upon his recommendation. He wrote to him on Feb. 14, and the bishop professing to wish well to his majesty's service, encouraged the marquis to write to Michael on the subject. This was afterwards discovered to be done purely with a design to give Jones an opportunity to manifest his resolution to adhere to the 59 rebels, and to gain from them more seasonable and considerable succours. The lord lieutenant, pursuant to this advice, wrote on March 9 to Michael Jones himself, inviting him with the forces under his command to return to their duty, and submit to his majesty's authority. Jones, less affected with the execrable murder of the king, the invasion of the freedom of parliaments, and the utter subversion of the constitution, than influenced by his intimacy with Cromwell, and the great promises of

^a X. 303. Y. 59, 244. X. 337, 342. Y. 83, 199, 100, 101.

that general, pretended that he was obliged in honour to obey those who had trusted him with the command he enjoyed, and rejected the overture.

- 92 Sir C. Coote had often professed, "that if at any time he should discover the least purpose in the parliament of England to change the government, or to wrong the king, either in his person or posterity, he would sooner beg his bread than be a minister to their proceedings." Some who had been witnesses of these his professions, took occasion to mind him thereof, and to represent the late proceedings of the independent faction in England, pressing him to declare against them. It was thought proper for the marquis of Ormond to write to him on the subject. The lord lieutenant, who knew the man, did not believe either that he was to be gained, or, if he should seem to be so, that he was to be relied on and trusted. In compliance however with the desires of the old Scotch officers in Ulster, he wrote to Coote, inviting and encouraging him to return to the king's obedience. The event was answerable to his expectation; sir Charles, in conference with Mr. Humphrey Galbraith, renewed his professions on this occasion, and protested, "that as soon as the king, or his fleet, or any person lawfully authorized by him, should lay their commands on him, and there was a probable appearance of power and succours to make him hope for security, nobody should more freely and fully evidence the sincerity of his affection to the king's service than himself." But these protestations had no real meaning, unless to gain time for succours of men to be sent out of England. He had just before received from thence two thousand six hundred pounds, and being promised great matters by the faction of the army, resolved to adhere to that side, though his declaring for the king would have put all the north of Ireland under his majesty's obedience.

93 He had in the December before seized sir Robert Stewart, and sent him prisoner into England^b. He soon after secured major Areskyn, who unwittingly and unwillingly was made instrumental to ensnare sir Robert; colonel Mervyn, who for particular ends had been concerned in that affair, and imagined himself a favourite, was likewise apprehended, and sent in the next ship to the parliament. Coote did not like the chief officers of sir W. Cole's regiment, and therefore about the same time (Dec. 22) issued a warrant for seizing lieutenant colonel W. Acheson, major Graham, captain Hugh Rosse, and others of the garrison of Eniskilling. Those gentlemen were seized and clapped up in the castle of the place, pursuant to the order; which was not attended with those consequences that the authors of it expected. These officers were exceedingly beloved by the soldiers, as well as by their brother-officers; and had not been many days in prison, before all the regiment, meeting with a favourable opportunity, took arms in their behalf, seized sir W. Cole, and made themselves masters of the town and castle of Eniskilling. The officers being released, took upon them the command of the place and regiment, and sending captain Rosse to the lord lieutenant, obtained from him proper commissions for that purpose, Acheson being made colonel of the regiment, and the rest advanced in their order.

94 This encouraged major Galbraith, and the officers of⁶⁰ sir Robert Stewart's, colonel Mervyn's, and other old Scotch regiments in the north, to resolve upon the like insurrection, and to send to the marquis of Ormond for commissions to authorize, and for a body of one thousand horse to support their undertaking. Captain Gerard Irwing was sent to assure him of their duty to his majesty, and of a powerful body of forces, unanimously devoted to the king's service, and sufficient to put him in

^b X. 222, 55, 326, 336, 337. W. 321. Y. 3, 84, 100, 101, 199.

possession of all the country about the Laggan, except the forts of Derry and Cullmore; which being in sir C. Coote's hands, made it worth while to invite, and (if possible) to gain him over to the same cause. John Lesly, the learned and loyal bishop of Raphoe, was at the head of this engagement of the Laggan officers, and the first that signed the letter to the lord lieutenant. His excellency was always persuaded of the loyal affections of those gentlemen, but till he saw the issue of the peace, he could not invite them to a declaration thereof, nor assure them of needful assistance. He was agreeably surprised with this address from them, sent the commissions they desired, and assured them that the lord Inchiquin should be by the end of the month (March) with four thousand foot at Athlone, ready to march to their assistance; but the horse designed to join with him could not be drawn together till grass was come up, without the ill consequence of being made useless for the rest of the year. However, as they had communicated their resolutions to some that had not failed to send notice of them into England, it behoved them to be quick in putting them in execution, before fresh forces arrived from thence; and they might depend upon all the supplies and assistance that himself or lord Inchiquin, who would be nearer them, could give. This advice had scarce reached those officers, before they found themselves in the last week of March necessitated to take arms, and block up sir C. Coote in Derry.

- 95 The lord lieutenant, when he entered upon the exercise of his government over the Roman catholics, had great difficulties to struggle with^c. It was no small one to satisfy the expectations and ambitions of different persons for places of command in the army. Lord Clanrickard had observed so much in this respect whilst he was at Kilkenny, that as soon as he returned home, with

^c X. 252. Y. 23, 54. X. 376, 248, 284, 209, 276. Y. 230, 5, 258.

a disinterestedness in what related to himself, and a zeal for what concerned the king's service, (in which qualities he had no superior,) he sent to the lord lieutenant to quit his claim of lieutenant general of the army, resigning it absolutely to his excellency's disposal. The generals of particular provinces were now suppressed, so that there were fewer posts of that nature to be disposed of; and fewer persons could be gratified in the disposal. The earl of Castlehaven and lord Taaffe were in the general assembly competitors for that of general of the horse; it was decided in favour of the former, who had been named to it upon conclusion of the peace in 1646. The latter's merits were very great, and he was not a little disgusted at the preference given to his rival; but his great affection to the king's cause made him reserved in expressing his discontent, which had no ill effect but the loss of a man formed and bred for action, and who might have been usefully employed in the service. But there were other persons of quality more dangerously discontented, both in regard of their neighbourhood and alliances with Ulster, and because their judgments and affections were not so well settled. Such were the earl of Westmeath and some others. From one of these, who formerly, and as yet seemed to observe the government, the nuncio, a little before his embarkation, received a letter, importing him to make a longer stay, and undertaking to raise as great a disturbance as had been formerly in the kingdom. The marquis of Ormond was not in the least ⁶¹ accessory to these discontents, which there was no pretence of imputing to him; but in truth it was not possible to please all who had pretences of great interests and suitable ambitions. These discontents were the more dangerous, because the regular clergy already threatened to be troublesome, the nuncio having taken care to get Ulster Irish made provincials of the several orders, who assembling the most factious spirits in chapters, took

upon them to censure those who were well-affected ; and endeavoured to inflame matters against the time that the nuncio should (as he had promised) return with greater powers. The bishops had been frequently informed of these proceedings ; but took little care to prevent the mischief.

96 It was another disadvantage to the marquis of Ormond, that he was utterly ignorant of the condition of the confederate party ; so that as soon as the peace was made, he was obliged to inquire into the place and state of their magazines, the stores, the train of artillery, and the officers thereof, the lists of men, the pay and quarters of the army, which was to be continued on foot, the condition of their garrisons, and the persons, interests, and dispositions of the governors of cities, towns, and forts. Lord Inchiquin was allowed the sole command and ordering of the forces and garrisons he brought with him to the king's obedience ; and had almost the whole province of Munster assigned him for their maintenance. The confederates had engaged to keep on foot an army of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. Under pretence that there were a greater number of forces in pay than the provinces could support, they disbanded a considerable number of men, (most of which ran to O'Neile and listed in his troops,) and would have had Inchiquin's army likewise reduced. The marquis of Ormond in January desired, that provision might be made for the constant maintenance of five thousand of these forces in proper garrisons on the frontiers, that he might draw a party from thence for any service by the first of March. The quarters of the forces had been horribly wasted, and yet the country would much rather have maintained them upon an equal division of the army into each county, than be obliged to raise the money charged on them by way of applotment, which was the method that the commissioners liked, and which brought money into

their pockets. Eight of these commissioners were of the burnt and wasted countries, which paid nothing to this charge of money, so that their own ease seems to have been consulted in the case. They seemed more intent on getting honours, places, and employments for themselves and friends, than on the public service; took very little care either to raise the money applotted, or to fill the magazines which the lord lieutenant proposed to erect at Ross and Athlone with corn and provisions for the army. They had applotted sixty thousand pounds on the kingdom; but in March, when his lordship proposed to take the field, and it was necessary for the king's service to enter upon action, they pleaded that it would require a great deal of time to collect it, and proposed to borrow money of particular persons, cities, and places, by mortgaging to them (not any part of this applotment, but) the king's own revenues, particularly the tenths of prizes. They were so dilatory in their proceedings, (the natural consequence of several persons acting in commission, which requires a certain number to join in every act,) that Mr. Terence Coghlan, a gentleman by his long experience, great abilities, and entire affection to the king's service, very well qualified for the employment, was soon weary of his post of commissary of the victuals; and at the end of March, when lord Inchiquin was to be with his forces at Athlone, scarce any provisions were sent to that magazine.

- 97 All that the marquis of Ormond had in his own power was the private revenue of the crown; and with this (if with any thing) he was to make the best provision he ⁶² could for an early campaign, on which the success of all his measures chiefly depended. Other ways failing, he endeavoured to borrow money upon the security of the customs of seaport and trading towns within the Irish quarters, for he had nothing to do in lord Inchiquin's. Thus in the last week of February, going to Waterford, by the assist-

ance of John Walsh, then mayor of the place, he prevailed with the corporation, upon mortgage of the king's rents and customs there, to advance seven thousand pounds in money and corn. Going thence to Limerick, he got, not without great difficulty, a promise from that city of five thousand pounds, and from Galway, upon setting them the customs at two thirds of what was offered for them, an engagement for the like sum, to be paid in the same manner by the first of May; but these were as slowly advanced as they had been unwillingly promised; and Galway did not pay theirs till after the siege of Dublin.

98 There was one remedy for all the inconveniences under which he laboured, and that was the king's repair into Ireland. Whilst he was only prince of Wales, the marquis of Ormond had in the November before advised his coming, as what would absolutely engage the Munster army in his service, and unite the whole kingdom in his obedience. The prince had at that time no other party to take, (Scotland being entirely subdued by the independent faction,) and sent repeated assurances to the marquis that he would soon repair thither. ^dWhen the peace was concluded, the lord lieutenant sent lord Byron with an account of the treaty, a copy of the articles, and a full relation of the state of affairs; and took that occasion to press his highness to give strength and reputation to the endeavours of his servants there by his own presence, which would in all probability perfect the work of the kingdom. He judged it improper "for the prince to delay his coming, out of any dependance upon uncertain expectations of the rising of other parties in England or Scotland, so lately subdued, which he might perhaps be deceitfully put in hopes of to prevent his repair into Ireland, or which might fail, or be presently suppressed by those who were both watchful and strong rebels. He was the rather of this opinion, because his highness being in

^d See Collection of Letters, No. DCI. X. 213.

Ireland, would not be much farther from the correspondences he might have in either of the other kingdoms, and in some respects would be nearer, and that the reputation of his being at the head of strong armies might give encouragement, as well to those that remained faithful to his majesty to attempt upon all opportunities to appear for him, and to his highness's power to second them with good bodies of men, and (when he should think fit) by his person." The lord Byron was charged to support this request with many reasons drawn from honour, safety, and interest, to induce the prince to honour the kingdom with his presence as soon as possible, for the confirming and strengthening three fourths of it, which were already at his devotion, and for the gaining or reducing the other, consisting of Jones's and Owen O'Neile's parties.

- 99 These reasons were rather stronger upon the prince's succeeding to his father ; but then a new difficulty arose in the case, upon account of the Scots having proclaimed him, and engaged to receive him for their king, provided he took and established the covenant. The king had before determined to go for Ireland, but now it became a question whether it were not more advisable for him to pass into Scotland^e. The marquis of Ormond's sentiments on this occasion, as he expressed them in his letters of March 5 to sir E. Hyde and sir E. Nicholas, were these : " I have understood (says he) that the kingdom of Scotland hath proclaimed the king successor to his father, and ⁶³ that they intend to invite him thither to be crowned. But the securing of religion according to the covenant, before he be admitted to govern, is to me no small alloy in the joy it gives to hear the king acknowledged in one of his kingdoms, besides a good part of this. If his majesty resolve to consent to that condition, in the most rigid construction of it to himself and his subjects, I doubt not but his immediate going thither is most counsellable ;

^e X. 373. Y. 29.

though I want not some apprehensions of his safety, whilst the party complying with Cromwell when he was in Scotland, and then advising (as is said) our late master's trial, appear to be the ruling party. But if his majesty determine to stick to his father's principles, or to capitulate with any of his other subjects, I know not where or how he can do it with more honour and advantage than here, in the head of an army with whom conditions are already made, and where he hath good cities, and a strong fleet lying in excellent harbours. If it shall be for all this resolved that the king go into Scotland, I doubt not but it will be considered, how inconsistent the covenant is with the peace concluded here, by virtue of the power given me, which I am confident I have not transgressed; and that there will be care taken to give this people no apprehensions that they will be broken with; which may drive them to take desperate ways for their safety, and me into a very hard condition, either to appear instrumental to deceive and ruin them, or else to oppose what commands the king may send me, to shew that I was no impostor in assuming powers I had not, nor yet a willing property made use of to abuse them. I have by Mr. Fanshaw (who I hope is before now gone towards the king from Kinsale) offered to his majesty some of these conceptions, and also besought him, that the government of this kingdom (by what governor and by what council he sees fit) may be immediately settled. And if his majesty go into Scotland with intention to consent to the covenant, and to the imposing of it on all his subjects, I shall humbly desire any thoughts of employing me may be laid aside. For neither will I ever take the covenant, nor will they that propose it believe me fit to be employed unless I do. If that form of church government be established by a law, I will obediently submit to it, and swear to act nothing against it; but to swear to be instrumental towards the extirpation

of episcopacy I cannot satisfy myself for any consideration."

100 The king was at the Hague when he received the news of his father's death. 'Upon that occasion he had on Feb. 17 constituted the marquis of Ormond lieutenant in Ireland, and confirmed all that he had done in virtue, either of the commission he had received from the late king, or of his own confirmation of the powers and rights thereof. This was done before lord Byron's arrival with the articles of the peace, and the accounts he was to lay before his majesty. The king declared himself fully satisfied in every respect, confirmed wholly and entirely all that was contained in the articles, and expressed his resolution of making all the haste he could into Ireland, intending for his better security to pass over land through France and to embark at Rochelle. The queen-mother, who had formerly too much inclined to a Scotch expedition, was entirely for the king's adhering to that resolution; which was only opposed by some Scotch noblemen, lately arrived at the Hague. Of these there were four different parties. The marquis of Montrose, the lords St. Clair and Napier, with the royalists, were very earnest for his majesty's going into Ireland, where he might very conveniently unite the forces and interests of both kingdoms against the common enemy, and from whence he might (as occasion served) with ease and safety transport his⁶⁴ person into Scotland. All the rest agreed in opposing the king's going to Ireland; but did it in different ways. Lanerick, now made duke of Hamilton, was the most moderate of any on the subject, and would have been more so, were it not for the violence of Lauderdale who haunted him perpetually. Callander and Seaforth had their faction apart, as had W. Murray, who was employed there by Argyle. The Scotch had drawn the princess dowager of Orange into their cabal, upon assuring her

^f X. 319. Y. 56, 107, 195, 197.

that the king should marry her daughter, if she brought him to comply with them in their desires ; and the lord Percy, engaged by great promises of establishing his own fortune, was a chief agent in the business. The king however continued firm in his resolution for Ireland, and only stayed for want of money, which his brother the prince of Orange could not, and the states of Holland would not furnish him, unless he would go into Scotland and take the covenant ; for that could not fail of being the consequence of his going, and was the thing really intended ; though none of the Scots cared to speak of it openly.

101 The reasons for the king's going into Ireland were so strong, that the Scots could not oppose them when they came under debate. The marquis of Ormond was restrained and shackled by the powers of the commissioners, which were to cease upon the king's coming over ; so that he would find himself the first moment of his landing absolute master of the greatest part of the kingdom ; and could of himself order every thing conducive to his service. All disputes about command which depended upon articles made on supposition of his absence, would be either prevented by his presence or removed by his orders. The eagerness with which all the world would make their court to him, and endeavour to distinguish themselves in his service, would easily take away the difficulties which attended the providing and retarded the march of the army. Jones had not yet declared himself so attached to the independent party as he appeared afterwards ; his men, both horse and foot, were daily deserting ; and would have done it in much greater numbers, were it not for the strict eye held over them, and the poverty of the Irish quarters, which scarce sufficed for a bare subsistence to their own forces. These restraints would have been removed by the coming in of the spring, and the march of the army towards Dublin ;

in which case the marquis of Ormond was persuaded the better part of Jones's forces would desert, if he was not before that time considerably recruited with horse and foot, and plentifully furnished with money and provisions. It was in the king's power to prevent those supplies being sent, by ordering his fleet to block up the harbour of Dublin, and to intercept all commerce between that place and England. It was likewise certain, that Owen O'Neile and his party would immediately submit to the king, if he appeared in person within the kingdom, as (by Owen's expressions to Daniel O'Neile it appeared) he would have done to the lord lieutenant, if he had not been curbed in his power by the commissioners, of whom that general was infinitely jealous. ¶ To this purpose letters of credence had on Feb. 20 been signed by O'Neile, the bishop of Clogher, and lieutenant general Ferral, empowering F. Francis Nugent, a Capuchin, (brother to sir Thomas Nugent,) to assure the king of their submission, upon the terms of "being included in the act of oblivion, of enjoying liberty of conscience, of O'Neile's commanding an army under his majesty's authority, provided for in the same manner as the rest of his majesty's forces, and being advanced to the dignity of an earl." This last condition O'Neile seems to have insisted on out of emulation to Preston, who desired to be dignified with the title of earl of Catherlogh, and actually had that of viscount Taragh⁶⁵ conferred upon him, with eight hundred pounds a year in lands to support the honour. This letter of credence and these conditions the marquis of Ormond received from the king in September following; soon after which the Ulster army submitted to the authority of his majesty; who if he had come into Ireland at this time would in all probability have been in a few weeks master of the whole kingdom.

102 Mention is here made of the use which the king might

have had of his fleet. The lord lieutenant could not make the same use of it, because it was not subordinate to him, nor subject to any of his orders. ^hThis circumstance rendered it entirely useless to the service of Ireland; a consequence which wise men apprehended as soon as they knew that prince Rupert was to command it; in case he had any design of continuing in the command, and remaining in the kingdom. It had appeared too plainly, by unhappy experience, what application had been made to him formerly, and how unsettled and weak a people the Irish were; apt to catch at any thing that was new, to interrupt the present course of things. There were too just reasons for these apprehensions. The fleet arrived in the ports of Munster on Jan. 26, and few days had passed before the indiscretion of some of prince Rupert's followers had like to have renewed the disorders which were lately quieted among his troops. He desired of the lord lieutenant leave to raise one thousand landmen for the better manning of his ships; leave was given, the men were raised, and had mass said in the seaports where it was not allowed by the articles of peace, and taunting reproaches and evil treatment were used by these men and the prince's attendants who encouraged them, to the protestant soldiers and inhabitants, that it required all Inchiquin's industry, prudence, and authority to prevent very mischievous disturbancesⁱ. The prince held a correspondence with the marquis of Antrim, O'Neile, and all the discontented Irish, who thence received too much encouragement to persist in their destructive measures. The first of these, who fancied himself equal to the most difficult and important charges, though really unfit to be employed in any, pretended to a promise from him of being made admiral of Ireland

^h See Collection of Letters, No. DXCIII and DCIII. Y. 149.

ⁱ Y. 189, 253, 282, 294, 310, 333, 392, 398. Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 2785—2790.

under him, as soon as his majesty arrived in the kingdom. There was at Galway one colonel Vangyrish, a German officer, and very good engineer, who had served in the Irish troops with reputation, and had engaged very warmly in the nuncio's party. One of prince Rupert's gentlemen, by his master's order, wrote to this man, signifying that the prince desired an instrument might be drawn and signed by such officers and cavaliers as would serve their country, religion, and king, in an opposite way to the lord lieutenant and the present government; and that upon the sight of such an authority and agency from them, the prince would furnish them with all necessaries by sea. An instrument was accordingly drawn, and Teige O'Flaherty, Donogh O'Connor, Tirlagh Duffe O'Brien, and Riccard Bourke, as colonels, put their own names to it, with those of many inferior officers. Their demand from the prince was five hundred pounds in money, and as much in ammunition; and upon being furnished with those supplies, and taken under his protection, they undertook within fifteen days afterwards to bring five thousand men into the field in Ireconnaught, and the counties of Mayo and Galway, parts too much pestered with turbulent spirits, which the marquis of Clanrickard with all his prudence and industry could scarce keep from breaking out into disorders. The compiler of the nuncio's Memoirs adds, that Dermot O'Sullivan More and John O'Kennedy, upon the others' agents arriving at Kinsale, entered into the scheme, and undertook to raise within ⁶⁶ three weeks the first three thousand men in the counties of Cork and Kerry, and the latter one thousand foot and one hundred horse in that of Tipperary. Vangyrish was sent on April 9 from Galway to the prince with the instrument signed by the Connaught officers, being supplied by them with money for his journey. Riccard Bourke was at this time persuaded by his cousin sir Theobald Bourke, eldest son to the viscount Mayo, to quit the

nuncio's faction, and return to the king's obedience. As a testimony of his sincerity, he discovered this combination to sir Theobald, who immediately sending advice of it to lord Clanrickard, it was by this nobleman made known to the lord lieutenant. Tiege O'Flaherty submitting soon afterwards, confessed the whole affair, but in excuse alleged that he and the other colonels were in drink when Vangyrish got them to sign the instrument. The marquis of Ormond thought it proper to let the prince know that he had notice of the affair, though he would not seem to think it worthy of credit. He sent sir T. Bourke's letter to his highness, to shew him the dexterity of Vangyrish to get travelling charges, (for that he took to be his main end,) which he should beseech the prince to forgive, if he had forged some other contrivance than what put him into an opposition to his highness, which, whether in jest or in earnest, he could not forgive any man for attempting. He therefore desired him to demand the instrument of Vangyrish, and to examine him what his design was in procuring it, and who set him on work to disturb the minds of the people, too easily carried away with such impossible devices to their own ruin. This being discovered, he entreated the prince, in what way he thought fit, to let those deluded persons know that the ways in which he was serving the king were not disapproved by him nor his person in his highness's disfavour. Vangyrish denied the affair, and the prince satisfied therewith, still cherished and kept him about his person at Kinsale; from whence he continued to carry on a correspondence with O'Neile.

103 Whether prince Rupert was envious of the marquis of Ormond's having the glory of uniting the kingdom in his majesty's service, and affecting the merit of achieving that work himself, did for that reason desire to hold a fair correspondence with the discontented Irish, or whether he had any other view, as some suspected, in so doing,

it is certain that he had a parcel of worthless creatures about him, who endeavoured to sow jealousies between him and the lord lieutenant. Hard was the case of the marquis of Ormond, to be sent without any supplies or means but what his own credit could raise, or his wisdom and experience could furnish, to reduce a distracted kingdom to unity, to be engaged in a work which in the nature of the thing and in the judgment of the world seemed impracticable, and to be traversed at the same time in his measures by those from whom he had reason to expect the best assistance, and who were sent for that purpose. Whatever was the matter, the fleet from which he promised himself considerable aids gave him none, and the commanders were too intent on taking prizes to mind the service of the kingdom. ^kJones was put to great straits for provisions of all kinds to support his army in Dublin; the stores of corn had been spent seven weeks before; and for the pay of the soldiers he was forced to lay a weekly assessment on the city, which could not hold long by reason of the low condition of the exhausted inhabitants. At this time there lay two parliament frigates in the bay of Dublin, the one called the *Swan*, of twenty guns, the other of less force; they were of great use to the enemy in their distress, and were easy to be surprised. The marquis of Ormond, on March 8, recommended that service to the prince, but it was not so much as attempted. When he was drawing together an ⁶⁷army in order to beleaguer Dublin, he sent on March 23 by sir W. Vaughan and Mr. Fanshaw to the prince, desiring him to block up that harbour with his fleet, to interrupt the coming of relief thither, pressing it as the properest service for the fleet, and of the utmost consequence for reducing the kingdom. The Laggan forces had risen in the north and besieged sir C. Coote in Derry;

^k His letter to Oliver Cromwell, Feb. 28, 1648-9. Y. 52, 135, 240, 259, 323 and 343.

the lord Montgomery and the earl of Clanbrasil, with the officers and gentlemen of Down and Antrim, had risen against colonel Monck, and made themselves masters of Carrickfergus, Belfast, Coleraine, and all the fortresses in those counties except Lisnegarvy, which was not tenable, being unprovided of every thing for a siege. The case was different as to the fort of Cullmore and the city of Derry, both held by Coote with a force of eight hundred foot and one hundred and twenty horse, and seated on the river of Lough-foyle, which was navigable to the very walls of those places. Yet neither of them could hold out, if any ships were sent to guard the coast and lie in the mouth of the river to intercept the supplies of men, money, ammunition, and victuals, which sir Charles expected soon out of England. The like succours were expected at Dublin and Drogheda; and the same fleet might have interrupted the passage to those places. Sir Robert Stewart and the officers who blocked up Derry and Cullmore with their troops, made no doubt of forcing them to a speedy surrender, if the ships came in time; and then (as they assured the lord lieutenant) the whole province of Ulster, with ten regiments of foot and sixteen troops of horse maintained by it, would be ready, without interruption, to attend the service wherever they should be commanded. The marquis of Ormond received their letter on April 29, and immediately despatched an express with it to prince Rupert, acquainting him at the same time with his own humble opinion, that ships could not be more advantageously employed than in helping to reduce Derry and the fort near it, which would make those officers absolute masters of that side of the north, and enable them to afford a considerable assistance towards the reduction of any other part of the kingdom. He added, that he was well assured all the shipping belonging to the rebels on the coast of England towards Ireland was no more than three frigates, which were appointed

to convoy over some forces designed and lying ready at the water-side for the relief of Dublin ; and of those three, there was only one of any considerable strength, and she carried but thirty guns. The interruption which might be given to that access of strength to Jones would in all probability render the work against him very easy, whereas, on the contrary, if he was supplied, it would be almost a desperate undertaking, and himself should be forced to a defensive war. This being the state of affairs about Dublin and Derry, he humbly left it to his highness to consider how those supplies so much to be feared might be speedily prevented, the good success of the king's service in that kingdom chiefly depending thereon. The marquis wrote to Mr. Fanshaw, then at Kinsale, to second these instances with the prince, and to put him in mind of the king's directions for a sum of money to be put into his hands for the service ; and of his desire, if money was not to be had, that goods might be assigned to that purpose, and sent to Waterford, where they would procure him credit, and (if part of them were in corn) would be full as useful in their proportion as money, for enabling the army to take the field. All was in vain ; neither money nor goods were sent ; nor a ship employed in either of these or any other services all the time that the fleet lay on the coast of Ireland, and were absolute masters of the Irish channel. It is clear from hence how exceeding necessary the king's presence was for the advantage of his affairs in that kingdom.

- 104 The king's court, like those of all distressed princes, 68 was full of factions, whose particular views were always eagerly pursued, whatever became of their master's service. There wanted not some about him who betrayed all his counsels, and were pensioners of the English rebels, who for that reason were very easy with regard to his conduct. These men struck in with each faction, as served most effectually to obstruct his majesty's affairs,

and on this occasion joined the Scots, who by secret as well as open practices opposed the king's going into Ireland, and when they could not divert him from that resolution, found means to delay its being put in execution. The Scots about court were chiefly such as had been concerned in duke Hamilton's engagement, and having submitted to the prevailing power, had quitted their country, whilst Argyle ordered it at his pleasure. 'At last the earl of Cassels, and five other commissioners, two of which were ministers, came on April 5, N. S., to the Hague, deputed by the Scotch convention. The king, to wave that ceremony and respect which they did not care to pay, till he had complied with those terms on which they were content to admit him for their sovereign, and to avoid the acknowledging their constituents to be a parliament, received them the next day in his bedchamber. They presented to him three propositions, demanding, "that he should banish Montrose and all other malignants and evil counsellors from his court; that he should take the covenant himself, and establish it and the presbyterian government through all his dominions; and that he should bring but an hundred persons with him into Scotland, among which there should be none that had bore arms for his late majesty." When he had consented to these propositions, they were then ready to treat further about his reception.

105 The insolence of these demands, with the marquis of Huntley's being put to death, immediately before the commissioners set out from Scotland, for no other crime but his loyalty, gave the king no advantageous opinion of the duty, sincerity, and affections of the proposers. His majesty's distress, and being in a presbyterian country, where the Scots had great interest, prevented his resenting the propositions as they deserved; but determining not to enter into any particular debate about them, he

¹ Y. 227, 252, 292, 381. Z. 258, &c.

referred the commissioners, till his arrival in Ireland, for an answer to the matters therein propounded, concerning his other kingdoms as well as Scotland. It was now resolved that Montrose should try his fortune in that country, and for this purpose he was despatched to Denmark, where, in consequence of the assurances sent from that court by sir J. Cockran, and by M. Uhlefeldt, the Danish ambassador at the Hague, there were great hopes of his obtaining supplies proper for such an expedition. The earl of Brentford was at this time in Sweden, where, by engaging his estate in that country, he had provided one thousand horsemen's arms, back, breast, and headpieces, nine hundred pair of pistols, three hundred troopers' swords, three thousand muskets, two thousand five hundred pikes, two thousand swords for foot, with six pieces of brass cannon and carriages, besides a considerable quantity of ammunition. These lay at Gottenberg ready to be transported, and were assigned, the arms for horse to the marquis of Ormond, with part of the ammunition, the rest to Montrose; whom the king, resolved still upon his journey, thought he might be able to assist from Ireland.

106 The interest of the Scots about court was not lessened by the insolence of their propositions. The deputies of the states warmly espoused their cause, and pressed the king to agree with them on any terms. They were as violent against his expedition to Ireland, yet there was no preventing it, but by suggesting that it was proper for him to carry thither some supplies of money and ammunition. It was intimated to him by some of the deputies that he might obtain these from the states; and thus encouraged, he presented a memorial in form for that purpose. The affair was to be communicated to the provinces before it could be settled. The king was kept in hopes of a favourable answer in a week or ten days (still assuring the marquis of Ormond that he would set out in that

time) for three months together, till the middle of June ; when finding himself disappointed, and being reduced to greater straits than ever for want of money, he quitted Holland, and passing in great haste through Flanders, arrived at St. Germain in the beginning of July. This was not the only occasion in which a vain expectation of foreign supplies proved of infinite detriment to the king's affairs.

¹⁰⁷ The marquis of Ormond in the mean time, left alone to struggle with all the difficulties that attended his situation in Ireland, did all that was possible for man to do to bring an army early into the field, in order to attack Dublin^m, the taking of which place would have been followed with an insurrection in England, and the expectation whereof kept the royalists, and all that detested the king's murder, as yet in quiet. Proposals had been sent from some London merchants, whose affections and abilities had been fully proved on former occasions, that if Dublin were taken, they would transport themselves and their effects, amounting to the value of three hundred thousand pounds, into Ireland, and carry on their commerce in that country. The gaining of that city was in effect the gaining of the whole kingdom, so that the enterprise was by all means to be undertaken ; but the magazines of the confederates were empty, without either ammunition or provisions ; and the country was impoverished to the last degree. The applotment of the commissioners had as yet brought in nothing to the public chest ; there was no money to pay the soldiers, and (what was worse) no corn to sustain them in the field, till the season allowed the army to be supplied with cattle. There was a great dearth of grain all over the kingdom, and the spring was more backward than had been known for some years. The lord lieutenant had appointed a rendezvous for the Munster forces on March 4, in the

^m Y. 409, 454.

county of Tipperary; but till the beginning of May he was not able to get two thousand foot and three hundred horse together. With these he sent the earl of Castlehaven to reduce the places yet held by O'Neile in Leinster, which it was dangerous to leave behind them when the army advanced towards Dublin. ⁿCastlehaven, very sorrily provided with materials for a siege, invested Maryborough on the 9th, took it on the 16th, as he did Athy on the 21st of that month; that small body of forces being all the while in terrible distress, sometimes two or three days without eating, and ready every moment to break, being only kept from doing so by some small sums of money, which the marquis of Ormond, as fast as he could borrow, sent for their relief.

108 The marquis in the mean while was assembling all the forces he could raise at Leighlin bridge, and marching them from thence to Cloghgrenan, near Catherlogh, very uneasy at not being able to advance nearer Dublin, at a time when it was reduced to extremity, “there being (as ^ohe thought himself obliged in duty to the king's service and to his highness to tell prince Rupert in a letter of May 7) not ten days' provision of bread in the place, so that if the harbour were but blocked up, the forces within it must fall to nothing immediately.” There cannot be a greater cause of vexation to a general than to see an hopeful opportunity of effecting an enterprise of such vast consequence, so easy in the execution, and so sure of succeeding, lost for want of a very small assistance. Jones was about May 10 reinforced with five hundred foot out of England; but had little reason to expect more in haste; and these were an inconsiderable ⁷⁰ addition of strength to him, the greatest part of them being such as had formerly served the king in England, and being taken in Colchester, were driven by the fear of

ⁿ See his letters, Y. 417, 424, 425, 440, 447, 449, 450, 451, 453, 459, 463.

^o Y. 394, 413 and 416.

the present tyranny of the rebels in England, and for relieving themselves in their distressed condition, to enlist for the Irish service. He was daily growing weaker by the great desertion of his soldiers, both old and new; some captains fell off from him with their companies entire; so that he was under very unhappy apprehensions, as many that served under him were in great hopes, of an attempt being made upon Dublin when Leinster was cleared of the Ulster enemy. As soon as that was effected, the marquis of Ormond^p, writing on May 23 to Mr. Fanshaw to solicit prince Rupert for some prize goods, whereon to get credit from merchants, expresseth himself in these words: "I think it more than probable, and so to be demonstrated, that five thousand pounds in money at present would reduce Dublin; at least to the extremity of guarding and sustaining all that party within the circumference of their lines, wherein they could not possibly subsist any time without present considerable supplies of force and provisions." So little was wanting to the reduction of that kingdom, and the making it eminently serviceable for the recovery of the king's other dominions.

- 109 The marquis of Ormond^q found it the greatest difficulty in the world to keep the Irish together. The license hitherto given them in their winter quarters, which were always at large in the country confused, and without the possibility of keeping them under any kind of discipline, made every fatigue, though but of ordinary marches and duty, insupportable to them, any longer than they were constantly supplied with money, which could not be done out of the stock of the kingdom. The army under lord Inchiquin began at last in the end of May to draw out into the field, and was no less pressing for impossible sums of money than the other; and though they had not such retreats to friends out of the field as

^p Y. 476.

^q Ibid. 487.

the others had, and by reason of their having been continually garrisoned were under more obedience; yet their discontent and mutiny were more to be apprehended, because the effect thereof would at best be a running away to the English. To prevent this, it was absolutely necessary to make all possible provision for both, and the marquis could not neglect that provision, though he saw plainly the ill consequences of all delays, which, unavoidable as they were through want of money, allowed Jones time to solicit and expect supplies, and might either cool the good affections of very many in Dublin, or render them ineffectual, if forces and provisions were sent out of England. When all the forces joined, there was another impediment to the service, almost as troublesome as want, and causing as great interruption, though it arose from an excusable emulation between the Irish and English touching their past and present faithfulness, and power to contribute towards restoring his majesty. This however took up much of his time to keep it from growing to more hurtful differences, and whilst he studied to dispense his care and kindness to them with indifferency, it hindered the advantages that might be made of both, and rendered his life a perpetual vexation. Notwithstanding these difficulties, he found means to send sir G. Monroe (lately come over from the king with a commission to command in the north) with one hundred horse and one thousand six hundred foot into Connaught, to make a diversion in favour of the Ulster Scots, and prevent sir C. Coote's drawing any assistance from his forces in the former province. The marquis of Clanrickard joining Monroe, and finding means, chiefly out of his own purse and credit, to supply the troops, they made up a body of five thousand foot and one thousand horse, with which they reduced Sligo, with all the forts held for⁷¹ the parliament in that country; and sir George advanced with a good party to strengthen the army before Derry,

whilst Clanrickard endeavoured to secure Connaught against the designs and incursions of Owen O'Neile. The lord lieutenant mustered also on June 1 an army of six thousand foot and two thousand horse near Catherlogh; but could not stir from thence till he had borrowed eight hundred pounds of sir James Preston, which at that time kept the forces from disbanding. By the help of that sum, and of a little meal taken upon credit, he took in Kildare, Talbot's-Town, and Castle-Talbot. But there the money and meal failing, and having borrowed about one hundred pounds from twenty several officers to give the soldiers sustenance, he was forced to stay on the west side of the Liffy, and thereby lost an opportunity of engaging Jones, who with a much less force had drawn out of Dublin as far as Johnstown. So meanly was he provided for an expedition, the undertaking of which could be justified by nothing but the necessity of attempting Dublin before supplies arrived out of England, and those within the place who were faithful to his majesty, and importuned him daily to advance, were discovered and destroyed.

110 His advance, though too soon to allow a proper provision for his army, was not early enough to prevent the ill consequences that he apprehended from a delay. For Jones, in his letter^r of June 6 to O. Cromwell, expresses himself with great satisfaction: "Here is arrived part of the corn designed us, which came in most opportunely, our provisions being at that very instant quite out, nor knew we how to be supplied; notwithstanding all means used, and particularly by looking into all private stores here, wherein upon return was not found what would be for more than six days' provision for this city.—There are daily discoveries of treacherous spirits within us, some of whom have been proceeded withal according to their demerits for being unto others exemplars. I had ere this

^r Bishop of Clogher's MSS. folio. No. III. p. 626.

taken the field with this small party; but that I know not what may be the condition of this city in my being from it before the arrival of more forces, for confidently securing it and other considerable garrisons.”

- III There is in the letter here quoted a very remarkable passage in these words; “I have hitherto fomented (as still I do) the differences between Owen Roe and Ormond, and am now on the same design for taking off Preston also with his Irish army, which is now also taking. It will be of high consequence to the utter and speedy breaking of their whole powers.” This correspondence between Jones and Preston seems by the expressions in this paragraph to have been but lately commenced, and was probably the consequence of the lord lieutenant’s refusing to make the latter master of the ordnance (as he desired in a letter of his on April 8) upon the death of sir T. Lucas. It hath been already observed, that several, who had seemed to forward the peace, endeavoured to frustrate the good effects of it, when they found their irregular and ambitious aims not so fully complied with as they expected^t. It was impossible to answer the expectations of all that had a great opinion of their own merits. All the expedient which the marquis of Ormond could find out to prevent the ill consequences thereof was to make choice of the most deserving and considerable to be obliged, and to keep a watchful eye over the rest. Lord Taaffe was by the peace deprived of his post of general of Munster, and remained without employment till upon this vacancy he was made master of the ordnance; a charge for which he was well qualified by his capacity and experience, and which he well deserved by his extraordinary affection and services to the crown. Preston seems to have been disgusted by this preference of Taaffe: but it seems (as one Rochfort, by whom the 72 correspondence with Jones was carried on, says in his

^s Y. 230.

^t Ib. 244.

"letter to him of June 4 from Catherlogh,) that "the soldiers of the army were so secured to Ormond, far beyond their expectation, that nothing but a sudden attempt could prevail against him." What this sudden attempt was, may be explained by a *letter which sir E. Nicholas wrote about this time to the marquis of Ormond, conjuring him to take care of his person, on the safety of which depended all the king's affairs under his management, and advertising him, that he was informed by several hands out of England and elsewhere, "that the English rebels looking upon him as the great obstacle to their conquest of Ireland, had hired at least six or eight desperate villains of their own faith, for a considerable reward, to assassinate him." It is not improbable but something of this kind might be hinted in what Rochfort says in that letter, with regard to a caution given by Jones in relation to persons to whom the design should be communicated. "None (says he) hath been made privy to our proceedings but general Preston, his son colonel Warren, and a few other leading men so far embarked in the work, as a syllable hath not dropped from any of them. This I gather by Ormond's being friendly invited hither to dinner on Thursday last, though he would not (as we suppose, by reason of the caution thence given him) commit his person to us without his own guards of horse and foot; by which advertisement we missed of our last opportunity."

- 112 There are few actions of which men of violent passions and excessive pride are not capable in the height of their resentment; and the histories of all ages shew us in numberless instances the fatal effects of such resentments in public affairs. Few men are found so disinterested as the marquis of Clanrickard, who was always ready, and even desirous to quit every post he enjoyed, to any rival, for the better advancement of the king's service; as he did

* Bishop of Clogher's MSS. No. III. p. 632.

* Q. 5.

at this time that of lieutenant general of the army to gratify lord Inchiquin. The earl of Castlehaven now met with a ruffle in the exercise of his command as general of the horse, some of lord Inchiquin's refusing to obey his orders. A dispute arising on this occasion, he thought he could not in honour stay in the army, unless right was done him, which yet was dangerous; so that yielding to necessity, he retired for a time into the country, where he employed himself full as usefully in getting in money upon the general applotment; and having collected ten thousand pounds sent it by sir G. Hamilton to the army before Dublin, and soon after followed himself, the dispute being at last adjusted. But these were rare instances of temper and duty in comparison of those greater numbers, who thought themselves injured by being overlooked, or not preferred answerable to the value which they set upon themselves.

- 113 In the midst of these difficulties and dangers, the marquis of Ormond was on June 14 joined by two thousand of lord Inchiquin's foot, and lord Taaffe bringing him in the same day a supply of two or three thousand pounds, he moved towards Dublin, taking the castle of Allon and the Naas in his way. At this last place it was debated in a council of war, whether the army should march directly to Dublin, or first take in Trim, Drogheda, and other out-garrisons. The general officers were of the former opinion, concluding that if they could take Dublin, all other places would quickly fall into their hands; and if they should defer that attempt, and waste their provisions in lesser enterprises, there might probably arrive out of England such supplies of men, money, and other necessities, which Jones daily expected, as might render that important work in a manner impossible. Upon this resolution, leaving a party of thirty horse and 73 as many foot to block up Ballysonan, the lord lieutenant moved with his forces towards Dublin, and on June 19,

about nine in the morning, came to Castle Knock in view of the city. Jones had drawn out all his horse into the Green not far from the walls; which the marquis observing, sent a party of horse and musketeers to face them, and advanced with the rest of his army within less than cannon shot of the gates, hoping it might encourage some within the town to raise a commotion. Having spent part of the day in that posture and expectation, after some slight skirmishes between the horse, he drew off and encamped at Finglas, two miles from the town.

114 He was scarce settled in his quarters, when he received intelligence that Jones had sent the greatest part of his horse to Drogheda. Lord Inchiquin was immediately sent with a strong party of horse to follow them; which he did with such success, that he surprised a whole troop, and afterwards encountering colonel Coote, in the head of three hundred horse, routed the party, killing many, and the rest flying in great disorder into Drogheda. Inchiquin lost no time in sending an account of his success, and that he had reason to believe, if he pursued his advantage and attempted the town before the rebels recovered of their consternation, it would make but little resistance. Hereupon it being considered in a council of war, that Dublin was competently well fortified, and plentifully manned both with horse and foot, so that it would be a desperate action to hazard the army by a general assault; that they were not yet a sufficient number to invest the place, especially whilst O'Neile and Monck, with the garrisons of Drogheda and Trim, lay so convenient to attack them; and that the reduction of the former of those places would secure a correspondence with the north, and give great encouragement to the Scots in Ulster, it was resolved that the lord lieutenant should continue in his camp with five thousand foot and one thousand five hundred and ten horse, to straiten Dublin,

and be ready to countenance any stirs or revolt within the city, and the lord Inchiquin with about the same number of horse, and two thousand foot, should block up Drogheda, with the assistance of colonel Mark Trevor, who had lately declared for the king, and now helped to beleaguer the town. Inchiquin made an attempt to surprise the place on the 27th at night; two of the gates were fired, and two hundred men got into the town, but were drove out again by the horse of the garrison. The marquis of Ormond sent him the next day two pieces of battery to attack the place in form; but as soon as they were planted, the place surrendered. One of the articles was, that such of the garrison as were so inclined should march with Foulkes the governor to Dublin; but of about seven hundred foot and two hundred and fifty-five horse, he was attended into that city with no more than thirty-five horse, and about one hundred foot, the rest taking service in his majesty's army.

- 115 Owen O'Neile had been encouraged by supplies of money, which he received from Jones, and without which he could hardly have subsisted his army to stand out against the peace; but was in great want of ammunition. To procure a supply, he sent Hugh M'Patrick Duff Mac Mahon to make a treaty with Monck, who readily entered into an agreement with him, engaging to supply him with the necessaries he wanted. O'Neile thereupon marched with about three thousand men to Glassdromore, within seven miles of Dundalk, where Monck was quartered; and sent lieutenant general Ferral with a party of five hundred foot and three hundred horse, with carriage horses to receive and carry the ammunition. Lord Inchiquin having ever since the taking of Drogheda made preparations for the siege of Dundalk, was that day (July 15) on his march thither, and hearing of the party, sent colonel Trevor with six troops of horse to fall upon them⁷⁴ and intercept the ammunition. Trevor surprised Ferral

on his march in a plain open road, routed his horse, and made such havock among the foot, that of five hundred not forty escaped, but were either slain or taken prisoners. Dundalk was immediately invested, and in two days Monck was forced by his own soldiers to deliver up the place, where was found a good magazine of ammunition, clothes, and other necessities for war, most of the officers and soldiers engaging themselves in his majesty's service. The lesser garrisons of the Newry, Narrowwater, Greencastle, and Carlingford, followed the fate of Dundalk, submitting at the first summons; and Trim did not hold out above two days. Lord Inchiquin after this success returned with his party not impaired by the service to the lord lieutenant in his camp at Finglass.

- 116 Notwithstanding all the garrisons about Dublin were thus reduced, the marquis of Ormond was very doubtful of the event of the enterprise upon that city. Jones's body of horse was in a manner ruined, there being only about five hundred of them left of all sorts, and those cooped up within his line, very mutinous and disorderly; some of them, as also many of the foot continually deserting, as they found means and opportunity. But he was still very strong in foot, so that there was no prospect of carrying the place by assault, and all the hopes of success depended on keeping provisions and relief from him.
- ^z For this end it was necessary to stop up the passage by sea, which was as yet open; but being once taken away, the mutinies already within the place would increase with their despair of succours, and that probably to a degree of forcing the governor to surrender; at the worst, the soldiers would have greater cause and fitter opportunities to quit him, and he would soon be reduced to an inconsiderable number. These hopes were not a little damped by the great preparations made in England, and the continual expectations of Cromwell's landing with a well provided

and powerful army ; and by the great wants of the Irish army, which had been and still continued such, that soldiers had actually starved by their arms, and many of less constancy had run home. The army however upon a review made July 17 appearing to be about five thousand foot and two thousand horse, though many of the foot were weak, the marquis did not despair of being able to keep them together, and strong enough to reduce Dublin, if there did not come speedily good supplies of all sorts to relieve it, being confident that he could persuade one half of his army to stand outright, and resolved to venture far upon it, rather than give off a game so fair in appearance, and so hard to be recovered, if once given over. The danger of desisting from it was the greater, because of the busy working of the Irish clergy ; for though the nuncio was gone, he had left behind him a great number of very mischievous and active instruments, who did all that was possible to inflame the people, and who would not fail to make use of the miscarriage of the enterprise on Dublin, to spread a thousand calumnies, and raise fresh disturbances in the nation.

- 117 Captain^a John Talbot had formed a scheme for the quieting or stopping the mouths of these turbulent ecclesiastics, the execution whereof depended on the concurrence of persons abroad, or on some orders from thence, probably from the court of Rome ; for I find he had thoughts of proceeding farther than St. Germain, upon proper recommendations from the queen, if her majesty approved the scheme. The marquis of Ormond had for eight months together been continually pressing the king to hasten over into Ireland, if possible, with succours, if not, without them ; being well assured that his presence, though it should not relieve their wants by real supplies of money, would make them much more supportable, 75 when he, for whom they were undergone, should be an

^a Z. 37—42, 111. Y. 474, 488. Z. 291, 326.

eyewitness of the cheerfulness of their sufferings ; and would infallibly remove the contentions that remained among such as pretended to serve him, or else leave those who made use of his name as much without ability to prejudice his interest, as they would be without excuse for their conduct. He had been so uneasy at the delays used in that affair, and the pretences advanced to procure those delays by persons averse to the measure proposed, that he could not forbear breaking through a rule, which he had proposed and ever before adhered to in his conduct, never to meddle out of the business of his own charge, and speaking his mind in relation to some alliances that were to be made, and some negotiations to be carried on, before his majesty repaired to Ireland, for the delay of which, they were probably set on foot. “ If (says he) by his majesty’s continuance abroad, there might be speedily contracted such an alliance as would give him ready and considerable supplies of money, with a constant stock of reputation and support, and in the mean time an earnest of the reality of such a treaty expressed by succouring his affairs now on foot, that were indeed an occasion worthy of his detention ; whatever inconveniences were suffered by his absence. This I mention, because I hear of two alliances now spoken of, one with Spain, the other with Sweden. What that of Spain may be, if the daughter of that crown be disposed of, I know not ; nor am I, who have looked little beyond the threshold of my charge, a competent discourser upon such mysteries of state ; yet I will venture to say, that I have heard much of the great dexterity (to call it no worse) of Spain in treaties, and observed their ministers both in England and here, countenancers of the late rebels of both kingdoms, more than any other. I am therefore afraid of their subtilty, as I am of their grave circumspection and delays ; which as the case stands with the king is not a less certain way of destroying all his hopes. What the power of Spain may

be, or how that power may be balanced by the dislike of France at such a match, I speak not of; no more than I do of the present plenty or power of Sweden. But if by the late peace with the emperor, that crown be as able as it is at leisure to undertake the king's quarrel, I should not only believe them a people more easily understood in a treaty, but the match more popular, and conducing to his majesty's main end, as they are protestants, and yet far from the equally destructive principles of sectaries and rigid presbyterians." Nothing can set in a stronger light the earnestness with which the marquis of Ormond desired, and the impatience with which he expected, the king's arrival in Ireland, than his thus intermeddling in other affairs, and making this representation to his majesty. The world hath in the earl of Clarendon's history an account of the Spanish treaty, and as it may gratify their curiosity to know the issue of the Swedish, for which the earl of Brentford was to make an overture, I shall add, that it produced in the August following a very civil answer from the queen, who in a letter to the king, assured him; "that the Scotch had pressed her to intercede for them to his majesty, but she had absolutely refused to do so, telling them she would not interpose between his majesty and his subjects; that she would join with any other prince in assisting him to recover his crown and just rights, but she desired him to forbear for that year to send her any ambassador extraordinary for some weighty reasons, arising from the situation of her own kingdom, where she was only designed, and not crowned queen."

118 The reasons for the king's coming still subsisted, but the alteration of affairs by the supplies which Jones had received, and by the blocking up of prince Rupert's squadron in Kinsale by the parliament fleet, had lessened much 76 the security of his passage, and the influence which his presence might have on Jones and his forces. Besides, if

Cromwell should come over, (as it was certified from good hands that he would,) though the lord lieutenant was not so much afraid of his force as of his money, and should fear both much less if Dublin were first taken, yet he was exceedingly apprehensive of the revolt of very many of the Irish, Scots, and English, if he brought money with him; whilst they had none but what they forced from that exhausted kingdom. On this account, in his great concern for the king's personal safety, he represented to him on July 18, "that in case Cromwell or any other were actually sent over furnished with large supplies of money, it was his humble sense that his majesty should not expose his person to the hazard and dishonour to which it might be exposed if he came utterly unprovided, but rather leave his servants to undergo the danger and struggle with the difficulties of affairs, at least till the event of Dublin was known, and the rebels' designs, touching the disposal of their fleet, then strong upon the coast, and the kingdom of Ireland, were discovered. In case the attempt upon Dublin succeeded, it was indeed necessary that his majesty should immediately come over to put his forces in action, for the total reduction of that kingdom, and the regaining of his other dominions. For idleness and want of action would minister occasions of division and quarrels between those that were but newly friends, and that still had such differing and incompatible hopes and interests as could never possibly be determined but by his majesty, nor by him safely, till he became a free and powerful umpire. It would not be difficult to put off this determination, if the forces were immediately put upon action; but action once ceased, that emulation, which spent itself at present in dispute who should do most and deserve the greatest reward, would then be turned, and proceed to a dangerous overvaluing of their services, and repining at any favours or bounties of his majesty, though dispensed with never so much justice and

equality. It behoved his majesty therefore to consider in time how to improve the conquest of Dublin and the reduction of the kingdom, and so to prepare for it by assistances from abroad and intelligence at home, that no time might be lost in employing the army; for whatever was the event of Dublin, which he wished his majesty to wait, and though the subduing of the rebels should be retarded, yet those preparations would not be wholly lost, but might be employed to that work in what proportion his majesty should think fitting.

- 119 Upon lord Inchiquin's return to the army, it was found upon a review to consist of seven thousand foot and about four thousand horse; which, though a considerable force, was not equal to the work of forming a regular siege of so large and populous a city as Dublin, defended by so numerous a garrison. A good body of troops from the north might have been a reinforcement sufficient for that purpose; but that country was no longer in a situation which allowed such a succour to be expected. Owen O'Neile, immediately upon the defeat of Ferral's party, was invited by sir C. Coote to his relief, with a promise of five thousand pounds for that service; which he effected not so much by his own strength, as by the defection of the forces of the besiegers. Soon after the murder of the late king, the presbytery of Belfast, following the example of their brethren in Scotland, declared loudly against that execrable act, and made horrible complaints of the danger of the kirk, which was going to be ruined, as monarchy had been destroyed, by the independents, contrary to the tenour of the covenant. That bond they now insisted should be renewed, and being supported by the officers of the army, tendered it to Monck and Coote, who, refusing to take it, all the north rose in arms, declaring against the English rebels and their measures, and made themselves masters of all the towns and places of strength in those parts, except the forts of Cullmore and 77

Derry. They proceeded with unanimity enough, till sir Robert Stewart, being come over with a commission from the king for the command of the five Laggan regiments, proclaimed his majesty with great solemnity in the camp before Derry. It came likewise to be known that the lord Montgomery of Ardes had a like commission from the king to be commander-in-chief of all the forces in Ulster, which he was to publish when he saw convenient. Sir G. Monroe had another commission of the like nature, and derived from the same authority. All these persons were known to be well affected to the king, and being likewise to receive orders from the marquis of Ormond, (who was as well known to be zealous for episcopacy, and to use constantly the English liturgy in his family,) it was presently imagined, that notwithstanding their declarations to advance the ends of the covenant, the real design was to restore the king, and with him the order of bishops. Many of the most zealous of the kirk were under the influence of Argyle, and bribed by the independents; and these taking advantage of the king's not having complied with the Scotch demands, nor taken and established the covenant, (without which he was not to be admitted to the regal power,) so inflamed the rest of their sect, that some officers deserted the service, and stood upon their defence against the lord Montgomery. These were soon reduced, but the presbytery meeting at Bangor on July 7, published a formal declaration against that lord for preferring the king before religion, for acting by a commission inconsistent with the covenant, and for joining with persons who favoured prelacy which they had sworn to extirpate, and who fomented the distance between his majesty and the kingdom of Scotland; forbidding all persons to pay any cess, or to obey any orders of the lord Montgomery and his adherents, and enjoining them to withdraw from and withstand their authority to the utmost of their power. All the people

of that country, as well as the officers and soldiers of the army, were bewitched by the covenant, and put an implicit faith in the ministers; and the forces before Derry being composed of Scots, great numbers of them dropped off every day, and quitted the army. The garrison within the town was reduced to great distress, and would probably have submitted to colonel Trevor, or any English general that should have attacked the place; but being all English, the antipathy between the two nations, strengthened by the ill usage which on former occasions they had received from the Scots, made them choose to endure any hardships rather than yield to any Scotch commander. This allowed time for sir C. Coote to make an agreement with O'Neile, and for this general to advance with his army to the relief of Derry. Lord Ardes and sir R. Stewart, being much weakened by the falling off [of] their men, raised the siege upon his approach, and retired into their own countries, (which were in great confusion,) endeavouring to recruit their forces. This was one of the unhappy consequences of the Irish commissioners' stiffness with regard to O'Neile. It proved very fatal to the king's affairs, and hindered the lord lieutenant from being reinforced by a body of troops which might have enabled him to reduce Dublin before the arrival of Cromwell, or made it difficult for that regicide to land his forces in that neighbourhood.

120 Dublin had hitherto been straitened only towards the north; to reduce it the sooner, it was now found necessary to encompass it on all sides. Pursuant therefore to the resolution of a council of war, on July 25, the lord Dillon of Costelagh was left with two thousand foot and five hundred horse to block it up on the north, and the lord lieutenant marching with the rest of the army cross the Liffy, encamped at Rathmines, proposing to raise a work on a point that lay to the east of the city, and was capable of being fortified so as to interrupt the entrance 78

of the river. But as the army was on their march thither, a strong gale brought to Dublin colonel Reynolds and Venables with near two thousand foot and six hundred horse, and supplies of money and all other necessities whereof the garrison stood in need. This wonderfully raised the spirits of the rebels within the town, and disheartened those that watched all opportunities to serve the king. In civil wars there are always on each side certain persons who give and convey intelligence to the other. Thus the same ships which brought over those succours to Jones, brought also intelligence from good hands out of England to the marquis of Ormond and lord Inchiquin, (with which the like advertisements out of Dublin agreed,) that the supply then landed at Dublin was all that was intended for that place, being deemed sufficient to defend it against the attacks of any army then in Ireland; and that Cromwell, who lay ready at Bristol to embark with a great army, designed to land in Munster, where it was well known there were many devoted to his party.

- 121 ^b Upon this intelligence a council of war was held on the 27th; at which, besides the lord lieutenant, were present the lord Inchiquin, the earl of Castlehaven, the lord Taaffe, general Preston, sir Arthur Aston, sir W. Vaughan, and major general Purcell. It was there considered, that Cromwell certainly had intelligence in Munster, and knew very well that almost all the men fit for service were drawn out of the province, which if lost, not only the best ports of the kingdom would fall into his hands, but his majesty's fleet then blocked up in Kinsale, by a superior number of the rebels' ships, would also be lost, and those parts of the kingdom, from whence the principal support for the army was drawn, would presently be mastered by him; so that if Dublin should be taken, which was very doubtful, and those parts be lost, which

^b Z. 28 and 389.

was very evident if he landed there, as they were then guarded, it would prove but an ill exchange; but if those places were lost, and Dublin not gained, the army must inevitably come to nothing, and the kingdom fall to the rebels without resistance. These considerations being urged, it was resolved that lord Inchiquin, with two regiments of horse and his own guards, almost as good as any other, should immediately march to secure that province.

- 122 It was next debated whether the blockade of Dublin should be continued, or the army retire from the neighbourhood of that city to Drogheda, Trim, and the adjacent garrisons; and from thence endeavour to distress the place, and make a defensive or offensive war as occasion should afterwards be offered. It was objected against a retreat, that it would make the people despair of the taking of Dublin; that they would account all that was done as good as nothing, unless that city were reduced; that they would never consider that the city was to be reduced by distressing and blocking it up, as surely and more securely than any other way, but taking the matter to be given over, and consequently despairing of the ease they expected by the total reduction of the kingdom, would grow more and more backward in their contribution, and perhaps be seduced to join with O'Neile to reject the peace and cast off his majesty's authority, which it was even then found was privately and under other pretences aimed at by some, who afterwards took advantage of the time to declare themselves without disguise. It was further urged, that unless Dublin were reduced before Cromwell landed with the force and treasure he had with him at the water-side, it was to be feared he would be able to corrupt many of the English. For these reasons it was resolved that the army should lie in its present camp, till Rathfarnham should be taken; and that done, should remove to a securer quarter at a place called 79

Drumnagh, not far from Kilmainham, (from whence an uninterrupted communication might be had with the party left on the north side of the river,) if after the taking of Rathfarnham there did not appear cause to alter that part of the determination. Rathfarnham was the next day taken by storm, and all the garrison made prisoners, the assailants shewing so much mercy, that though five hundred common men got in before any officer of note entered the place, not one of the besieged was put to the sword.

- 123 When it came to be known that the army was to retire, the officers and soldiers expressed much trouble, and seemed to believe the reducing of the town not to be a work of that difficulty as was pretended. The rebels' horse, which by the accession of new forces whilst the army lay at Finglass, were increased to one thousand two hundred, had no place to graze in but a meadow near the walls, there being no grass within the town, and no means of grazing on the north side by reason of the party under lord Dillon there posted. It was proposed to possess and fortify a place called Baggatrath very near adjoining to that meadow ; which, if effected, would have deprived them of the only pasture they had, and would have starved all their horse in five days' time. Besides, that place being once well fortified, it was easy from thence to approach so to the river side, that a work being cast up there, it would have been impossible for any further succour of men to be thrown into the place ; which possibly might so discourage the soldiers within, that they would in a few days force their officers to a treaty and surrender of the city. Before any resolution was taken, lord Castlehaven, general Preston, major general Purcell, and sir A. Aston were sent to view the place, and see if it was capable of being so strengthened in one night's work as to secure the party to be there posted. They returned, approving the place, as in all respects fit for the purpose. Orders hereupon were given to Purcell to command thi-

ther in the beginning of the night one thousand five hundred foot, (the number advised by those who had viewed the ground,) with materials to fortify. He accordingly began as soon as it was dark to march with that party, but met with so ill guides, that though it was within half a mile of the leaguer, he did not get thither a full hour before day. ^cP. Walsh says that Edmund Reilly, who had carried on the treaty between Jones, Antrim, and O'Neile, then vicar-general of Dublin, and afterwards titular archbishop of Armagh, betrayed the royal camp at Rathmines to Jones, which he pleaded by way of merit, when in 1653 he was under prosecution for being the chief author of the burning of the black castle of Wicklow, and of murdering those in it during the cessation; and thereby saved his life. He does not say in what particular this treachery consisted; but it is not improbable that it lay in instructing the guides (who were under his spiritual charge, and could hardly mistake the way) to mislead the party ordered on a work so likely to hasten the reduction of Dublin.

- 124 The marquis of Ormond sat up all that night, as well to be ready in case the enemy should sally, as to finish some despatches he was making to France. As soon as day broke he rode down to Baggatrath, where he found the place of itself not so strong as he expected, nor the work at all advanced; and strong parties of the enemy drawn out under their works, yet hiding themselves the best they could behind some houses at Lowsy-hill, and in an hollow betwixt Baggatrath and the Strand. Hereupon he considered whether he had best go on with the work, or draw off his men. The former could not be done, nor the men drawn off without great danger, but by drawing the whole army to support them; and in doing that, their work might be as well countenanced as their retreat. This made him call Purcell and sir W. Vaughan, 80

^c History of Remonstrance, p. 609.

the major generals of horse and foot ; and shewing them where he would have the horse and foot drawn, desired them accordingly to see it done, telling them and all the officers then about him, that he was confident Jones would hazard all to interrupt what once effected would give him so much annoyance. With these orders he left them, determining to refresh himself with a little sleep for the action he expected, and in the way to his tent caused all the regiments to stand to their arms, to be ready to make head against Jones if he made a sally, which he did soon after with a body of four thousand foot and one thousand two hundred horse, a force very near equal to the whole army of the Irish, if it had been all engaged.

125 It was about nine of the clock when the marquis got to his tent ; and he had not slept above an hour when he was awaked by volleys of shot, which he took to be much nearer him than Baggatrath. However, before he got an hundred yards from his tent, all those whom he had left working were beaten out of their post, and Jones had routed sir W. Vaughan, who died bravely in the head of his men, and after him divers parties of horse drawn up in closes, into which the enemy could not come to them, but through gaps and in files. This was the right wing of the army, and it was not long before the marquis saw it wholly defeated, and numbers of the soldiers running away towards the hills of Wicklow, where some of them were born and bred, and whither they knew the way but too well. He thereupon went to the battle, consisting of lord Inchiquin's foot commanded by colonel Giffard, with whose assistance he put them into the best posture he could, and desired his brother and colonel Miles Reily to stand in a field next these foot, where he left them till he should either come or send them orders. They were either forced thence or drawn off by some apparent advantage ; and soon after the marquis perceived the enemy's horse had gotten round, and was going

through a lane close by Giffard's foot, (where he stood,) to meet a party of their own foot that were coming up in the front of Giffard's men, who gave them a good fire, and so disordered them, that had not the two regiments before mentioned, which had been planted in the field for that purpose, quitted their ground, but had charged those disordered horse in the rear, it is probable they would have been driven over their foot. Through that defect, when they came to their foot, they rallied by them, and together with them advanced against the marquis's *battaile*, who were by this time environed, another party of the enemy, both horse and foot, being then coming behind them into the field where they stood, so that they were enclosed between two fires. At this, and at the running away of Reily's regiment, Giffard's men were so discouraged, that they fought no more, but seemed inclinable to accept the quarter which the enemy offered. The marquis of Ormond seeing this, leaped over a ditch, and endeavoured to get to his left wing, hoping to find it firm. But they had too soon apprehended and too well seen how the world went with the right wing and *battaile*. There was a great reserve of the enemy standing all this while, and facing them, which was the reason why the marquis did not draw them to the assistance of the rest of the army; and that made them think their case desperate, so that they ran away without once firing upon the enemy, and against their officers' utmost endeavours. The marquis made a shift to rally some of them; but when he advanced a step towards the enemy, they broke away behind him, even upon the sight of their own men running away, taking them for part of Jones's army. When he had endeavoured several times and in several places to bring them on, and was still thus served, he gave it over, and immediately sent notice of the disaster to the forces under lord Dillon on the other side of the Liffy, (who knew nothing of what was done till the action

was over,) with orders for colonel Warren to march with 81 his regiment to Trim, and colonel Wall with his to Drogheda, for the security of those places, which he imagined would be soon attacked by Jones. The lord Taaffe getting to that body, found them in arms, and would fain have persuaded them to attempt a recovery of the day, whilst the enemy was in disorder, taken up with plunder; but the terror and fright was so universal, that he could not prevail with them to take so generous a resolution, or to do any thing but to provide for their own security. The fate of the English that day was to be, most of them, either slain or taken prisoners. A small party of them under colonel Wogan got a great reputation for their behaviour, who, being gotten together, defended themselves so gallantly, and with so much resolution against the whole power of the enemy, that at last, after a great slaughter, they made conditions for themselves, before they could be forced to yield or lay down arms. In this engagement, which happened on Aug. 2, colonel Richard Butler was wounded, and taken prisoner with the earl of Fingall, three hundred officers, and one thousand five hundred common soldiers. Most of Inchiquin's men afterwards enlisted themselves under Jones. ^dThere were not above six hundred, as well officers as soldiers, killed in this action, and of those more than half were put to the sword an hour after they had upon promise of quarter laid down their arms, and some even after they were within the walls of the town. All the plunder of the camp, with the artillery, tents, and baggage, fell into the enemy's hands. The defeat was owing chiefly to the inexpertness of a great many of the Irish officers, (who were named by the commissioners, not always for their military skill,) and the rawness of their soldiers, not kept in garrisons nor continually exercised as Jones's were, and to the panic terror which seized the Irish horse, who

^d Z. 369 and 391.

quitted the field upon sir W. Vaughan's being killed in the first charge, so early that very few of them were lost, and could never afterwards be brought to rally, notwithstanding all the marquis of Ormond's endeavours, who thought it very feasible with them by a resolute onset to recover the day. The marquis, who had received a musket shot on his armour, the goodness of which prevented its being fatal, seeing nothing could be done, quitted the field; and so great was the terror of the horse, that in twelve miles' riding he was not able to get any considerable number of them together. With the few he had rallied, he came before the fort of Ballysonan, and finding means to make the governor believe that Dublin was surrendered, he by this stratagem got that important place into his hands. He went the next day to Kilkenny, to rally what he could of the army, to raise what new forces he was able, and to make the best provision that was possible for defence of the places he had gained in the campaign. Having appointed a rendezvous of the forces, he set out from Kilkenny the day seven night after the defeat, and marched with three hundred horse to Trim, from whence he sent a supply of money to Drogheda. Jones had invested the place, but upon knowledge of the lord lieutenant's approach raised the siege, and retired with his army to Dublin.

- 126 The greatest loss, because the most difficult to be repaired, sustained in the defeat, was that of the ordnance and arms. ^eThe most terrible effect of it was the dejection it brought upon the best inclined, and the advantage it afforded to others to work upon the fears of the people. The loss of men was much easier to be supplied than it was to find money to pay, or means to support them. The city of Limerick, now applied to for money, pleaded inability, and offered only a hundred pounds. Wexford refused to furnish any. Galway had not yet

^e Z. 121, 122, 161, and 164.

paid in half the loan which they had agreed to in March of five thousand pounds, and now the plague being brought thither by infected goods from Spain, made such havock ⁸² in the town, that nothing could be expected from it, and so dispersed itself over the province of Connaught, that the marquis of Clanrickard, who, for fear of O'Neile, had not been able to send any forces to the siege of Dublin, was thereby deprived of all means to draw an army together, either to act alone, or to join with any other, lest the plague which made such spoil whilst they were asunder, should make a still greater destruction when the forces were all together. There were several regiments that had been left in the King and Queen's Counties and in that of Westmeath to oppose O'Neile, if he should attempt to make a diversion in those parts during the siege of Dublin. These the lord lieutenant caused to march to Trim, and summoned from every quarter all the forces that could be got together, resolving to make a second attempt upon Dublin; which enterprise now appeared to him more feasible than ever before, or than he could have imagined after so unlucky a dispersion of his majesty's forces. Far from being discouraged by the late disaster, he did not question (if any thing diverted the forces designed to come with Cromwell into Ireland) but to be master of the whole kingdom before spring.

- ¹²⁷ He had the greater reason to hope this, because he began to be easy with regard to O'Neile, and to think that he might not only be able to make use of the forces which had been hitherto employed to watch his motions, but also have the assistance of his army. 'He had been much concerned at the commissioners' unseasonable obstinacy in not complying with that general's demands; and having privately renewed the treaty, had given him satisfaction so far, as that in his last answer he professed that nothing hindered his present submission to the king's

¹ Z. 145, 154, 170, 171, 184, 205, 216, 217, 222, 232, 234, 382, and 384.

authority, but a cessation he had then made with Monk ; which was to expire on August 8, six days after the rout at Rathmines. O'Neile found there was no dependance on the faith of the parliament of England, nor any room to expect favourable conditions from them, they having rejected his propositions, disavowed the agreement made with him by Monck in their name, and censured that officer for his presumption in a transaction which was necessary for his safety, and highly to the advantage of their affairs. This made O'Neile think it was time to provide for himself and his forces by some other means ; and just before the defeat of Rathmines, he had signified to sir Luke Fitzgerald that he was ready to renew the treaty. Sir Luke and sir R. Barnewall were empowered by the lord lieutenant to treat with him, but they were either so infirm or so intent on the preservation of their private interest, that they did not care to go to the farthest parts of Ulster, where O'Neile then lay with his forces. The marquis of Ormond was thereupon obliged himself to write to him, and send powers to the bishop of Raphoe and colonel Mervyn to settle the terms of his submission. The latter of these, more intent on his own safety than the king's service, and imagining that the kingdom would soon be reduced by Cromwell, gave himself no trouble about the commission, but went to Derry and made his peace with sir C. Coote. The bishop repaired to O'Neile's camp, in the neighbourhood of that place, and was received with great respect ; yet brought back nothing but assurances from him that he would enter into a treaty as soon as he was removed from thence, (for it did not become him to treat in sir Charles's quarters,) and in the mean time his forces should not commit any hostilities, nor do any act to the prejudice of the king's service. The marquis of Ormond not liking these delays, which were almost as ruinous to his majesty's affairs as an open enemy could be, and in hopes that by the conjunction of

his forces he might be able to defeat Cromwell's measures if he should offer to lay siege to any place, sent 83 Daniel O'Neile on Aug. 27 to finish the treaty thus begun with his uncle, and to engage him to march immediately with his forces to join the king's army. Two religious, Talbot and Nugent, coming from abroad, whither the latter had been sent by him with some instructions relating to him, in whom they both pretended to have great interest, were sent after Daniel, but with orders to do nothing in their treaty but with the other's approbation. Daniel found Owen at Ballikelly, twelve miles to the east of Derry, determined to agree with the lord lieutenant, and hopeful to join him with an army of six thousand foot and five hundred horse. All the chief officers of that army were very zealous for that conjunction, and none more so than Emer Mac Mahon the titular bishop of Clogher, who was very industrious in answering the objections of such as were averse to it, and found an expedient of taking off the nuncio's excommunication, without any examination of the matter, for the better union of the Irish, and healing of those divisions which threatened the ruin of their country. But he was still detained in those parts by the delays of Coote in performing his part of the contract for the relief of Derry, and by a defluxion in his knee, which was so extremely painful, that he could neither ride nor endure to be carried in an horse litter. ¶ This complaint was imputed to poison, not from sir C. Coote's entertainment of him and his principal officers in a very sumptuous manner at Derry, but from a pair of russet leather boots, sent him as a present from a gentleman of the name of Pluncket in the county of Louth, who afterwards boasted that he had done the English an eminent piece of service by despatching O'Neile out of the world. This illness hindered his march till Sept. 20, when he decamped from Ballikelly,

and advanced into the county of Cavan, much slower by reason of his illness than otherwise he would have done. This occasioned so much delay, that the articles of the treaty were not perfected till Oct. 12, notwithstanding the earnest desire of Owen O'Neile to finish it, pursuant to the declaration which he made to his officers of his resolution to conclude it, as soon as he heard of the action at Rathmines. The marquis of Ormond had always used great frankness in his treaties with him, and had a very advantageous opinion, as well of his honour, constancy, and good sense, as of his military skill ; from which he proposed as much advantage to the king's affairs as he did from the force of his troops. But Owen did not live to perform the services expected from him, dying at Cloghouter on the 6th of November following, and being buried in the old abbey at Cavan.

128 Whatever designs the marquis of Ormond, in confidence of O'Neile's resolution to submit, and the conjunction of his forces, had formed upon Dublin, they were all defeated by Cromwell's landing there on or about Aug. 15, with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, two hundred thousand pounds in money, and a vast quantity of all kinds of ammunition and necessaries for war. The making of preparations for this expedition, the suppressing of the levellers, the unwillingness of the soldiers to go into Ireland, where all the forces hitherto sent had been left in a starving condition, and some difficulty in point of shipping, were the occasions of his arriving so late, that it began to be questioned whether he would come over at all. He intended once to land in Munster, but the action at Rathmines, the knowledge of lord Inchiquin's being there ready to oppose him, and the necessity of recovering some garrisons about Dublin, for want of which the forces within that city would soon be reduced to great extremity, made him alter his measures, and resolve to land at Dublin. The scene was

now altered, and the war which the lord lieutenant was to make could be only defensive, till the rebels should meet with a check in some enterprise, and his own men⁸⁴ by discipline and rest might recover their spirits, and forget the fear they had contracted of the enemy. Drogheda being the most exposed of any of the frontier towns, and of great consequence as opening a communication with the north, seemed to be the place on which Cromwell would make his first attempt. He took care therefore to have the works and fortifications repaired, as well as the shortness of the time would permit; placed in it sir Arthur Aston, as experienced and gallant a governor as could be wished, gave him the number of men he desired, which was two thousand foot and three hundred horse, all choice men and good soldiers, with very many gentlemen and officers of good reputation, and furnished him with the full proportion of ammunition and other provisions that he demanded. Drogheda thus provided, the marquis of Ormond retired to Tecroghan to assemble his forces, and thence came forward to Portlester, to be within distance to relieve the place; which, it was hoped, would make so vigorous a defence, as to keep the enemy before it a considerable time, and lessen their numbers by the attacks, hardships, and inconveniences of a siege. But Cromwell did not allow him time to be joined by lord Inchiquin, (who was now sent for from Munster, which was no longer in danger,) nor to get his other forces together.

- ¹²⁹ Cromwell came before Drogheda on Sept. 3, with all his power, having sent his cannon and victual by sea. After lying still before it near a week, he began on Sunday the 9th to batter the place, and having continued the battery from that time till Tuesday about four in the afternoon, a large breach was made near St. Mary's church, which he judged assaultable. The assault was given, and his men twice repulsed; but in the third

attack, colonel Wall being unhappily killed at the head of his regiment, his men were so dismayed thereby, as to listen, before they had any need, to the enemy offering them quarter, admitting them upon those terms, and thereby betraying themselves and their fellow-soldiers to the slaughter. All the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army promised quarter to such as would lay down their arms, and performed it as long as any place held out, which encouraged others to yield. But when they had once all in their power, and feared no hurt that could be done them, Cromwell being told by Jones that he had now all the flower of the Irish army in his hands, gave orders that no quarter should be given; so that his soldiers were forced, many of them against their will, to kill their prisoners. The brave governor sir A. Aston, sir Edm. Verney, the colonels Warren, Fleming, and Byrne, were killed in cold blood; and indeed all the officers, except some few of least consideration, that escaped by miracle. The marquis of Ormond, in his^h letters to the king and lord Byron, says, "that on this occasion Cromwell exceeded himself, and any thing he had ever heard of in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity; and that the cruelties exercised there for five days after the town was taken, would make as many several pictures of inhumanity, as are to be found in the book of martyrs, or in the relation of Amboyna."

130 This was certainly an execrable policy in that regicide; but it had the effect he proposed. It spread abroad the terror of his name; it cut off the best body of the Irish troops, and disheartened the rest to such a degree, that it was a greater loss in itself, and much more fatal in its consequences, than the rout at Rathmines. The marquis of Ormond immediately upon news of the massacre and loss of Drogheda, gave orders for the burning and quitting of Trim and Dundalk; but fear had so possessed the

^h Z. 369 and 389.

garrisons of those towns, that they did not execute their orders, nor destroy the fortifications in the manner they were particularly directed by those orders, so that the enemy thought it worth their while to possess them, and 85 put garrisons into both places. He expected soon to be joined by lord Inchiquin with a good party of horse and foot from Munster, and by lord Ardes with a like number from Ulster, but he had neither money to pay them, nor provision to keep them together for so much as one day. The commissioners of trust were dispersed, and the collectors employed by them not so diligent as they should have been in getting in either corn or money. In this distress the lord lieutenant issuing out warrants for raising both, it was complained of by the commissioners as a breach of the articles of the treaty, and they talked among themselves of treating with the enemy. They were a very unhappy clog upon his authority, which was so precarious and restrained among the Irish, that he could do nothing without their concurrence; nor take almost any measures for the safety of the kingdom without their approbation. What seemed most advisable to be done in the present situation of affairs was, to put the forces into garrisons for securing the most considerable places, and, as winter was now approaching, to prosecute the levies of men, and by good discipline and constant exercise, endeavour to recover their spirits against the spring. The lord lieutenant could not make any new garrisons nor change old governors without the consent of the commissioners, and these had not power or credit enough with the chief cities and corporations, the most likely to be attempted by the rebels, either to force or persuade them to receive garrisons. Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick declared openly they would admit of no soldiers; nor would they obey any other orders that were sent them further than they saw fit themselves.

131 Thus were all things running into confusion. To prevent it, and to provide a remedy against many other evils, which he had too much reason to apprehend, the marquis of Ormond could think of no means likely to be so effectual as the king's coming into Ireland, which would put an end to the power of the commissioners, and would (if any thing could) unite the whole nation in his service. His majesty having on the tenth of June caused his servants with his baggage to embark in Holland, and set sail for Munster, left the Hague soon after, and came to St. Germain near Paris, intending after a stay of eight days to proceed on his journey to Irelandⁱ. A fair lady, or the endeavours of those about him who were for his agreeing with the Scots, detained him in that place near three months, till after he had received the news of the defeat at Rathmines, and the landing of Cromwell. This did not alter the king's own resolution of going to Ireland; he thought his honour was concerned, and obliged him to put himself in action, and run the common danger with his subjects. All that kept him in suspense was, the advice he had lately received from the lord lieutenant against his immediate coming, till the event of the siege of Dublin were known, and the difficulty of finding a safe passage into the kingdom^k. He resolved therefore to send colonel H. Warren and Mr. Henry Seymour, gentlemen of his bedchamber, to Ireland, to desire from the marquis of Ormond a true state of the affairs of that kingdom, and his opinion with regard to his expedition thither. Mr. Seymour carried with him the George and riband or garter for the marquis, whom the king, on Sept. 18 N. S. had named, together with Edward prince palatine and the duke of Buckingham, knights and companions of the most noble order of the garter. From this time

ⁱ Memoirs of King James II. in the Scotch college at Paris.

^k Z. 262, 325, 348, 349, 368, 369.

he wore the riband, star, St. George's cross, and other badges of the order, though he was not installed nor invested with the habit till after the king's restoration, when this ceremonial part of the honour was performed⁸⁶ on April 15, 1661. Presently after Mr. Seymour's departure, the king set out for Jersey, to be so much the nearer Ireland, in case he should be advised to go over thither. The lord lieutenant was now entirely of opinion that it was absolutely necessary he should. For though his majesty's personal safety was as much or more subject to danger by the rebels' successes, and by the effects which those successes produced, of disloyalty in some, and of discouragement upon all; yet when he considered how improbable, if not impossible, it was to keep up any show of his authority in the kingdom without his own presence; how likely it was that his own being there might do it, and how much more it would be for his honour, in the worst event, to have done his uttermost to support the justice of his cause, than that it should with any colour of truth be said he was wanting to himself; he could not but declare his judgment to be entirely for the king's hastening over with all the speed that was consistent with his safety at sea. Prince Rupert, and every body whom the marquis thought fit to consult with on this subject, agreed with him entirely in this judgment; the reasons of which may perhaps be best expressed in the very words of his letter to the king on Sept. 27, O. S.:

¹³² "Your majesty's commands, in your message by colonel Warren, and in your letters, were, to give you an account of the present state of affairs here, and my opinion touching your majesty's coming into this kingdom. The first, sir, is briefly thus: The rebels are strong in their numbers, exalted with success, abundantly provided with all necessaries, likely to want for nothing that England can afford them, and in the pride of all this, are either marched out, or ready to march, to pursue their victories.

On the other side, to withstand them, our numbers are inferior, discouraged with misfortunes, hardly and uncertainly provided for, the people weary of their burdens, wavering in their affections, through the advantage taken to pervert them by those who are disloyally inclined, and our towns defenceless against any considerable attempt. After such a stating of our condition, your majesty may wonder, that I, who in my opinion concerning the hazarding of your person into this kingdom was doubtful, or rather plainly against it, only upon fallible resolutions taken of Cromwell's coming over, before the defeat near Dublin, which made easy the better half of his work in this kingdom, and before the loss of Drogheda, with above two thousand of our best foot and above two hundred horse, should now change my opinion, and hold it absolutely necessary for your majesty to appear here in person.

- 133 “ This seeming preposterous change proceeds, not from a less care of your majesty's safety, but from a greater desire of your glory, consisting in your being restored to your kingdoms by the blessing of God, upon your immediate conduct of your affairs and armies ; for which by a special providence they seem to be reserved, and without which, it is evident not only to me, but to all that for faith or judgment I held capable of such a debate, that this kingdom will very shortly cast off all signs of obedience to your majesty, and revert to the condition it was in when your majesty commanded me hither; or rather to a much worse. For all such as have contributed towards the restitution of your majesty's government in the conclusion of the last peace, and would persevere to the end in their loyalty, will now infallibly in the first place be singled and marked out for destruction. So that if your majesty conceive the preservation of any footing in this kingdom may be at any time necessary towards the recovery of your other two, it can (reasonably speaking) be no other way hoped for, than by your presence ; and by that it may. When there was a possibility of reducing the kingdom without this, or any personal hazard to your majesty ; and that by the reduction 87 of it, your majesty might have had no more to do, but to command the transportation of an army hence for any design, more worthy the venture of your person, than this then seemed to be, and that I saw it was needful to put something upon unequal trial, rather than abide the threatened invasion ; I held it my duty to dissuade your majesty from coming in at the end of our

success, when it was to be feared the formidable forces then designed, and since come against us, would give a check to it. But now that the rebels are so exalted in their pride, even as high as success and the lowest contempt of an enemy can raise them, it will be ruin to them, if the progress of their arms be but stopped, and to your majesty's infinite honour to have attempted it with such disadvantage, whatever the event be. Yet I should not dare to advise the purchase of it at so desperate a rate, nor your coming into this kingdom, if I did not believe your majesty may have as safe a residence here and retreat hence, as I conceive that in or from Jersey to be."

- 134 The parliament fleet having, now their forces were landed in Ireland, done all that was proposed in the blocking up of prince Rupert at Kinsale, quitted their station, and left him a free passage by sea. The marquis of Ormond took great pains to fit out that squadron, and supply it with seamen and provisions, that it might sail to Jersey to fetch over the king. But by the time that his letter arrived in that island, other measures were taken. Means had been used to remove the old counsellors from about the king; lord Colepepper was sent on an embassy to Muscovy, to demand of the czar the payment of a sum of money which had been lent to that crown, by the king's grandfather, or by others of his procurement. Lord Digby, and sir E. Nicholas, and the earl of Bristol, not having been in Holland with the king, had not been sworn of his council after his father's death. Of those that were sworn, lord Hatton was designed for Sweden, but queen Christina's letter before mentioned put a stop to that embassy, and he did not attend the king to Jersey. The design of the Spanish embassy was to get money from that crown, (for which purpose, if a match was necessary, it was to be settled,) and the lord treasurer Cottington was for that reason, as well as others, the fittest person; but when he was named, it was suggested to be expedient to have another joined with him, who might, if the succours of money were obtained, be

sent away with what was necessary for the service of Ireland. For this reason sir E. Hyde, much contrary to his inclinations, was appointed, both as being the only person with whom Cottington cared to be joined, and as an intimate friend of the marquis of Ormond. They were designed for this employment near six months before, though they did not set out from Paris till Oct. 1. The departure of sir Edward Hyde was very convenient for the purposes of the Scots, he perfectly understood all their cant, and unravelled the meaning of their affected sayings and pretences, so that they wrought nothing upon the king's mind, nor ever met with a reception from the council. The king determined to adhere to his father's friends and principles, and never to deviate from the instructions which he had received in his last letter from the Isle of Wight. But as soon as sir Edward was gone to Spain, the earl of Lothian, with other deputies from the parliament of Scotland, came over into France, with propositions of a like nature with those that had been before rejected, and succeeded in their negotiation. His majesty agreed to their propositions, resolved to go into Scotland, and laid aside all thoughts of his Irish expedition. It would have been less unhappy if this had been the worst consequence of that step of his majesty's, and of the wretched politics of those about his person, who advised him to sacrifice his honour and principle to what⁸⁸ they called his interest. The king in his present situation had nothing in a manner to lose but his reputation, which, depending on his own conduct, could not be taken from him but by himself; yet they prevailed with him to give it up, by deserting his own and his father's best friends, by an act of foul ingratitude, in a country where his grandfather, the great Henry IV. of France, had recovered the crown more by the fairness of his character, and the opinion generally entertained of his gratitude and honour, than by all the admirable talents

with which he was endowed. The king detested the covenant, and all the ends for which it was calculated; yet he was persuaded to take it, and to consent to the establishment of it in all his dominions; so early was he embarked in a course of hypocrisy very unnatural to a young man, and brought to disclaim openly those principles which his father had instilled into him with so much care. A man that acts contrary to his real sentiments can never bear reflection; and this seems to have laid the foundation of that unthinking kind of life which afterwards his majesty too much observed.

- 135 Cromwell, to lose no time in extending his conquest in Ireland¹, sent two days after the storm of Drogheda, colonel Chidley Coote, with his own and M. Jones's regiments of horse, and Castle's of foot, to take possession of Dundalk. This party marching all night, came thither the next morning, and found the place quitted by the enemy; so that major Ponsonby being put in it with a small garrison, the rest returned to the army. A day or two after, Cromwell seeing the divisions of the Ulster Scots, being sure of a strong party among them, and thinking he had a favourable opportunity of reducing the greatest part of the north, whither he was invited by many of them, sent the same party, with Venables's regiment of foot, and two troops of dragoons, under the command of that colonel, to make the attempt. Two great guns for battery, and victuals, were sent by sea in a man-of-war to attend upon the party during the expedition. The first place they attacked was Carlingford, and the same day they came before it the ship entered the harbour, and passed the fort which lies at the mouth of it without any prejudice, though several shot were made at her as she passed. That night Venables encamped in the fields on the south of the town, and the

¹ Major Meredith's relation in the bishop of Clogher's MSS. No. III. and Z. 386.

next day preparations were made to land the cannon and raise a battery; but before either was done, the garrison beat a parley and surrendered upon articles. The day following Venables took Jones's regiment, and marched by the water side under the mountain to the Newry, passing the river at a ford a mile below the town. The residue of the party was left with colonel Coote on the other side of the mountain with the carriages. The same evening that Venables came thither, the governor of the Newry came out to treat with him; and matters were so near being concluded between them, that the horse were admitted to march through the town, to pass the bridge and quarter on the other side of the water, where there was most conveniency. The next day the castle surrendered upon articles; and Venables rested there three days longer, till the coming up of the rest of his party. In that time there came a cornet and two or three more from Lisnegarvy with assurances, that if he advanced, the place would immediately surrender.

136 Upon this invitation, leaving an ensign and some few men in the castle, he marched from the Newry, and lay the first night at Dromore. Success made the officers and soldiers careless, and kept off all thoughts of danger from an enemy they despised. They encamped in a field south-west of the town, by the highway side, well enclosed with hedges, not having intelligence of any enemy being near them. But about three hours after they were encamped, advertisement came from Dundalk, that colo- 89
nel Mark Trevor was attending them with a considerable party of horse, and resolved to fall on them before morning. Upon this intelligence orders were sent for the horse to draw into the foot quarters, which were an enclosed field, on the outside of which the horse lay. But the orders being only cursorily given, and no general alarm in the camp, little notice was taken thereof, either through the negligence of him that carried or of those that

gave the orders; for it is certain they were not known to half the horse, and the dragoons never heard of them at all. This omission had like to have proved the utter ruin of the whole party, and was the chief cause of most of the loss which they sustained afterwards. Trevor had, agreeable to the intelligence, coasted them all the day on the left hand, and by the scouts which he kept on the tops of the hills, whilst his party marched in the bottom, had certain intelligence of their motion. To be still more certain of their situation, he sent when it grew dark some of his men to the outside of their quarter, who having viewed the order of their quartering, returned with an account of it to their party. Trevor resolved to attack the enemy, and accordingly an hour before day the next morning he fell upon their quarter, finding little or no resistance. There were scouts abroad, but they were pursued so close, that Trevor's men came as soon as they to the guard, which without any dispute was routed and pursued through the quarter. This so sudden rout of the guard had the like influence on all the camp, which being in no order to receive an enemy or defend themselves, judged of their own condition by that of their fellows, and fell to a total rout.

- 137 Had colonel Trevor's orders been observed, this whole party of two regiments of horse, as many of foot, and two troops of dragoons, would have been lost; which would have been such a weakening of Cromwell's force, and such a loss of reputation too, that it might have defeated all his measures. But several accidents contributed to save the rebels, who never could have recovered from their rout but for the situation of the place; which being encompassed with a very strong hedge in most parts, and a bog behind it, they could not readily find a way to get off; otherwise they had dispersed themselves all over the country, and been knocked on the head by the peasants, (who were all their enemies,) or

picked up by the party that surprised them. The morning proving extraordinary dark, contributed a good deal to this effect, and was of great service in another respect by keeping the enemy ignorant of their advantage. Trevor stood with the gross of his horse (which in all were about five hundred) on an adjoining hill, judging by the small resistance which he had heard made, that the rebels had been totally defeated by the first party which he had detached to attack them, and would thereby be so kept from rallying that he should have nothing to do when it was day but to pick up a scattered party, wholly strangers to the country. But that party who were ordered, in case they got into the quarter, to stay there and not pursue, but to keep the rebels from rallying, had, contrary to their orders, followed the pursuit of the guard, and so left the enemy, though all dispersed, to recollect themselves, and form into a body. The day breaking, Venables's men were sooner sensible of their own miscarriage than the king's troops could be, being drawn up at a distance from them. The rebels perceiving themselves in so great disorder, made the greater haste to unite; and having very suddenly rallied about fifty horse, drew them up on a small rising ground within the field of their encampment. Hereupon, those who had before hid themselves in holes and ditches, immediately took up their arms again, and repaired to the others; so that before it was so light that colonel Trevor's men could discern what the enemy was doing, or what was become of them, they had rallied four or five small bodies of horse, and an handsome party of⁹⁰ four hundred foot, all ashamed of what had passed, and eager to redeem their miscarriages by presently falling on the enemy. Other troops of their party joining them, they after a sharp dispute forced colonel Trevor to retire towards the Bann, and recovered major Viller and captain Usher, with other prisoners, and two standards that

had been taken by major Chatfield, in his attack upon the camp, and carried by him into the town of Dromore. Venables being saved by these accidents, advanced that very day (Sept. 27) to Lisnegarvy, where major Bruffe joining him with a troop of horse of the country, he marched to Belfast, which within four days surrendered upon articles. Colerane was about the same time betrayed to sir C. Coote, who falling into the counties of Down and Antrim, forced sir G. Monroe to retire from thence, and made himself master of the country, except the castle of Carrickfergus, which was besieged; so that there being no longer any occasion for such a body of horse in those parts, Jones's regiment was sent back to reinforce Cromwell's army.

- 138 The season of the year was rather too late to make it advisable for that general to undertake any considerable enterprise. But he depended so much upon the correspondences he held in Munster, that he was resolved to make his way thither at any rate, and, notwithstanding the disadvantages of the season, did not question doing it by force either of arms or of money. ^m For this purpose he had intelligence both in the town of Wexford and the fort of Duncannon, and resolved to make an attempt upon these places. To avoid all obstructions in his march, and to be well supplied with provisions, he took his way through the county of Wicklow by the sea side; his fleet all the while attending upon the motions of the army, which consisted of seven thousand foot and two thousand horse and dragoons. To provide against all accidents, and engage the country to supply him with all necessaries, he published, before he left Dublin, a proclamation, forbidding his soldiers on pain of death to hurt any of the inhabitants, or take any thing from them without paying for it in ready money. This being strictly observed, and assurances given that they were for the

^m Z. 235, 358, 380, 386, 393, 400, and 417.

liberties of the commoners; that every body should enjoy the liberty of their religion; that those who served the market at the camp should pay no contribution; all the country people flocked to his camp with all kind of provisions; and due payment being made for the same, his army was much better supplied than ever any of the Irish had been. Cromwell having in his march taken Arcklow, Ferns, and Enniscorthy, came with his army on Oct. 1 before Wexford. The marquis of Ormond had advice sent him that Cromwell had intelligence within this place and Duncannon, and that both would be betrayed into his hands. He had given notice thereof on Aug. 28 to the commissioners, but they made slight of the caution, and relied entirely on the care of the governor of the fort in the one case, and on the mayor and corporation in the other. These had refused to admit any garrison into Wexford, the inhabitants whereof were so dismayed at Cromwell's fleet appearing before the harbour on Sept. 29, and so angry at the lord Castlehaven, (who had been sent by the lord lieutenant to view the place and provide for its defence,) his having the day before put (a person whom they did not like, though the mayor had chose him as a confidant of the bishop of Ferns) David Sinnot, lieutenant colonel of Preston's regiment, over them as a governor, that if sir Edmond Butler had not luckily come himself, they would have opposed Sinnot's entrance with his men, and have delivered up the town to the enemy at the first summons. This terror was in a great measure owing to the suggestions of Hugh Rochfort the lawyer, recorder of the town, who, having been a violent partisan of the nuncio's, ⁹¹ was now a correspondent with Cromwell, by the canal of Mr. Nicholas Loftus, who had formerly lived in that country, was still owner of a good estate in it, and was at this instant a very active instrument in engaging all the inhabitants thereof to be subservient to Cromwell's

purposes. Rochfort carried on the same work with greater artifice, pretending still to be zealous for the Irish cause; and having done all he could to intimidate the townsmen of Wexford, and persuade them to capitulate, quitted the place upon Cromwell's approach, and retired with his goods and effects to the fort of Passage; letting them see by that action his own terror, and inviting them to follow his example, in a juncture when their fears might be supposed to have the greatest influence on their conduct.

- 139 The town was capable of being made very strong at a small expense, but the corporation had too long deferred the making of provision for their defence. The marquis of Ormond however resolved to leave no means unattempted for the preservation of the place, and with that view marched to the Graig with his forces, which were by this time come from Portlester, and were somewhat more considerable by the access of three hundred horse and one thousand foot, which the marquis of Clanrickard had sent to his assistance out of Connaught, under the conduct of major general Luke Taaffe. He was likewise joined on Sept. 30 by two regiments of lord Inchiquin's horse, but could not tell whether he should think himself the stronger for that reinforcement, those men having taken all opportunities of deserting to the enemy after the loss of Drogheda, (upon which major Wentworth and a captain of horse had first gone off with several of their troops,) and there being too just grounds to suspect their fidelity. Inchiquin was hindered from coming himself by a conspiracy of his own officers, in which he had reason to think too many of them were engaged, though he could never discover the bottom of the affair. ⁿHe was passing some days very secure in lieutenant general Barry's house of Castle Lyons, when the colonels Giffard, Townsend, and Warden conspired with sir Piercy Smith,

ⁿ Z. 396, 418.

governor of Youghall, to secure that town, and at the same time the person of lord Inchiquin. An officer to whom it was broke, in order to engage him in the design, made a shift, as soon as he could, to ride to Castle Lyons, and give his lordship an account of the affair. This intelligence so far prevented the treachery that Giffard, Warden, Townsend, and some others were apprehended; but sir Piercy Smith, having notice of their being taken, seized upon colonel Wogan and some English cavaliers that were in Youghall, and stood upon his defence. Inchiquin invested the place; and Smith seeing Cromwell employed at too great a distance to come in time to his relief, offered to submit, upon assurance of indemnity, the release of the imprisoned officers, and removal of the cavaliers. His lordship either wanting power to reduce the place by force, or being willing to gain them by fair means and kindness, agreed to these terms; and after visiting his garrisons, and putting all things into such a state as (he imagined) rendered his further stay in those parts unnecessary, he returned to his charge in the army.

140 In the mean time the marquis of Ormond having assembled what forces he could at the Graig, caused them to march to Ross, and went himself, with only his own retinue and attendants, to the fort of Duncannon, which lord Castlehaven, being sent to visit it, had represented as utterly unprovided, and in danger of being lost. The governor of it was one captain Thomas Roche, first deputy to Preston in that government, but afterwards opposing his entrance, and declaring for the nuncio, he was put into the supreme command by the latter's interest. He was a professed creature of the titular bishop⁹² of Ferns, and kept a strict correspondence with N. Loftus above mentioned; some of whose intercepted letters the lord lieutenant had in his hands. He yet used no reproaches to Roche on that account, nor expressed the least distrust of him; but went into the fort, took an

exact survey of its condition, distributed money out of his own pocket among the soldiers, assured them all of his immediate and constant care of their relief, and leaving them very well satisfied, and resolved to defend themselves till it came, returned the same night to Ross. Wexford was invested on the south and west sides before the magistrates would consent to receive any other garrison than the small number of men which came in with Synnot. But their fears increasing with their danger, they then desired a stronger reinforcement might be thrown into the place. Lord Castlehaven was thereupon sent with lord Iveagh and another Ulster regiment, making one thousand five hundred men, and had the good fortune to pass them safe over the ferry near Ballin-Treman, on which side the town was still open to receive succours. Cromwell on Oct. 6 having landed his artillery and victuals, began to erect a battery to command the ferry, and prevent all communication that way. Synnot, notwithstanding the strong party lately received, was in some apprehensions for the place, on account of a scarcity of provisions; but if a body of five hundred men more, with victuals, were sent, he made no question of defending it against the enemy, who began already to suffer for want of forage. The lord lieutenant resolved to attempt the relief of the place in his own person, and to march with what forces he had, to throw in succours, to change the governor, who was deemed too young for his charge, and to receive the weak people, which for the better husbandry of their provisions he advised should be turned out of the town. Thus leaving general Taaffe with a Connaught regiment to garrison Ross and finish the fortifications there begun, he marched with the rest of his army on the 9th in the night, and by break of day passing the river Slane, came in the evening to the ferry on the north side of Wexford. From thence

he sent advertisement to the mayor of his being there, and ready to afford them what succours they pleased. Some of the aldermen were sent to congratulate his excellency's safety after so hazardous a march, to express their great obligations to him for adventuring himself for their preservation, and their willingness to receive what number of men he thought fit to appoint. Some were ferried over immediately, and they being willing to receive sir Edm. Butler, governor of the county, to the same command over the town, it was determined to send that gallant and resolute officer (who lay with colonel John Mayart's regiment of five hundred foot and one hundred horse, quartered in the way of the lord lieutenant's return at the house of one Kinselagh, receiver of the county) to strengthen the garrison with those forces, and to take on him the command of the place.

141 Here his excellency received letters from lord Inchiquin giving him an account of his stay in Munster, the designs of some of his officers which occasioned it, and the hopes he had of soon reducing those who yet held out against him in Cork; advertising him farther, that he had some intimations of the disaffection of the men which had lately joined him, and giving him caution of some particular officers. The marquis of Ormond did not think it proper in the place where he was to seize any persons upon such general suspicions or accusations, but reserved that matter for lord Inchiquin himself, when he should be upon the place with sufficient proof to justify the charge. Having finished the work of putting a second relief into Wexford, he began his march back towards Ross, intending to repass the Slane near Enniscorthy; but when he came within sight of that castle, he not only saw a body of the enemy's horse drawn up 93 on an hill not far from it, but received certain advice that Cromwell, having had intelligence of his march, had sent Michael Jones with a considerable part of his army

to intercept him in his return. The marquis considering the condition of his forces, the best of which were those very troops which lord Inchiquin had given him reason to suspect, the jealousies reigning between them and the Irish which composed the rest of his army, and the disadvantages that he must suffer in an engagement with Jones, which would give the disaffected an opportunity to declare their treacherous intentions, resolved to avoid a battle. Hence about the close of the evening he marched a contrary course to what he had held all day, and fetching a compass over the mountains of Wicklow, he arrived in two days at Leighlin bridge. There he was overtaken by lieutenant colonel W. Butler, who having escaped out of Wexford by swimming over the ferry, brought him news that sir Edm. Butler had not been above two hours in the town, giving order for the ferrying over of colonel Mayart's regiment, when the enemy entering the gates by the treachery of captain James' Stafford, who commanded the castle, he was forced to endeavour his own safety likewise by swimming, but receiving a shot in the head, was unfortunately drowned. This Stafford was a Roman catholic, had been by the council of Kilkenny joined with sir T. Esmond in the government of that county, and since made by the commissioners of trust governor of the castle of Wexford, which was seated at a small distance from the town, but so near that there was no cutting off the communication between them. Cromwell, when his batteries were ready to play on the 11th, according to his custom, summoned the town to surrender, thereby to prevent effusion of blood. The summons being rejected, his batteries had scarce begun to play in another quarter, when Strafford having privately received his forces into the castle, which commanded the part of the town wall that lay next it, they issued suddenly from thence, attacked the wall and gate adjoining, and either through the treachery of the towns-

men who admitted them, or the cowardice of the soldiery, who in the surprise of being invaded from a quarter whence they least expected it, made little or no defence, became soon masters of the place, and made almost as great a slaughter as they had done at Drogheda.

142 The lord lieutenant was exceedingly troubled at this fatal accident, which defeated the hopes he had entertained that Wexford would hold the enemy in play till Cromwell's forces, unused to the air and climate of Ireland, were by the fatigues of the siege considerably reduced, and his own in a condition of giving him battle by the return of lord Inchiquin and his men, and the conjunction of the Ulster army. Owen O'Neile, upon his nephew Daniel's coming to him with the marquis of Ormond's proposals, was so well satisfied therewith, and so fully convinced of his lordship's inclinations and desires to engage him in the king's service, that without expecting any further assurance of his performance than his own word, which he valued as much as any other obligation whatever, he promised to be on Sept. 9 at Carrick-macrosse with his army, to be disposed of as the marquis should direct. The violence of his illness, and his inability to travel, prevented his marching till the 20th of that month, when the lord lieutenant being gone from Portlester to Kilkenny, he advanced by continual marches (which the extremity of his pain and the stops occasioned by floods made the slower) into the county of Cavan, still flattering himself that he might recover so far as to be able to serve himself at the head of his army, which he was infinitely fond of doing. The marquis was very desirous of his presence and advice; but delays being exceeding detrimental to the king's service, he desired O'Neile to send part of his army before, and to follow, as his health would permit him, with the rest. He readily 94 complied, and though the articles of agreement were not signed in form, he sent lieutenant general Ferral and

Hugh O'Neile with a body of between three or four thousand men to the lord lieutenant's assistance, still advising that Cromwell should not be fought with, unless upon great advantage, and that he would be sooner beat by passes, and the season of the year, without any hazard, than he could by any engagement in the field, his army having been hitherto victorious. He thought the consequences of fighting too dangerous for the lord lieutenant to run, since the loss of a battle would be the loss of himself, and consequently of the whole kingdom; for if any disaster attended his army, he would certainly be betrayed into the hands of Cromwell. For these reasons, he thought it better to hazard starving through the country's not bringing in provisions, than desperately to lose the small body of troops left, on which depended the preservation of the kingdom and of his majesty's interest therein. Dan. O'Neile and lord Taaffe came along with them, endeavouring to provide them subsistence in their march; but this was so difficult, that the men were forced to scatter over the country, and the advance of the whole body was so much retarded, that they did not reach Kilkenny till Oct. 25.

- 143 Whilst those forces were advancing towards him, the marquis of Ormond endeavoured to provide for the defence of Ross and Duncannon, not knowing which of them would be first attacked. He put sir Lucas Taaffe with one thousand five hundred foot into Ross for defence of that place, and leaving his horse to refresh themselves after their long marches in the counties of Catherlogh and Kilkenny, went to Waterford to provide for the supply of Duncannon, with provisions and ammunition from thence, and with a better governor as well as garrison. Colonel Wogan was the person he pitched upon to be put in a coordinate command with the governor; and left him in the place with his own life-guard of one hundred and twenty English officers, that had served the king in

their own country. Afterwards thinking that a coordinate command might be attended with many inconveniences, he recalled Roche from the fort; but the commissioners exclaiming against it as a breach of the articles of peace, and undertaking for his fidelity, notwithstanding the suspicions entertained of his conduct, and his own declarations that he could not defend the place, he was presently sent back to his command. It was easier to supply the fort with men than provisions; which were so scarce in the army, that the marquis of Ormond never could get forty-eight hours' provisions together at a time; and though he gave on this occasion all his own corn to be ground, to set an example to others, yet it was not so well followed as to deliver the army from that inconvenience. It may seem strange, that a place so near Waterford should be in danger of being lost for want of victuals and ammunition; yet this was really the case, nor could the earl of Castlehaven, with all his industry and credit, prevail with that city to supply the wants of the fort. They either were not sufficiently sensible of the importance of it for their own security, or they had resolved within themselves to submit upon the first summons to Cromwell; and it was not without difficulty that the lord lieutenant procured forty barrels of powder, and a sufficient quantity of provisions, to subsist the garrison and enable them to make a vigorous defence.

144 The citizens of Waterford were not the only persons affected with the terror of Cromwell's name; the commissioners of trust, astonished at the taking of Wexford, were on the point of deserting Kilkenny. Dr. Fennel was sent, whilst the lord lieutenant was on Oct. 17 at Waterford, to consult him on the subject of their removal. ^p He, who thought himself concerned, not only in their safeties, but also in the decency of any action of theirs, 95 could not but dissuade them from such a resolution. He

^p Z. 484.

represented to them, "that there was no occasion for any haste in the affair, since Ross was not yet taken; that if the place held out, it would be with so much dishonour and loss to the rebels as would secure Kilkenny, and that side of the Barrow, for that year at least; and if it were lost, it would still take them some time to pass from thence to Kilkenny, and in that time they might remove themselves, after having so prepared for their departure that there might appear in it nothing of confusion; that their removal would have the effect of a total discouragement to all in those parts, who would either bethink themselves of making timely conditions with the rebels, or else withdraw themselves and their substance, where neither would be of use for the support or countenance of the army; and that at the worst an hasty retreat could not be more unseemly than a too early one." By this representation, and what was urged in discourse with Dr. Fennel, they were reassured, and continued their residence at Kilkenny.

145 Cromwell's forces were not pleased with their winter campaign. The siege of Wexford had been very short; yet they complained already of hardships, and began to mutiny. To quiet them, he was forced to promise that the taking of Ross should be the last service he would put them on for that year, assuring them withal, that it would be delivered to him without any trouble. He marched from Wexford on the 15th with the gross of his army towards that place, sending a detachment at the same time to besiege Duncannon. The marquis of Ormond marched with his forces, much diminished by the loss of those cut off in Wexford and the desertion of all lord Inchiquin's foot, (who had run home into Munster,) and encamped over against Ross on the other side of the river. The governor came to his camp, and being supplied with all things necessary for his defence, desired an order under the lord lieutenant's hand for the defence

of the town as long as it was possible, and for the surrender of it, when it should be adjudged by a council of the chief officers to be indefensible. The council of war thought the request reasonable; the order was given; sir Luke returned to his garrison, and the marquís of Ormond went part of the way that night towards Kilkenny, in order to meet a party of Owen O'Neile's army, which was advancing thither under Hugh O'Neile. As he was on his journey, early the next morning (Oct. 22), he heard Cromwell's cannon, but had no apprehensions that the town would be so suddenly delivered, as it was, within twenty-four hours after the artillery began to play, upon condition that the garrison should march out with bag and baggage, and be ferried over into the county of Kilkenny.

- 146 Colonel Edward Wogan made a much braver defence in Duncannon; which place the lord lieutenant was confident would hold out, till general Ferral could join him with his Ulster foot, and put him in a condition of trying the fate of a battle, which it was resolved in a council of war to venture, rather than lose so considerable a place. With this view, and resolution to attempt the relief of Duncannon, all the foot were ordered to rendezvous at the pass of the Graig, six miles from Ross, and lord Inchiquin, being just returned from Munster, was ordered to repair to the quarters of the horse, and to march with them thither. The lord lieutenant stayed a few days longer in Kilkenny to make all possible provision for the subsistence of the army, now going to be increased by the Ulster forces. Before Ferral arrived, sir Luke Fitzgerald in a letter of Oct. 22 sent advice, that a party of one thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse, which had been long expected by Cromwell, was to begin their march the next day from Dublin, and might easily be intercepted. Lord Inchiquin upon this intelligence represented that Cromwell could not stir from the county

where he was without that assistance, and it would be the 96 least hazardous way of ruining him to cut off that party; which he hoped to effect with all the horse, if his excellency approved of the enterprise. The marquis of Ormond was unwilling to defer the former resolution of attempting the relief of Duncannon, in regard Cromwell had begun to erect a bridge of boats at Ross to pass over all his army into the county of Kilkenny, and if the proposed enterprise miscarried, the ill success or ill consequences thereof would be still imputed to him by those who watched all opportunities to arraign his conduct. He went however to the Grange, six miles from Kilkenny, to confer with Inchiquin and the other general officers upon the subject, who thinking the enterprise feasible, and the commissioners of trust approving it, Inchiquin marched with all the horse and one thousand foot upon that expedition, the lord lieutenant during his absence remaining in the camp at the Graig, with great expectations of his success.

- 147 The design was not kept so secret but both Cromwell and the party from Dublin, which was strengthened by two troops of M. Jones's regiment under major Meredith and captain Otway, had intelligence thereof. This was one reason why those men after their long march from Dublin to Arcklow rested two days at this last place, to refresh themselves, and attend the more convenient meeting of a strong detachment of horse from the army, which was appointed to meet them at Glas carrig. This place lay in the midway between Arcklow and Wexford, and was intended for their quarters the night after their removal from Arcklow. But in their march all that day, having certain advice of the enemy's being in the country to attend them, and not meeting the horse as appointed, though the men were much tired, yet all the officers agreed it was best to march seven miles further before they rested; judging that thereby they should deceive

the enemy, whom by all their intelligence they conceived to lie in some convenient place near enough to fall on their quarters the next morning. Upon this resolution the party made no stay at Glascarrig, but marched straight towards Wexford. Lord Inchiquin, who lay about two miles off, having notice hereof by his scouts, immediately pursued them with all his horse, and a few light foot, the rest being ordered to follow with what speed they could. There was a village in the way, at which the Dublin party intended to bait, the quarter-masters being sent before to take up the best conveniences. An halt being made on this occasion, several of the men fell asleep, which occasioned orders being sent to the officer who commanded in the rear to give a false alarm, the better to oblige the soldiers to march. This saved the whole party, that which was intended only for a false one proving fortunately a real alarm; for the officer charged with these orders, riding at some distance from his troop, and the moon shining very bright, espied the enemy marching after them in great bodies over the Strand. Inchiquin perceiving he had overtook their rear, which was all he intended to do till his foot came up, slackened his pace, and began to put his troops in order, being about three musket shot from the rebels. This afforded them time to recover from the distraction they were in at first, many of them taking no notice of the alarm, imagining it to be the false one. After a little time they got into some order; the horse being drawn up in six single divisions; one hundred and sixty musketeers placed on the flanks of the forward divisions of the horse, eighty on each flank; and the gross of the foot in the rear. This order they were constrained to use through the narrowness of the Strand, having on one hand a very steep and high sandbank, and on the other a flowing sea, which was much for their advantage; for though Inchiquin's horse were more in number, yet they could bring as many hands to fight, as he.

They had been too much fatigued by the day's march to lose time, so advanced very near the enemy, and having given them a volley of all their musketeers, fell on with their horse, Meredith's troop beginning the charge. The first division of Inchiquin's men disputed it some time, and then gave back, but in order, and with good regard to the routing of those who stood behind them, falling off to the right and left. The second division, being a fresh body of at least one hundred and fifty horse, and drawn up in good order, then advancing against the rebels, who were disordered with their former charge, and attacking them under that disadvantage, forced Meredith's party to give back, himself and his lieutenant being both wounded and their horses killed under them. Upon this, most of the horse ran away, the enemy pursuing them till they came to the main body of the rebels' foot; who letting their own horse pass by, received Inchiquin's with such a volley of shot, from amongst their pikes which were placed in the van, that several of his chief officers being killed and wounded, the rest were contented to believe that the rebels had barricadoed the Strand with their waggons, and retired in great confusion, at least a quarter of a mile. This allowed the Dublin party time to debate what was fittest to be done, and one lieutenant Edward Warren, of Cromwell's regiment, who had in the action been mingled among the enemy, and could not before get from them, coming up, and acquainting them that Inchiquin's troops were in great disorder, they resolved on a second engagement, and drawing up the horse, (all but an hundred, who had run away straight to Wexford,) advanced against the enemy, who were content now to receive the charge, and did not stand it long before they broke, and were pursued near a mile. Two standards were taken, several considerable officers killed, colonel Mark Trevor, the majors Harman and Scurlock, the most forward and useful officers in the action, were dangerously

wounded. The ill success of this conflict was imputed to the Irish horse, who ran away without striking a stroke in this unfortunate engagement ; which happened in the beginning of November.

148 The marquis of Ormond in the mean time had sent the earl of Castlehaven to Waterford to do what he could for the relief of Duncannon, which made a brave defence, to the great annoyance and loss of the rebels, who tried in vain to purchase with money what they could not gain by the sword. That nobleman going over into the fort, and with colonel Wogan from the highest rampart viewing the situation of the rebels, judged it proper to make a sally on a party of one thousand five hundred foot that lay near the windmill. For this purpose his lordship undertook to send that night by sea eighty horse, with pistols and all accoutrements, if Wogan would mount them with so many of his English officers, and make a sharp sally with them and some foot before break of day. The passage was three miles by sea, and some parliament ships lay before the fort ; yet the tide serving at the beginning of the night, Castlehaven, having provided boats, ordered eighty choice horse to come to the seaside, where, making the horsemen to alight, he caused the horses to be boated over. They entered the place ; all was executed as designed ; a considerable slaughter made, and the artillery seized. Great was the confusion among the enemy, who took it to be not a sally of the garrison alone, (for Wogan retired with his party before day,) but the falling in of an army from abroad, hearing and seeing horses, and knowing none to be in the fort. Their consternation was so great on this occasion, that they raised the siege that very day (Nov. 5), and marched off in such haste, that they left two brass cannon behind them.

149 During this siege, Cromwell was busy in making a bridge of boats over the river at Ross, for the passage of

his army into the county of Kilkenny; and by the time that the party employed in that siege rejoined him, the bridge was almost finished. The marquis of Ormond having not force to oppose that work, had recourse to strata-⁹⁸ gems for destroying it; but lord Taaffe, who proposed, and was charged with the execution of the plans proposed for that purpose, failed in the attempt. At last being joined by Hugh O'Neile with one thousand five hundred foot, and lord Inchiquin being returned from his unfortunate expedition, which had harassed the horse so much that he was forced to put them into quarters for refreshment, he resolved to try to prevent Cromwell's passing the river. With this view, he sent orders to lord Inchiquin to make all possible haste up to him with the whole body of the horse, and marched himself in the evening from the Graig to Enisteaghe, intending to venture in person with his foot the next day to fortify Rossebercan over against Ross, to hinder the river being passed. But the next morning, when he intended to begin his march towards that place, he found that a considerable party of Cromwell's horse had already passed, and Rossebercan was fortified and manned to secure the bridge on that side from any attempt. Thus he was constrained for want of horse to remain at Enisteaghe, where he was often alarmed by the enemy, who made incursions to the very gates of the place, taking preys from the inhabitants under the walls, which were rescued by a few horse he had for his guard. Cromwell pouring over more men daily, it was thought proper to retire to Thomas-town, three miles nearer Kilkenny, and to stay there till the horse were refreshed and came up with lord Inchiquin; which could not be done so suddenly, but that Cromwell first appeared before that town with his whole army in battalia. The want of horse, with the backwardness of several of his chief officers, arising from their being of several parties, and their

jealousies of each other, made him avoid fighting, and march immediately to Kilkenny. He there met lieutenant general Ferral with the rest of the Ulster forces, and made all possible preparations to encounter the enemy, who (he supposed) intended to besiege the city. To this end he rode out betimes the next morning to view the ground about the town, being resolved rather to fight upon any disadvantage than to suffer himself to be besieged.

- 150 He had not been long abroad, when he heard that Cromwell was before the castle of Knocktopher, about five miles from Kilkenny. He was in hopes that castle would hold out till he should get some provision made of victuals for the army, and restore such a confidence and unanimity amongst the several parties as was requisite before their engaging in a battle, which hitherto was never possible for him to effect. Neither had he any hopes to prevail at this time, otherwise than by stating to them the true condition of the kingdom; whereby he endeavoured to let them see how insupportable they would be to that part of it remaining under his majesty's obedience, if they should not forthwith endeavour to enlarge their quarters by fighting the enemy whilst he continued in the heart of the country. This was the more evident, since the commissioners had found it altogether impossible to procure more than seven days' provision, until the assessments should be brought in; which there was no other speedy way of effecting but by sending parties to force the payment; a method which in that conjuncture could not be taken without a great and unseasonable weakening of the army. The lord lieutenant signed a declaratory instrument to this purpose; and having desired lord Inchiquin to communicate it to the Munster and Connaught forces, and general Ferral to the Ulster officers, he desired of the officers a speedy signification of their resolutions and opinion upon the whole matter under their hands. In answer thereunto, it was

declared absolutely necessary to fight the enemy, and the officers engaged, according to their duties, very cheerfully to obey his excellency's commands in that point.

151 The day after this assurance given by the army of their 99 willingness to fight, the lord lieutenant marched from Kilkenny with all his forces and seven days' provisions, to seek an opportunity of engaging Cromwell, who after the taking of Knocktopher had marched to Carrick, which had been surprised by colonel Reynolds with a small party of horse and dragoons. When he drew near Carrick, he found that Cromwell had there passed with all his army over the river Sure, and marched to the siege of Waterford, which had refused to receive lord Castlehaven for their governor, and was conceived to be in danger. He had been sent thither by the lord lieutenant to provide for the security of that city and the fort of Passage lying over against Duncannon on the Waterford side, but had been treated with great disrespect, and forced to leave the place. The citizens being alarmed at the finishing of the bridge of Ross, had sent to desire major Kavenagh and two hundred men might be sent to them for their security, which the lord lieutenant had accordingly ordered on Nov. 10 from Enisteaaghe, though he did not at that time conceive them to be in any danger. But Carrick being surprised on the 20th, Cromwell the next day sent a summons to Waterford, and receiving a faint irresolute answer, imagined that his appearing before the town with his army would determine them to surrender, and accordingly invested it on the 24th. The marquis of Ormond determined to relieve it, and put general Ferral with a body of Ulster foot into the place, the inhabitants being now by their fears disposed to receive him in garrison. It was not thought proper by the council of war and the commissioners of trust to leave Carrick behind them; and the bishop of Clogher, who had the greatest power over the Ulster troops, was very zealous for storm-

ing the place immediately. The lord lieutenant having led the army within less than a musket shot of the walls, left the care and conduct of that affair to the lords Inchiquin and Taaffe, and marched away with a party towards Waterford, fourteen miles distance from Carrick. Arriving there about eight of the clock at night, he declared to the mayor and aldermen, that he had brought lieutenant general Ferral [with] a party of one thousand five hundred men for their defence, and had invested him with the military government of the city, not doubting of their cheerful concurrence in a matter tending to their own preservation. He left the city the same night, re-passing the river Sure, and marching till midnight with his life-guard to a place called Dunkit. From thence he marched the next morning directly towards Carrick, making little doubt but he should find his army possessed of the place. But when he was come within a few miles of it, he met colonel Milo Power, sent by the lord Inchiquin to advertise him of the failure of the enterprise on Carrick for want of pickaxes and other materials to break the walls, and of the retreat of the army towards Clonmel for want of provisions. The lord lieutenant, if by any accident he had missed colonel Power, would have gone straight to Carrick, and been exposed to great danger, there being three hundred of the rebels' horse in that place, and he having but fifty for his guard; but upon this relation, he marched twenty miles about before he could get to the army, which was in so great distress, that in his way through the county of Tipperary to Clonmel, he met the country people flying with their substance all ways to escape the rapine and plunder of the soldiers.

- 152 From Clonmel the lord lieutenant despatched his letters to the commissioners at Kilkenny, signifying that the army could be no longer kept together without a supply of provisions; and that if a considerable quantity thereof might be forthwith provided, he would march

with it to the relief of Waterford, being earnestly pressed thereunto by the magistrates, who were so affrighted by Cromwell's taking the fort of Passage, that they positively declared they would otherwise surrender the town into his hands. He was the more pressing upon this subject, ¹⁰⁰ because he was confident he could still prevail with the Irish officers to persist in their resolution of fighting, notwithstanding the new jealousies they had entertained of being betrayed by lord Inchiquin and his party, through the practices of the marquis of Antrim; his abominable forgeries, to the defamation of that nobleman, and the utter subversion of his majesty's interests, being at this time sufficiently demonstrated by his own confession and subscription in the presence of all the chief officers at Clonmel. The lord lieutenant found it impossible to get the provisions necessary for so great an enterprise, and for the subsistence of the whole army, marched by night through the country on the north side of the Sure, with a considerable force to conduct Brian O'Neile's horse, and some more foot to reinforce the garrison of Waterford. He drew up his men betimes the next morning (Dec. 4) on an hill opposite to the town, from whence he could plainly see Cromwell's camp, and his army marching away in disorder, presently after the relief appeared. He thought it a favourable opportunity of doing service by falling on the rear of an army wasted above one thousand men in lying before the place, weakened by sickness, and disheartened by the miscarriage of their enterprise, and went immediately into the town to get his men ferried over in order to the attempt. But the magistrates seeing their danger over, and apprehending the lord lieutenant might leave them there in winter quarters, feigned many difficulties and frivolous excuses, till the opportunity was lost. All that they would admit were Brian O'Neile's horse and some more of the Ulster foot; and these in two or three days afterwards they complained of as an

intolerable grievance, and that the city would be starved if they were not immediately removed. This service being performed, his excellency returned towards the rest of the army, which still lay at Clonmel, and as he passed near Carrick, some of Inchiquin's officers took several of their men that had deserted to the enemy as they were foraging, and brought them to the lord lieutenant, beseeching him to order them to be immediately executed for their treachery; a proceeding generally approved, as a good testimony of the fidelity of those officers.

- 153 Something must be observed to explain the affair here mentioned between Inchiquin and Antrim. The latter had in the summer of 1648, after his return from France, made an agreement with Michael Jones, and endeavoured all he could to disturb the affairs of the confederates, who had made a cessation with lord Inchiquin, and were treating with the lord lieutenant for a peace. In order to oppose this peace, and prevent their return to the king's obedience, he had prevailed with Glengary and his highlanders to raise an insurrection in the county of Wexford; and had joined himself to Owen O'Neile's party in Ulster. When he became contemptible in the north, and was stripped of his command there, he came, by agreement between him and Jones, to Wexford, professing he meant the king's service, and yet labouring underhand to prejudice it all he could by encouraging jealousies and promoting divisions among those who really meant it. Rochfort, formerly mentioned, was one of his chief agents, Dr. Enos was another, and captain Antonio joined with him in endeavouring to debauch the soldiers of Duncannon, and the inhabitants of Wexford, Ross, and Waterford. He had been the principal means of keeping Brian Byrne from submitting when O'Neile did, and from joining his forces to oppose Cromwell in his Wexford expedition⁹. As soon as that general landed at Dublin, he sent his

⁹ Z. 221, 397. A.A. 144, 212, 213, 242.

priest, one Kelly by name, to settle matters with him, and either to propose or encourage the attempt on Wexford. Capable of doing service in no other manner, he undertook to serve the rebels in a way of treachery, and held an intimate correspondence with them from the time that they came before Ross. Waterford was then his place of residence, but when that city had received the party of two hundred men sent by the lord lieutenant, he left it, and came to Clonmel on Nov. 14. There he endeavoured to persuade the corporation that the nation was betrayed, and the Ulster forces ready to desert the lord lieutenant, with other suggestions of the like nature, all calculated to raise uneasiness in the minds of the people, at a time when the marquis of Ormond was trying to engage them to receive a garrison for the security of the place. He was proposing to go from thence to Limerick, when he was called to an account by lord Inchiquin for one of the vilest actions that ever was practised by any man of quality. He had caused articles of agreement to be drawn between Inchiquin and Jones, whereby the former engaged to betray the king's cause and armies; and the instrument of these articles, signed by that nobleman, Antrim's agents pretended to have seen, and undertook to produce; and letters were either procured from Jones or wrote in his name to countenance the forgery. The matter coming to Inchiquin's ears, and being traced up to Antrim, he was called to an account, and not caring to give the other the satisfaction usually demanded by gentlemen in reparation of their injured honour, made a solemn acknowledgment of his crime before the lord lieutenant and four of the commissioners of trust, confessing that the pretended instrument was a mere forgery, and a contrivance between himself and Jones to sow sedition in his majesty's army, and to exasperate the Irish against lord Inchiquin, who was entirely innocent in the matter. Inchiquin on this occasion was persuaded by his friends

to publish a vindication of himself, and though he knew Jones bore him not a little ill-will on account of his publicly charging him and his brother the bishop of Clogher with a mean and dishonourable conduct in giving the lord lieutenant expectations of joining him in the king's service, till he found a powerful army was coming out of England to support the cause of the rebels, yet he thought fit to write to him on this occasion. In the letter he enclosed Antrim's confession, and desired to know whether such parts of it as related to him were true; for though he did not himself expect such a favour from him, yet he supposed the sense of his own honour would make him vindicate himself from having an hand in such a dishonourable contrivance, or making use of such false means to prejudice his enemies. Jones's death, which happened a few days afterwards, probably prevented a like apology on his part.

- 154 No man could be more hearty in the king's cause than lord Inchiquin was, but his officers did not espouse it with the same affection. He had in Nov. 1648 caught some of them engaged in a design to make a defection from him, and carry off his horse to the enemy. Colonel Richard Townsend had been concerned in that conspiracy, and for that reason turned out of his post and sent to England. He returned after the king's murder, pretending an utter abhorrence of that act, and of the proceedings of the Independents, and to be so engaged in measures with the royalists in that kingdom as to be forced to skulk in private whilst he was there, and to have come over again into Ireland to venture his life in the same cause with his lordship. He was in reality sent over by Cromwell as a spy, to corrupt the Munster army, and send him intelligence; lieutenant colonel W. Pigot and the captains St. John Broderick and Robert Gookin being likewise employed for the same purpose. Townsend was upon his fair pretences restored to his command, and with

the others drew in the colonels W. Warden, Tho. Giffard, John Hodder, W. Ryves, and other officers to join in their revolt. They intended to begin it with the seizing of lord Inchiquin's person soon after Cromwell's landing; ¹⁰² but their design being discovered, and some of them arrested, the others were forced, to obtain the freedom of their accomplices, to deliver up Youghall, though they still kept possession of Cork. Lord Inchiquin still fancied most of them deluded by artifice rather than malice, and they having served under his command for many years during various alterations of affairs, all or most of them being either creatures of his own, or much obliged and endeared to him upon many occasions in the course of a long war, he could never imagine they would ever separate themselves from his fortune, or abandon his service. Possessed with this notion, he would never admit any of the Irish or other troops into his garrisons, which he had stipulated should be left entirely to his own disposal. Nor did this late experience of their wavering affections, and disposition to be wrought upon by persons that attempted to seduce them, make him alter his conduct in that respect. He left his garrisons in the hands of the same officers to which they had been intrusted before, and who had unworthily abused their trust. It soon appeared how little they deserved that confidence.

- ¹⁵⁵ The correspondence which lord Broghill held with the marquis of Ormond when in France, by means of Mr. Denham, and the assurances he gave of serving the king and of joining with lord Inchiquin for that purpose, have been already mentioned. The marquis of Ormond, after his return into Ireland, invited him to put his good intentions in execution. ^rHe resolved to do so, and under pretence of a journey to the Spa intended to wait on his majesty in Holland, and to go over with him into Ireland. He was expected abroad in the beginning of April,

^r Y. 234, 242, 291. A. A. 38, 57.

and his lady being to go at the same time another way into that kingdom, the king by a letter of the 20th of that month recommended her to the lord lieutenant, whom he desired to settle a right understanding between the lord Inchiquin and lord Broghill, as a matter much conducing to his service, being fully informed of the latter's good affections to the king his late father as well as to himself, and considering him as a person upon whose loyalty and affection he might confidently rely; and the rather because he intended shortly to wait upon him in his way to Ireland. Some memoirs lately published concerning this nobleman relate how, by Cromwell's discovery of his design, and menaces of severity, the journey abroad was prevented, and he came to be engaged in the Irish service under the commonwealth-government lately erected. He landed at the latter end of October at Wexford, and did great services to Cromwell, who could not so easily have carried his point in Munster without his assistance. The marquis of Ormond by a letter of Nov. 3 invited him to perform what had been undertaken for him with regard to the king's service, being confident of a safe conveyance of his letter, and that he might securely impart his resolution in the same way. I do not find that he made any answer to this letter, being perhaps gone before to the county of Cork, where, by the 12th of that month, Youghall, Kinsale, Bandon, and all the other garrisons received him, and declared for the commonwealth of England. This secured very good winter quarters for Cromwell, who, in his retreat from Waterford, took Dungarvan, and disposed of his army in garrisons, where they met with very good accommodations for their horse; which, had they been forced to return to Dublin, besides being harassed by a long march in the worst season of the year, would there have suffered exceedingly for want of dry forage, occasioned by the army's lying about that city in the time of hay harvest. It was a ter-

rible blow to the king's affairs in Ireland, and laid the foundation of those jealousies and suspicions between the Irish and English, which no endeavours of the lord lieutenant could ever remove, and which effectually prevented ¹⁰³ any vigorous measures being taken for their common safety.

156 It was high time for the marquis of Ormond to distribute into winter quarters an army which he had no money to pay, nor provisions to subsist for twenty-four hours together. He proposed to the commissioners, that the soldiers might be put into such garrisons and quarters as were most convenient ; particularly in the great towns and corporations where they might be constantly exercised, and in a readiness to be drawn out for his majesty's service upon all occasions. The inconveniences arising from the not taking of this course were evident by experience from the very beginning of the troubles ; and the necessity of remedying them was never more urgent ; but those corporations, who had for many years acted like so many petty republics, independent of all other government, and submitted to no orders but what they liked themselves, proved very refractory on this occasion. Kilkenny had indeed complied some time before, and Clonmell was now brought to admit Hugh O'Neile with a party of Ulster men into garrison ; but others refused to be burdened with any soldiers, and obstinately persisted in this refusal. The marquis of Ormond met at this time a very remarkable instance of this obstinacy, and of the insurmountable aversion which those towns had to receive orders from any but their own magistrates, in the city of Waterford, from which, as lying the most exposed of any to danger, standing most in need of a garrison for their safety, and having most occasion of using them for their service, it could be least expected. When Cromwell lay before that place, he had taken the fort of Passage, which, notwithstanding his army had quitted the neighbourhood,

much incommoded that city, and interrupted its commerce. General Ferral, whom the corporation in their danger had desired might be put into the town with a party of Ulster forces, was still there, and had formed a design to surprise or assault Passage. The marquis of Ormond, who after his late merit in relieving them and forcing Cromwell to raise his siege, was in hopes he might, by representing the reason of the thing, and the necessity of affairs, prevail with them to admit a greater number of forces into the place which was now become a frontier garrison, came thither, as Ferral was marching out with a party of foot upon this service. He had not been gone many hours, when the marquis, from some place of prospect in the town, discovered a strong party of horse marching in good order towards Passage, which made him conclude the rebels had notice of the design. He presently sent for the mayor, shewed him the inevitable danger the party was in, unless instantly relieved, and proposed to him to order boats for transporting over from the north side of the river where he had left his troops, a regiment or two of his horse, with which he would endeavour to rescue them.

- 157 Evident as the danger was, no instances could prevail with the corporation to consent that any of his horse should be suffered to march through the town, without which they could not go to Ferral's relief. The marquis having tried in vain to persuade them to allow him to cut off that party of the rebels' horse, caused all his friends and servants, about fifty in number, to mount, and led them with great expedition towards Passage, that he might at least discover, if he could not prevent, the loss which Ferral's party were likely to suffer. As he advanced, he perceived a party of foot marching with great haste and disorder towards him, and pursued by a party of the rebels' horse, who had even overtaken them, after having cut in pieces or taken prisoners the remainder of

their body. The company that attended the marquis were too few to encounter the rebels ; yet he drew them up in such a manner on the side of an hill, that the enemy imagining their number to be more considerable, thought fit to slacken their pace, and to send small parties to discover ; which being entertained with the like number in slight skirmishes, the foot, all the while getting ground, were at last, by the marquis's frequent exposing his own person to retard the rebels' pursuit, brought back safe with him into the town. Thus was preserved half of that party which else would have been all destroyed, if he had not taken that desperate course to redeem them. He might as well have recovered the others who were taken prisoners, and defeated that body of the rebels, and consequently have taken Passage, if the citizens would have permitted his horse to have been transported over the river, and to have marched through the place. This jealousy of theirs was carried to such an extravagant height, that when the marquis offered them to reduce Passage, if they would only allow his forces to quarter in huts under their walls, where they should not be burdensome to the city, but be maintained by the country, they on Dec. 14 absolutely refused their consent ; * and complaining of being eaten up, and on the point of starving through the consumption made by the soldiery, obliged him to depart without freeing them from the inconveniences they must necessarily suffer from the garrison of Passage, which they had rather endure, than run the hazard of a famine. Waterford indeed had always been entirely governed by the clergy, and there were now abundance in the town that were poisoned by the malicious and treacherous suggestions of Antrim, Rochfort, Enos, and others of the nuncio's faction. These were for carrying matters to such an extremity, that it was proposed in the common council of the city to seize on the lord

* A. A. 237.

lieutenant's person, and to fall on all that belonged to him as enemies. The majority did not agree to the proposal ; but it met with no other reprehension.

158 The marquis of Ormond had proposed to regain not only Passage but Carrick, which would have left Waterford perfectly secure ; but now his own safety necessarily obliged him to leave a city which alone was able to furnish the means of executing those enterprises, but which, however interested in the success, would contribute nothing thereto. He departed from thence, and the army was dispersed into quarters where there appeared any means of subsistence, Limerick, with other great towns, after the example of Waterford, refusing to admit any garrison within their walls, the soldiers were scattered all over the kingdom, and could never afterwards be drawn together in a body. Daniel O'Neile, who, as an Ulster man, and nephew to Owen, was acceptable to the gentlemen and officers of that province, and as a protestant was unexceptionable to the Scots, was sent with two thousand Ulster foot, and colonel Trevor with four hundred horse, to assist the lord Ardes and sir G. Monroe in the recovery of the places lately lost in the counties of Down and Antrim. But when after a long march they came into those parts, they found those commanders had been lately routed by sir C. Coote on the plains of Lisnegarvy, Carrickfergus surrendered on Dec. 20, and all the north reduced by the parliament forces, except Charlemont and Eniskelling. The Connaught forces retired into their own province ; lord Dillon with his into Meath and the neighbourhood of Athlone ; and lord Inchiquin, with the remainder of such as belonged to him, into the county of Clare.

159 A little before the dispersion of the army, the Irish clergy met at Clonmacnose on Dec. 4 of their own motion^t, above twenty of their bishops being present. Their

^t Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 2842—2866. A. A. 242, 249, and 265.

debates about the nuncio's excommunication and interdict were very warm, and the different parties, which either justified the nuncio's conduct, or adhered to the appeal of the council, sent to Rome different representations of the matter; though the former of these at last consented to the compromise, and excused it to the nuncio on account of the necessity of affairs forcing them to unite for opposing the common enemy. Antrim, all whose talents lay in falsehood and defamation, had thrown vile aspersions on the marquis of Ormond, which appearing at the same time that his base contrivance and forgery in relation to lord Inchiquin was discovered, prevented his being committed to prison on that occasion, the lord lieutenant not caring to proceed against him in that manner, for fear it should look like private revenge. Being still at liberty, he laboured all he could with the clergy (and he was in no little favour with those of the nuncio's party) to render the marquis of Ormond suspected by them, and to procure from them a protestation against his government. He was mean enough to hate every body of extraordinary merit; (for none other would he allow to be superior to his own;) but it was not purely this malignity of his nature which induced him to reflect on the marquis of Ormond; he hoped to succeed him in the dignity of lord lieutenant. At this time the bishop of Clogher baffled all his measures; and as by his conversation of late with his excellency, he had formed the highest opinion as well of his talents for government, as of his zeal for the good of his country, he represented him in such a light to the assembly, that he either instilled into them the same opinion, or silenced and deterred them from asserting the contrary. The lord lieutenant indeed treated this bishop with great respect, on account of the power which he had with the Ulster Irish, and conversed with him on the affairs of the kingdom very frequently, with great freedom and familiarity. He was a man of better

sense than most of his brethren, and saw the absolute necessity of the whole nation's uniting as one man for their defence ; for which reason he laboured so hard with this congregation of the clergy, that he got them at last to enter into a superficial union, for burying all that was past in oblivion, to declare that no security for life, fortune, or religion, could be expected from Cromwell, to express their detestation of all animosities between the old Irish and English, or Scotch royalists, and their resolution of punishing all the clergy that should be found to encourage them. Their decrees to this effect were published in English, which, though there were in those acts some expressions that at another time ought not to have been admitted, were now suffered to pass, rather connived at than countenanced, the lord lieutenant hoping the chief purport of the decrees might be of some benefit to his majesty's service, and that it either was not worth while to lose time in the amendment of particular expressions, or not proper to interest the royal authority in the matter. Notwithstanding these public acts, there were some other proceedings in this congregation (which broke up in less than three weeks) which shewed that some of the members had not wholly laid aside their design of raising new troubles in the kingdom, and that the protestation against the marquis of Ormond was only deferred to a likelier season. Of this nature was that determination of theirs, whereby the refractory superiors of convents dispossessed by F. Caron, their proper visitor, were restored to their places, and all that had been put in by the commissary were outed ; so that in Kilkenny itself, F. Walsh was to make room for Brenan, the most violent and ignorant of the pack, and who by impudent falsehoods had formerly raised a sedition in that city to procure a massacre of some of his brethren and proper superior, who were unexpectedly saved by the accidental arrival of lord Castlehaven.

160 The king's affairs in Ireland were now reduced to a very miserable condition. "Many of the Irish had promised themselves great advantages by returning to their due obedience, such as the assistance of lord Inchiquin's army, the benefit of trade with the seaports of Munster, 106 aids which the king might obtain from foreign princes to ease them somewhat of the burden of the war, and some diversion in England, or out of Scotland, to distress their enemies. These seeing themselves disappointed of all succours from abroad, or disturbances in England, and by the revolt of the army and seaports of Munster deprived of the advantages which they expected at home, became very discontented, uneasy at their present situation, and ready to submit to the prevailing power of Cromwell. The great towns were refractory, refused to receive garrisons, and the army being dispersed could never be reassembled without money, which the country, being impoverished to the last degree, could not furnish. There were no provisions to subsist the army, if it could be set on foot, nor any arms or ammunition in the stores, nor so much as a ship to send for those which lay at Gottenberg in Sweden ready to be transported to Ireland. The applotment made by the commissoners was not sufficient to keep the soldiers in their winter quarters, which made them prey upon the country people, who either were not able or did not care to pay, so that it was not to be levied but by force, and was daily diminishing by the conquests made upon the quarters by the enemy. To raise a stock for the field, and all the charges incident to a marching army, was absolutely impossible. The marquis of Ormond had done every thing in his power to prevent, and was ready to do every thing he could to remedy this ill state of the kingdom. He proposed to the commissioners to reduce the charge of the forces, to supply the remainder plentifully in garrison, to consider

^u A. A. 181, 190, 202, 248, 264, 331, and 375.

what places should be maintained against the enemy, to fortify these, and to slight and demolish others, carrying the arms and ammunition into the stronger garrisons, without leaving it to the owners of small castles to make a sorry composition for themselves, with several other matters that well deserved to be considered ; but as people generally withdraw from a declining business, or labour faintly in it, he called upon them in vain for an answer. The disasters in public affairs, and the distress of the nation, revived all the old jealousies and animosities between the different parties of the Irish, as well as between the Irish and English nations ; the clergy were industrious to increase the discontents of the people, and to spirit up the great towns (in which they had always a mighty influence) to an open disobedience of his majesty's authority ; so that nothing but anarchy, distrust, confusion, and distraction reigned all over the kingdom, the ruin whereof seemed unavoidable.

161 The marquis of Ormond thought it his duty to give the king this account of the state of affairs in the kingdom ; and that his majesty might either provide what was necessary to put it in a better condition, or not be deceived in relying upon having a kingdom and armies at command, when without those necessities they could not be of any consideration or continuance ; he wrote to him his opinion, that without aids of money, arms, and ammunition from abroad, there was no bringing an army into the field ; and if the enemy was not diverted by some attack in England or Scotland, he did not see any thing that could hinder them from making themselves in two or three months after the campaign was opened, by force or money, masters of all the great towns in the kingdom ; there being no common people in the world so easily drawn by reward or forced by fear into any action, as the natives of Ireland, whereof he had sufficient experience. What affected himself in particular was,

that as censures and suspicions always follow disasters, and are ever laid upon the unfortunate; so all the misfortunes of the nation, the negligences, cowardice, and treachery of others were all attributed to him, by the mean and unworthy suggestions of malevolent people. He told his majesty on this occasion, "that he should not esteem himself unhappy or prejudiced by having no more¹⁰⁷ to do with a people, that could be wrought on by so shallow an engine as Antrim, were not his majesty's service concerned in the case; but till his majesty should think fit to recall the power he had intrusted with him, he should not willingly let it fall for their pleasure; though if his removal should be proceeded on by the clergy and their party, and not submitted to by himself, their ruin, and that of the party which he should make to oppose their rebellion, would evidently be the issue of the contention. This being the case, and no possibility of making head against the rebels without supplies from abroad, he humbly desired his majesty would be pleased to send him his commands to withdraw himself from the kingdom, when unavoidable necessity should drive him away, that as he had the satisfaction of coming thither, so he might have that of retiring thence, by his majesty's order."

¹⁶² This was what his enemies desired, and were at this very time soliciting to obtain*. Antrim, having failed of engaging the clergy openly to demand the marquis of Ormond's removal from the government, sent over his little agents, one St. John, a priest, and Rochfort the lawyer, with captain Antonio, in his frigate to Jersey, to represent that step as necessary, and to suggest that Antrim was the fittest person for the government, as being the most agreeable to the nation. At the same time that this intrigue was carrying on slyly and privately at court, prince Rupert's party solicited strongly for that

* A. A. 339, 395, 399, 401, 414, 429, and 435.

prince's being made lieutenant of Ireland. The king absolutely rejected both proposals, and told the lord Byron on that occasion, that "he would sooner lose the kingdom than offer such an affront to the marquis of Ormond." This was his expression in private to that nobleman, whom he considered as a particular friend to the lord lieutenant; but all the mercuries and public papers printed at London at this time represent his public answer, when teased on the subject, (which all private letters say he could not with patience hear to be moved,) to be expressed to this effect, "that he would sooner lose three such kingdoms as Ireland, than part with one such subject as the marquis of Ormond." No subject indeed had ever sacrificed himself for his prince with more readiness and constancy, or served him with greater abilities and integrity, than the marquis had done; and as the king was truly sensible of his merit and services, it was not unworthy of him in his answer to the lord lieutenant to express himself in these words: "I conjure you to lay aside all unnecessary modesty concerning yourself at this time, when my interests are so joined with yours, that I can no longer preserve them than I support you, and to let me know what I may further do to establish your authority, as well amongst that party of O'Neile that are lately joined with you, as all others now in obedience to me." In another letter about the same time, he grants the request which the marquis had made, and expresses himself in these words:

163 "Charles R.

"Right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin, we greet you well. Having taken into our consideration the contents of your letter of Dec. 24 last, wherein you state the then condition of our affairs in that our kingdom, the particular demeanour of those of the city of Waterford towards you and our authority intrusted with you, notwithstanding so many demonstrations of your care to please, as well as to preserve them, the doubts you then apprehended, that example might thereby be taken in

other places, and by other persons, to multiply the like, or to obtrude greater affronts upon you, and through you upon us.¹⁰⁸ And lastly, having considered your desire to receive our express command, how in such case you might best discharge yourself in the trust we have reposed in you, we have thought fit to let you know, that as it is matter of great wonder to us to find in any people so much ingratitude towards us, as to bereave them of the foresight of the inevitable destruction they must necessarily draw upon themselves, by falling into the power of the rebels, and by cancelling, as to them, those obligations of pardon and many other high graces, which (by the peace concluded by you with our subjects of that kingdom, by virtue of our authority, and since ratified by us,) we have freely entered into, at once making their case desperate in all events; so it is our pleasure that, in case you find they are not by any means to be brought to a right understanding and performance of their duty to us, nor otherwise to be withheld from being seduced to the like contempt and disobedience of our authority, in apparent breach of their solemn protestations to us and recognition of us, in the beginning of the articles of peace, That then you give us immediate notice thereof, to the end that (believing ourself bound to the conditions of the said peace, whilst they are destructively infringed on their parts, and made wholly useless to us) we may not neglect the taking hold of such other means as God in his goodness may discover to us for our restitution. And our further pleasure is, that then and in such case you withdraw yourself and our authority out of that kingdom, yet so as that you give in our name full assurance to such as you have found faithful to us, that we shall still retain a perfect memory of their good affections, and a steadfast purpose, as we shall be thereunto enabled, by the blessing of God, to set eminent marks of our favour and estimation upon them. Given at our court at Castle Elizabeth in our Isle of Jersey, the 2nd of February, 1649, and in the second year of our reign."

¹⁶⁴ This letter was to be kept secret till the lord lieutenant should have occasion to make use of it; and in the mean time the king did all that was in his power to procure those supplies which were so much wanted in Ireland. Prince Rupert had taken many and rich prizes in the Streights, and had carried them into Lisbon. Orders

were sent him to remit ten thousand pounds to the marquis of Ormond ; but as he had at his first arrival in Ireland neglected a like order, little was expected from that quarter. This perhaps was the reason why the king left it to lord Jermyn to mention that particular, and in his own letters to the marquis only mentions, that he had sent to Sweden to procure the arms at Gottenberg to be conveyed to him ; that he had written to his ambassadors in Spain to supply him with money and arms to the value of twenty thousand pounds, if they could procure so much from that king (of which they had hopes, as sir E. Hyde had signified to the lord lieutenant); and would not fail to use his utmost endeavours in all other places for his support and supply. But what his majesty laid the greatest stress on, for the preservation of his interest in Ireland, was the expectation he had of diverting the money and forces of the rebels in England. It was with this view that he had resolved to enter into a treaty with the Scots on March 15 at Breda, and to endeavour to oblige that nation, by all just and honourable condescensions, to march into England in the spring with a considerable army for his service. His majesty had agreed to this treaty by a letter which he wrote on Jan. 11 to *the committee of estates of Scotland* by that title, and sent by Winram their agent. Sir E. Nicholas and the old counsellors thought the giving them that title might be very prejudicial to the king's affairs, and prove a precedent of mischievous consequence, as owning in effect that a parliamentary power might continue after the death of the 109 king, and therefore opposed the giving of that appellation, though they liked well enough a treaty with the Scots. But the king, as he had very few of his council with him in Jersey, (lord Hopton, sir E. Nicholas, and Mr. Long being the whole number,) having summoned all the nobility about his court to hear their sentiments, they were out-voted in the debate that happened on this

occasion. The Scots had peremptorily insisted to be treated with as a parliament, and without that appellation would not treat at all. It was urged on one side, that it was dishonourable for the king to allow that to be a parliament which was not called by the royal authority, which had presumed to sit after his father's death, and still proceeded against his party with the utmost rigour. On the other side it was alleged, that the calling those persons a parliament on the back side of a letter did neither acknowledge nor really and legally make them one, and real advantages were not to be lost for airy words and titles; that the king of Spain and other princes had made no difficulty to give their rebellious subjects any titles they would demand, when they were grown too powerful to be punished, and no other means were left of procuring advantages from them. Winram seems to have removed the scruples of some upon the subject, by affirming that his constituents would be satisfied, if the letter was directed to them as *the committee of estates*, which though it meant the same thing, and carried with it the same acknowledgment, was not so offensive a word as that of *parliament*.

165 Hopes were hence conceived of a diversion being made in England by the Scots in the spring; till which time the marquis of Ormond was to make the best shift he could to subsist. His great prudence in foreseeing and preventing evils, his flowing affability and winning manner of treating all the world, had for a long time kept off those inconveniences which he had ever apprehended from the jealousies and animosities between the two nations, and between the different parties of the Irish. Ill success and the defection of Inchiquin's presbyterian forces and garrisons, brought all the evils which he apprehended upon him at once like a torrent, and defeated all the measures he had taken to oppose Cromwell, whose army, were it not for that defection, would have been

destroyed by want and sickness, and have crumbled to nothing. An universal jealousy and discontent now reigned over the nation; all persons seemed to have abandoned the care of their defence, and to have laid aside all thoughts of uniting for their common safety. Nothing could be done with effect to that purpose, without restoring the confidence of the people, and redressing that disorder which appeared at this time in the affairs of the kingdom. The lord lieutenant consulted the commissioners of trust on the subject, who thought it proper to direct the several counties of the kingdom to send deputies to Kilkenny to represent the grievances which sat heaviest on them, the grounds of the jealousies they had entertained, and the matters which they had to propose for their security, or to desire for their relief. This was suggested as the best means of informing the country how groundless their jealousies were, and of discovering the artifices used to corrupt their affections. The marquis judged otherwise of this method, which had been proposed by some of the commissioners who had always maligned his person, and held a close correspondence with those of the clergy who were most disaffected to his majesty's authority. He thought it would rather advance than suppress the scandalous and seditious designs on foot; and would in the end prove inconvenient, as well as tedious; but he knew if he declined the proposal, he should not fail of being reproached with being unwilling either to hear or remedy the people's grievances^y. For this reason he allowed the commissioners to summon the several counties to send each an agent¹¹⁰ to communicate their complaints and desires, requiring them to be by Jan. 10 at Kilkenny. The lord lieutenant received them favourably, wished them to consult together, and promised them a speedy answer to their representations.

^y A. A. 272, 273, 278, 302, 372.

166 These agents, who came to Kilkenny full of those notions and prejudices which the clergy had instilled into them, spent some time in preparing heads of grievances fit to be presented to the lord lieutenant, who called upon them to despatch. But upon conference with the gravest of the commissioners, who had been witnesses of all the actions of the marquis, and of the unwearied pains and industry he had used for the defence of the kingdom, they soon found how groundless all the slanders which had been instilled into them were, and could not agree upon any particulars to complain of and insert in a remonstrance. Whilst they were thus employed, they were alarmed by the approach of Cromwell, who knowing the small force left within the town, advanced with a strong party towards Kilkenny; which made them desire that they might adjourn to Ennis in the county of Clare. They did so, but never agreed on any draught of their grievances to be presented; though they made such an ill use of their meeting, as to propagate the scandals and imputations groundlessly raised, and to inflame the people by the same untruths. The marquis of Ormond, not without difficulty, got about five hundred foot together, and mounting his own friends and servants, made up about one hundred horse. With these and the townsmen, who appeared very ready for their defence, he looked with so good a countenance on the enemy, that Cromwell thought fit to retire. What encouraged him to this fruitless march seems to have been a correspondence which he held within the town with colonel Tickle, who had undertaken to betray it to him. The marquis of Ormond intercepting some of the letters, discovered the intended treachery, and causing Tickle to be executed, and the plague growing hot in those parts, he committed the charge of the place, the country adjacent, and of all Leinster, to the earl of Castlehaven, and went himself, about Feb. 10, upon a more important affair into

the county of Galway, to take measures with the marquis of Clanrickard for an enterprise which was then to be executed.

¹⁶⁷ Notwithstanding the late success of sir C. Coote and colonel Venables in Ulster, sir G. Monroe thought it not difficult to recover that province. He had still a good party of horse and foot with him about Eniskilling, and the marquis of Clanrickard was able to draw together a much stronger party in Connaught^z. These, with the assistance of the Ulster Irish, were thought a sufficient force to recover the greatest part of what had been lately lost in the north; and a general meeting was appointed on the last of January at Roscommon for Clanrickard, Monroe, and the Connaught officers to consider of a place for a general rendezvous, and of the best ways to prosecute the service, as well as to know distinctly how they should be provided to carry it on with probability of good success. The marquis of Clanrickard was designed to be commander-in-chief during this expedition; but as the scene of action was to be in Ulster, there was a great difficulty to be got over, arising from the conditions of the late agreement with Owen O'Neile. It was doubtful whether the Ulster Irish forces would join with the rest and march under his command; and if they would submit to the marquis himself, it would yet be difficult, in case of his absence from the army at any time, through sickness or any other accident, to agree upon a person by whom those three parties united might be commanded during that absence, with the best satisfaction to all sides. To facilitate the affair, the marquis of Ormond wrote to the bishop of Clogher, Philip Reily, and the III gentry of Ulster, to represent the importance of the service, to press their concurrence, and to remove these difficulties with regard to the march and command of

^z A. A. 340, 341, 350, 351, 354, 356, 357, 383, 408, 437, 441—443.

their forces. No general had yet been chose for that province since O'Neile's death: the gentry were divided into parties about a successor; many of them were not inclined to the king's service, and all of them were stiff in the point of command, excepted to the marquis of Clanrickard's commission, and would serve under no general in their own country but who was of their own election.

- 168 There are few persons, however insignificant and contemptible in themselves, and however unable to do good, but yet are capable of doing mischief. The marquis of Antrim on this occasion gave proofs of his ability that way, as well as of his disaffection to the king's service, and contributed much to the refractoriness of the Ulster gentry. He was lately come into the province to make interest for the post of general, and did all he could to exasperate the Irish against the Scotch, and prevent their conjunction; though he thought fit on some occasions to profess the contrary. Upon his first repair into those parts, he gave a notable proof of his ordinary discretion and cunning; for meeting sir G. Monroe at Fina, he told him that the Irish of Ulster had absolutely determined to root out all the Scotch planters there, which raised a difficulty for him to accept of the command: for if he did undertake it, he could not but be true to them. The ridiculous and spiteful practices of the man were well enough known, yet they wrought their effect upon the apprehensions of weak persons; and in a time of jealousies could not fail of rendering an union of different parties impracticable. They had in truth such an effect, ^a that not only the country submitted to pay contributions, and took protections, but even the forces were inclined to join the enemy; which the lord lieutenant found it necessary to write to the bishop of Clogher to

^a A. A. 456, 457, 469, 472, 475—478, 493. B. B. 11, 14, 29, 94, 98, and 342.

prevent. Thus was the Ulster army hindered from engaging in an enterprise which might have been of great service for the reestablishment of the king's affairs in Ireland, and might have furnished a body of hardy and veteran soldiers to join that body of Scotch, which he not long after led into England. For such was the poverty of the people, and the havock made by the plague in Connaught, such were the divisions among the officers and soldiers, the gentry and inhabitants of the province, and unactiveness of the clergy, (except of such as made it their business to exclaim against the government,) and so general was the backwardness and stupidity of persons of all ranks and conditions, either apprehending no danger near them, or so terribly dejected as scarce to afford an helping hand to their own preservation, that the marquis of Clanrickard could neither muster such a force as he proposed and was necessary to the undertaking, nor raise money and provisions to maintain them in the field. Thus was the enterprise defeated, and the rebels allowed time to establish themselves in their late conquests in the north, which they could hardly have done, had this expedition gone forward. For soon after, upon the king's agreement with the Scots at Breda, they sent over some ministers to the Laggan and Claneboyes, to encourage the people to rise against the independent or (as they styled it) sectarian party, pronouncing damnation to those that should sign a diabolical and unnatural oath to serve the state of England without a king or house of lords. And in all probability there would have followed an insurrection in that bigoted country devoted to the covenant, and putting an implicit faith in those ministers, had there been any power in the field to have countenanced them in that action. But about a fortnight before their coming, sir G. Monroe,¹¹² seeing the distractions of the country, and no hopes of being either supported himself, or of gaining others to

join a ruined party, had made conditions for himself, the remainder of the forces under his command, and his officers that were in prison; and giving up Eniskilling to Coote, about the middle of April, departed the kingdom.

169 The election of a general for Ulster was appointed to be on March 18, at Belturbet in the county of Cavan. The candidates that appeared for it were, the marquis of Antrim, sir Phelim O'Neile, lieutenant general Ferral, Henry O'Neile Owen's son, and the bishop of Clogher. ^b The lord lieutenant, from whom the person elected was to receive his commission, was resolved to protest against the first, as a known interest of Cromwell's, for some mean end to betray his king and country, to whose unjust bounty, in relation to his merit, if not to others' interest, he owed so much; and had recommended it to the bishop of Clogher to disappoint him in his pretensions. The nobility and gentry were generally for Daniel O'Neile, but he considering himself as unqualified by being a protestant, had gone a little before to Kilkenny, and wished the choice might fall on major general Hugh Duffe O'Neile, then likewise absent at Clonmel, but certainly the fittest man for the post in point of abilities and military skill. The provincial assembly being met, bishop Swiney of Kilmore took the chair; the competitors' names were called over, who all appeared except Hugh O'Neile. Then the articles between the lord lieutenant and Owen O'Neile were read; and a proviso being found therein, that in case of his death none of the deserters should have a vote in the election of a new general, all who fell under that character were ordered to withdraw, and among these sir Phelim O'Neile, who was now out of the question. The bishops, and those electors who wanted estates, and still had in their view the extirpation of the British planters, were en-

^b A. A. 457. B. B. 140. Owen O'Neile's Journal. B. B. 315 and 333.

tirely for the bishop of Clogher; but to carry their point, it was necessary to take off Antrim, and to make the particular friends of the late general, and the gentlemen of the name of O'Neile, who were all zealous for his nephew Daniel, easy upon that article. Antrim always fancied he had a mighty interest in the clergy, and had courted them on all occasions; but was in reality governed by them at their pleasure. They persuaded him to desist, by flattering his vanity, by representing that it was a post below his merit, and that the dignity of lord lieutenant was much fitter for a person of his quality, and by assuring him that if he would promote Clogher's election, they would not rest till he was made so in the marquis of Ormond's place. To gain the other party, the bishop of Clogher, the evening before the election, made them believe that if he was chose he would resign his place to Daniel O'Neile, who was fitter for it as a soldier, qualified for it as a native of the province, and more able to serve his country by being a favourite both with the king and lord lieutenant. All obstacles thus removed, he was chose, and waited on the marquis of Ormond then at Athlone to receive his commission. When he had got it, to make a show of keeping his word, he went to Daniel O'Neile, and offered it him, on condition he would turn Roman catholic; a condition which he well knew the other would refuse. Antrim, defeated in his hopes of distinguishing himself as a general, and finding from his little agents in Jersey that the king would never make him lord lieutenant, shewed himself soon after more openly against his majesty's service, and hindered the Ulster regiments from joining with a party from Leinster for the relief of Fina; and at last retiring to Dublin, went from thence at the latter end of this year into England, recommended by Ireton for his services to the parliament.

170 Mr. Humphrey Galbraith, who was present all the 113

time of this election, in his account of it to the lord lieutenant, says, "that not only the five colonels that had deserted Owen O'Neile on the cessation and peace, but colonel Tirlogh Mac Art Oge, colonel Con Baceagh O'Neile, and the greater part of the officers who had stuck firm to Owen, complained to him of the constitution and proceedings of the assembly, as more corrupt, indirect, partial, and packed, than were those of the members of the council of Trent, or of the late general assembly at Glasgow; and assured him, that the election was made by the clergy and the faction which adhered to them, with a view of casting off the English government; that their professions of advancing the king's interest were but the parallel of the lines drawn before them in England and Scotland, till they could get power enough to act without him as well as their neighbours; that their purpose with regard to the marquis of Ormond was to call him to account for more than five hundred thousand pounds, which they pretended had been raised in the kingdom since his return to the government, for above eighty thousand pounds of which the treasurers could not account; and thereupon he would be constrained at the best to quit the kingdom, and give them a deputy of their own choosing and religion, or that otherwise they would choose a lord lieutenant for themselves." This was the very plan upon which the bishops immediately after this affair proceeded.

- 171 The bishop of Clogher was the most disagreeable person to the Scots that could have been chosen; yet the marquis was in hopes some good might arise from this choice; the people of Ulster being readier to follow a spiritual than a temporal general into the field. But however fit the bishop was to call them together, he was not so well qualified to command them in a day of action; as appeared in the June following, when having detached colonel Swiney with a strong party to make an

attempt upon Castledoe, in the county of Donegal, he ventured, contrary to the advice of the most experienced officers, with three thousand men, to fight sir C. Coote with near double his number at Litterkenny. Major general O'Cahan, many of his principal officers, and one thousand five hundred common soldiers were killed on the spot; and the colonels Henry Roe, and Phelim M'Tuol O'Neile, Hugh Macguire, Hugh Mac Mabon, and others, slain after quarter given. The bishop himself flying with a party of horse was hotly pursued, and two days after, being overtaken by major King near Eniskilling, was routed again, taken prisoner, and soon after executed by order of the English parliament. Charlemont in consequence of this victory was besieged, and after a brave defence, and standing a storm, was surrendered in the August following; all Ulster being thereby reduced under the power of the enemy.

172 Whilst the marquis of Clanrickard was endeavouring in vain to get an army together in the north, Cromwell drew out his forces in the beginning of February into the field. They were much wasted by sickness, and the greater part of those he brought out of England had perished; but he met with a very seasonable recruit in the revolvers of Munster, who were habituated to the climate, and inured to the hardships of an Irish war. Callan, Fethard, and the strong castle of Cahir surrendered without making any defence; Cashel was deserted; all the neighbouring castles submitted, and the whole county of Tipperary agreed to pay him contributions. Nothing in that country stood out against him but Clonmel, which he caused to be blocked up in the beginning of March. In Leinster there was scarce a castle and strong house which the husband or wife were not for giving up, and receiving conditions from the enemy. Thus Ballysonan and other castles were delivered up to Hewson, who was thereby enabled to march with a party from

Dublin into the county of Kilkenny; where Cromwell joined him at Gowran, which (with colonel Hammond the governor, and the rest of the officers) was traitorously given ¹¹⁴ up by the soldiers of the garrison. All these places indeed wanted ammunition for their defence, but the general terror which seized the defendants was the reason why they were yielded before a cannon was planted. These successes encouraged him to lay siege to Kilkenny, the garrison of which place, as well as the number of inhabitants, was much diminished by the plague. ^c Sir Walter Butler was governor of the town, which lord Castlehaven had provided with two hundred horse and one thousand foot; but they were now reduced to three hundred men. Cromwell came before it on March 23 on the side of the black quarry; and summoned it that evening. The next day he surrounded the place, and in the evening attempted to possess himself of the Irish town; but was beaten off, and forced to retire. On the 25th, between five and six in the morning, his cannon began to batter the end of the marquis of Ormond's stables, between the castle gate and the rampart; and having continued firing till twelve, he caused the breach to be assaulted. His men were beaten off twice, and could not be persuaded to make a third attack. The breach was repaired, and Cromwell was on the point of raising the siege, when the mayor and townsmen invited him to stay, and assured him they would receive him into the place. Hereupon in the evening he appointed a party to set upon the Irish town, which (the best part of the garrison soldiers being employed about the breach) was manned only by some of the citizens. These immediately quitted their posts without striking a stroke; and Cromwell taking possession of the cathedral, and all other places in the Irish town, lodged there that night. On the 27th he began to break the wall of the Franciscans near the river

^c B. B. 168, 172, and 315.

side with pickaxes, to make a way for his horse and foot to enter. That post being guarded only by townsmen, they began to forsake it ; when the governor gave orders to a party of horse to light, and leading them on, beat off the enemy, killed most of those that were near the wall, and put an end to their working at that place. At the same time an attempt was made to burn the gate upon St. John's bridge, but the enemy was there likewise repulsed with the loss of many officers and soldiers. Cromwell was the next day joined by Ireton with one thousand five hundred fresh men, and sir W. Butler considering the weakness of his garrison, few in number, and those worn out for want of rest by their continual watching, and hopeless of relief, determined to execute lord Castlehaven's orders ; which were, that if he was not relieved by seven o'clock the day before, he should not for any punctilio of soldiery expose the townsmen to be massacred, but make as good conditions as he could by a timely surrender. A parley was beat, a cessation agreed on till twelve o'clock the next day, when the town and castle were delivered upon honourable terms. I have been the more particular in the account of this siege, because it was the only place in Ireland that had as yet made any thing of a defence, and was defended by a relation of the marquis of Ormond, made governor of the town at his instance. Sir Walter Butler and the officers, when they marched out, were complimented by Cromwell, who said, "that they were gallant fellows ; that he had lost more men in the storming of that place than he had in the taking of Drogheda ; and that he should have gone away without it, had it not been for the treachery of the townsmen."

173 This treachery was now grown universal, arising sometimes from the fears of the inhabitants, and sometimes from the corruption, avarice, or cowardice of the garrisons

of towns; and was the cause of the loss of Kilmallock and the castle of Catherlogh, and of almost all the strong places in Leinster and Munster that were taken this year, except Waterford, which was surrendered by general Preston in August, after the garrison and inhabitants had been reduced by the plague to a very small number, and those in a starving condition. Two places only made any ¹¹⁵ notable defence, the town of Clonmel in Munster, and the castle of Tecroghan in Leinster. The first was invested by Cromwell after he had taken Kilkenny, and bravely defended by Hugh O'Neile, who maintained the place with a garrison of one thousand two hundred Ulster Irish. Cromwell having made a breach in the place, assaulted it; but without success, losing two thousand of his best men in the storm; and seeing no good could be done in that way, was forced to wait till he could reduce it by famine. He received during the siege a supply of money, a regiment of foot, and two hundred and sixty horse from England, but received at the same time accounts from thence of the armament that was carrying on in Scotland, which made him very uneasy at lying so long at this siege, which he could not raise without loss of reputation. The garrison began in April to want provisions and ammunition. ^dThe marquis of Ormond sent orders to lord Castleconnel and the sheriffs, to raise the county of Limerick with a party of four hundred foot to countenance the rising of the country, and prevent their being hindered by the enemy's garrisons from meeting. The gentlemen, on receipt of his excellency's orders, met and agreed to raise one thousand one hundred foot and three hundred horse, and with that force to attempt to throw succours into Clonmel. This was prevented by the commissioners general, who disliked and absolutely forbade that method of rising. Castleconnel appointed another

^d Lord Castleconnel's letter, April 25. B. B. 239.

meeting of the country, and sent to the commissioners, desiring from them such directions for their proceedings in that service as they should approve, and that they would be present at it themselves, to order the matter to their own liking, since they disapproved, and would not allow them to obey the lord lieutenant's order. The commissioners, satisfied with defeating the effect of that order, neither came to the meeting nor vouchsafed an answer; so that the gentlemen not knowing how to proceed, nothing was done. The marquis of Ormond then desired the lord Roche to raise a body of men in his country, and attempt the relief of the place. ^eA party of foot considerable only for their number, and some horse, rendezvoused at Macrompe; but lord Broghill being on Friday May 10 advanced to Carrigadrohid with about one thousand five hundred foot and five hundred horse, in order to attack them, lord Roche retired further westward into a fastness, being unwilling to engage unexperienced and new-raised men, who thereupon dispersed and secured themselves in adjoining woods, with very little loss, about twenty as well officers as soldiers killed, and the bishop of Ross being taken and executed the next day by the enemy. Roche endeavoured to rally his men about Kilarney, and sent to lord Inchiquin for a reinforcement, especially of horse, from the county of Clare, resolving to make a second attempt; but lord Broghill advancing to Drishane, prevented the rallying of his forces. Hugh O'Neile having spent all his ammunition and provisions, and seeing no prospect of relief, withdrew all his garrison by night over the bridge of Clonmel, and retired to Waterford. This was done with so much secrecy, that the enemy knew nothing of it, and the townsmen thereby obtained for themselves good conditions; upon which they surrendered on May 18, and Cromwell embarked the week following for England.

^e Lord Roche's letter, May 14. B. B. 344, 356.

174 ^fTecroghan was besieged by colonel Reynolds about the middle of that month; and very bravely defended by sir Robert Talbot. The place being in danger of being lost for want of provisions, and of great consequence on account of some battering pieces left there formerly by Preston, the marquis of Clanrickard advanced with two thousand foot and seven hundred horse to its relief. He sent for the titular bishop of Dromore (who had lately set up himself for a general, and got a party of men together under his command in Leinster) to join him with his forces; but these orders not being obeyed, he was too weak to fight the enemy, who were above double his number as well in horse as foot; Reynolds had called colonel Axtel from the siege of Catherlogh to his assistance, and had possessed all the passages leading to Tecroghan. Clanrickard advanced to Tirrel's Pace, the only place which afforded a possibility of relieving Tecroghan. This could only be done with foot, by a nine miles' march through bogs, in which they could not possibly be assisted by their horse, not so much as to alarm the enemy by giving them a diversion; whilst the rebels were so placed, that their foot might be assisted both by their horse and dragoons, if the latter should think fit to dismount. A council of war was held on this occasion; the attempt appeared exceeding difficult, yet the foot officers were forward to undertake it, and left it to Clanrickard to determine. He was unable to walk on foot, and it was concluded by all to be impossible to assist them with horse; for which reason he told them, that he did not think it fit by any positive command to expose them to so much danger, wherein he could not participate with them in any proportion; so that if they still thought the enterprise feasible, it should be determined by their own vote, and not by his command. Lord Castlehaven, general of the horse, offered to dismount some of his troopers,

^f B. B. 348, 481, and C. C. 13, 49.

and put himself at the head of the party, and the foot officers continuing cheerful in their undertaking, the resolution was taken.

¹⁷⁵ On June 19, about eleven in the morning, lord Castlehaven marched from the camp at Tirrel's Pace with one thousand four hundred foot, carrying with them ten or twelve days' provisions for the besieged, and about seven barrels of powder, with match and bullets proportionable. They marched either in or by the side of a bog all the way, some of the enemy's horse attending on and viewing them for the four last miles. When they came within two cannon shot of a place called Togher Gearr, they found the enemy in battalia, about one thousand four hundred foot and one thousand two hundred horse. The main battaile of their foot were drawn up just behind the Togher, which was above eighty or one hundred yards long, passing between two firm necks of land. When they were over that spot, they were to enter upon another bog, which was to carry them to Tecroghan; being a small English mile from thence. The enemy's horse were equally divided into two wings on the firm land, and each end of the Togher, lined with musketeers and dragoons. On their left wing of horse they had one entire body of foot on the firm land, posted there to fall into the right flank of the Irish, when they advanced. They had also two fieldpieces planted on a little hill that commanded the bog on which the relief were to advance, guarded by some horse and foot. Castlehaven divided his party into ten divisions, three in each of the wings, and the other four composing the forlorn hope, the battaile, and its reserve; one of the three in each wing served for a reserve. About half an hour before night he attacked the enemy, as they were drawn up in the manner here mentioned. The left wing commanded by lieutenant colonel Richard Burke began the fight by falling on their right wing of horse, and beat them from their ground.

Then the forlorn hope, led by captain Hugh Kelly, and consisting of one hundred and fifty men, advancing, forced their passage over the Togher, though the enemy's cannon raked them all the time, and being seconded by colonel Richard Burke, who led the battaile, routed those on the Togher, and cleared the passage. The right wing of the Irish, commanded by sir James Dillon, that had the rear of the march, were only appointed to attend the motion of the enemy's left wing of horse and the foot which supported them. But the officers and soldiers seeing the rout of the enemy's right wing, and of those on the Togher, with the victory of their own people, could not be stayed; but leaving their ground and distance, advanced on to 117 the rear of their battaile. Castlehaven seeing this, and observing the enemy's reserve of foot on their left wing marching to fall into their flank, ran back, calling to them to keep their ground, and face the enemy that was coming to attack them. All would not do; they still continued advancing in the rear of the battaile, till Castlehaven, meeting with one captain Brassil Fox, spake particularly to him, ordering him to face with his division towards the enemy. Instead of doing so, Fox ordered his men to follow him, and ran clear away; by whose ill example, such as had not then passed the Togher, and saw his flight and the breach he had occasioned in that party, took to their heels and ran back. If these men in the rear and reserve had done their duty, it would in all probability have been an entire victory over the enemy's horse, foot, and cannon, and followed with an absolute raising of the siege. Fox was afterwards shot by sentence of a council of war; but upon his flight the enemy's horse with some foot possessed themselves of the Togher. The two divisions which had passed the Togher, seeing this, marched on into Tecroghan, and Castlehaven being left with only some few gentlemen about him, got off by the favour of the night, and returned the next morning to

Tirrel's Pace, having not lost above forty men in the action, whereas the enemy's loss was very considerable. Colonel Burke and captain Kelly being got with about one thousand men into the place, sallied out that very night, and demolished all the enemy's works and approaches. They continued to sally forth every day in the same manner, making great slaughter of the besiegers, till the 25th of that month, when, having spent all their ammunition and provisions, (for those intended for their relief were lost in the engagement,) they surrendered Tecroghan upon honourable terms ; one of these was, that they should carry off half of the artillery within the place, throwing lots for the choice of the first piece ; but Reynolds and Ireton, by a shameful breach of faith, took care not to perform that condition. The earl of Castlehaven in his memoirs (which he wrote many years afterwards, like Monluc, by memory) mistakes the time of this enterprise, which I have here related out of his and the marquis of Clanrickard's letters wrote at the very time that the affair passed, and have inserted, because it was by the confession of all parties, even of the enemy, allowed to be the gallantest action that had been performed since the beginning of the war.

- 176 The marquis of Ormond all this while was not able to draw any thing like the face of an army into the field, for want of money and provisions for their pay and subsistence. All that he could do was to order risings out in several counties, of all the fencible men with fourteen days' provision for some hasty enterprise ; and in this respect he was ill obeyed. The earl of Castlehaven, to whom the care of Leinster was as yet committed, since there was no raising or maintaining of an army, had, in order to annoy the enemy, granted commissions for horse and foot to all that applied to him for them, and undertook to raise troops or companies. Several were accordingly raised, but never could be drawn into the body of

an army, the several commanders forming so many independent parties, living like freebooters, making a sort of war of tories ; and though they attacked the enemy often, yet doing great mischief to their own friends, living upon them, consuming their substance, and disabling them to pay those appotments, which might else have contributed to the support of a regular army. The clergy and discontented party, which had always opposed the peace, triumphing in those ill successes which had caused so general a dejection of mind in all the well-affected part of the nation, that scarce any body applied themselves to take proper measures for their defence, and most of them thought only of making compositions with the enemy, and being now grown too powerful for the government, ¹¹⁸ arrogated it to themselves. ¶ The fears of the people, and the mad refractoriness of those that usurped the government of them, were such, that at once all parts of the kingdom were terrified beyond imagination, and no means left to persuade them to any settled way of resistance ; so that the slavery of the nation, and the ruin of all that laboured or should ever attempt to labour its preservation, seemed inevitable. To remedy, if possible, these evils, the marquis had gone in the middle of February to Limerick, in hopes, if he could prevail with that city to receive a garrison, not only to fortify it against all attempts of the enemy, but under countenance thereof, and by the security of the river Shannon, to quarter his forces, to raise contribution for their support, discipline his men, and, in fine, to recruit his army by the spring, so as to be able to make head against the enemy in the field. He proposed to them a garrison of one thousand five hundred foot and three hundred horse, their pay to be secured on the most solvent parts of the kingdom : but however necessary this appeared to be for the security

§ A. A. 457, 450, 481 and 499. C. C. 71, 77, and 90.

of that city, and the preservation of the nation, they flatly rejected the proposal.

177 This repulse, the little regard shewed by the clergy to the public decrees of the late synod of Clonmacnose, and the great credit which the refractory part of them that opposed those decrees had with the people, made him, after consulting the commissioners of trust, resolve to try whether among the bishops, who had in appearance observed so much moderation in that synod, he might not find a number that wished well to the kingdom, and might be as industrious in using means to preserve, as those who desired confusion were in labouring to destroy it. Hence on the 25th of that month he wrote to twenty-four of the bishops, desiring them to come to Limerick on March 8, that he might hold a conference with them and others of the nobility, and by their advice and assistance resolve on the best measures for the advancement of his majesty's service, and the preservation of his people. When they met, he conferred freely with them on the distracted state of affairs, told them, "that unless the people could be brought to place a full confidence in him, and the city of Limerick persuaded to receive a garrison, and obey his orders, it was impossible for him to do any thing against the rebels; and proposed to them in plain terms, either that they would procure a due obedience to be yielded to him, or recommend some other way, by his quitting the kingdom, how it might be preserved." They offered to him on the 13th of that month certain remedies which they recommended as proper to remove the mistrusts and discontents of the people; most of them expressed so loosely and in such general terms, that they required explanation. Two of them were more determinate, and seem more material than the rest. In one of these they desired the receiver general might be called upon to clear his accounts of the sums of money levied since the peace. This was calculated to flatter and en-

courage the jealousies they had instilled into the people about the misapplication of the public money; but was not pursued, though the lord lieutenant agreed to it, and desired further, that besides the receiver general, all others accountable for sums of money, as well before as since the peace, might be brought to account for the ease of the kingdom. The other, pressing the appointment of a privy-council, to assist in the ordering of peace and war, and to be framed of peers and others, natives of the kingdom, as well spiritual as temporal, was designed to aggrandise themselves, and get the government at last into their own hands under the notion of a privy-council, was not in his excellency's power to grant; the naming of privy-counsellors being a power reserved only to the king. Nor could he conceive how the framing of such a council 119 could advantage the management of the war more than the commissioners of trust, who were men of great abilities and known integrity. However, rather than any thing should be wanting to satisfy the people, if they would specify the particular acts formerly done by the privy-counsellors, and now necessary to be done, he would, as far as they should appear so, qualify persons, free from just exception, with such powers. They seemed satisfied with his answers to all their propositions, and published a declaration, professing, "that they would endeavour to root out of men's hearts all jealousies and sinister opinions, conceived either against his excellency or the present government; desiring his further directions, and promising that they would omit no industry or care in their execution."

- 178 The lord lieutenant found no effects from this declaration, any more than he did from their employing the bishop of the place, and the archbishop of Cashel to persuade the city of Limerick to receive a garrison. He had used all imaginable pains, and descended to all the arts of persuasion, to engage the magistrates and citizens

of that place to a step, which was necessary for the security of their persons, estates, and religion. But he was so far from prevailing, that they did not treat him with those outward forms of civility and respect, which had been in no other place denied. The officers that commanded the city guards neither came to him for orders nor imparted them to him. No officer of the army or other person could, without special leave of the mayor, (which was often very hardly obtained,) be admitted to come to his presence, to receive his commands or orders for opposing the rebels, who at that time ranged over the county and neighbourhood. To shew the contempt they had of the king's authority, they committed to prison the viscount Kilmallock, a Roman catholic peer and an officer of the army, (the lord lieutenant himself being upon the place,) for no other reason, but for quartering one night some few horsemen under his command, by the marquis of Ormond's own orders, within the liberties of the city. ^hThese insults, and the dishonour reflected on his majesty by his lieutenant's lying under the apparent suspicion of being the worst of enemies, a treacherous pretender to friendship, were stronger motives than the plague (which began then to spread in the place) to induce the marquis to remove about March 18 to Loghreagh, whither the bishops followed the next day.

- 179 What gave him a worse opinion of the views of the clergy, was the insincerity of their proceedings. Whilst he was at Limerick, and lord Inchiquin there with him, some of the bishops had, with a show of great confidence, repaired to him, and declared, that all the frowardness and jealousies of the people, arose from the prejudice they had contracted against that lord, who had always prosecuted the war against them with the utmost rigour and animosity; and the places and persons which he had most at his devotion, having treacherously revolted to the

^h B. B. 105.

rebels, the people misliked the confidence which the marquis put in him ; but if he would dismiss that lord, and discharge the troops that yet remained under his command, not only the city of Limerick, but the whole nation would, as one man, be at his disposal. ⁱAs soon as the marquis left that city, the bishops of Limerick and Ross came to lord Inchiquin, and desiring him by no means to leave the kingdom, and offering him, that if he would join heartily with them, and cast off the commissioners of trust, they would put things into a good posture, and all the power into his hands. They said, that his lordship was of the most ancient extraction of Ireland, and under that notion looked upon by the Irish with great affection and reverence ; and if the government were exercised by him he would be readily obeyed, and ¹²⁰ soon grow strong enough to oppose the enemy and recover his country. Upon communicating these several insinuations to one another, these two noblemen found the design of the clergy was to get rid of both, after having created a misunderstanding between them, and to make themselves absolute masters of the kingdom.

180 ^kThe bishops, before they left Limerick, had used their instances with the lord lieutenant to remove all the English out of the army and kingdom, as an effectual means to cure the jealousies which the nation had entertained of them, and of his excellency on their account. He replied, that he was ready to comply with their desires, but wished it might be done in the best manner to avoid a national distinction or quarrel ; that the troops dismissed might be paid their arrears, and have a compensation made them for the horses and arms which they were to leave behind them, and which would be very serviceable for the defence of the kingdom. This was readily enough undertaken, but the performance did not at all answer to

ⁱ B. B. 142, 176, 189, 197, 203, 252, and 255.

^k B. B. 114, 147, 150, 167.

that readiness. ¹A party of them were sent with colonel Butler to Scilly, which had lately been in danger of being lost, through the treachery of the Irish regiment there in garrison. The officers had engaged in a conspiracy by a solemn oath taken at mass to murder sir John Grenville the governor, to seize the place and deliver it to the English rebels, who had ships that lay hovering thereabouts at the time this treachery was to have been executed. But it being luckily discovered two or three days before, the officers were seized, and all of them being condemned by a council of war, one of the number was put to death, and the rest sent to Jersey to the duke of York. There being no such way to dispose of the rest of lord Inchiquin's forces, no further employment for them in Ireland, nor any means of getting away by sea, they had leave to make their conditions with Cromwell to pass through his quarters out of the kingdom. Colonel Daniel and dean Boyle were employed in that treaty, and were kept two days in suspense by Cromwell before he would agree to the capitulation they desired. He wanted recruits for his forces so much, that he took even the Irish into his service, inviting the soldiers of garrisons that surrendered to enlist under him, so that without the reinforcement he received by the revolt of the Munster army and inhabitants, he would not have been able to make the progress he did in Ireland. This made him wish these troops of lord Inchiquin would rather take service under the parliament than quit the kingdom: but the commissioners declaring they had no power to treat on that subject, he on Apr. 30 agreed to the articles they desired for passing through his quarters. Thus colonel Daniel passed with the small remainder of Inchiquin's men; and as the jealousy was levelled at all the English, those that had been always cavaliers as well as those which had once served the parliament, the lord Ardes, sir T. Armstrong, and

¹ B. B. 170, 205, 336.

other English officers did the same. There remained none behind, that were allowed to bear any charge, but lieutenant colonel Treswell, at the marquis of Ormond's particular instance, to command his guards of horse; for which there was too much reason, ^mhe having then intimation of treachery being designed against him. The colonels John Digby, son to the earl of Bristol, Henry Warren and Hugh Butler, stayed only to attend his person, and bear him company in his adventures.

¹⁸¹ ⁿ Whilst this capitulation was making, there happened a passage which gave the lord lieutenant some vexation. Dean Boyle had several hints given him by Cromwell and Ireton, whereby he plainly understood, that if he would move any thing from the marquis of Ormond or lord Inchiquin, they would willingly hearken to it. He waved ¹²¹ them all, so that at last they asked him plainly, what their lordships intended to do when the English were come away. The dean said, he was not acquainted with their resolutions, but believed they would endeavour to form an army of the Irish, unless their behaviour was such as to destroy all confidence, and enforce them to desert the kingdom; for in case of disobedience, nothing would detain those noblemen but the want of convenient transportation. Cromwell replied, they might, if he desired it, have a pass for that purpose. The dean answered, he had no commission on that subject; but on the contrary, had positive orders not to ask any thing either on the lord lieutenant's or lord Inchiquin's behalf: but if they would deliver him any such passes for them, he would reserve them by him, and make use of them, as opportunity offered. The passes were accordingly given him, Cromwell expressing a great regard not only for them, but for the marquis of Clanrickard, sir G. Hamilton, and several others, particularly for the marchioness

^m B. B. 301.
and 350.

ⁿ B. B. 277, 293, 311, 317, 319, 320, 324, 329,

of Ormond, whose condition he pretended much to pity, and said openly, that the estate which she brought her lord should not be given from her to any body. The marquis of Ormond was much disquieted at the dean's breach of instructions and weakness in receiving a pass, entirely useless as to the marquis, but capable of being turned to his dishonour, and the advantage of the rebels, by an unworthy use to which it might well be supposed it would be applied by their craft and villany. It was immediately made use of to debauch the Irish garrisons to take conditions, assuring them, that the lord lieutenant had received his pass to depart the kingdom in two months. Thus a copy of it was sent to general Preston to induce him to surrender Waterford. This was sent by Preston to the marquis of Ormond, who having before ordered dean Boyle to return the pass to Cromwell, did thereupon order it to be sent to himself, and returned it by a trumpet to that regicide, with a letter expressing "his wonder, why he either gave or the dean accepted it; adding, though I am yet to seek a reason for the dean's part of that transaction, yet yours appears to me in Axtel's letter to Preston. I have by this trumpeter returned your paper, and for your unsought courtesy do assure you, that when you shall desire a pass from me, and I think fit to grant it, I shall not make use of it to corrupt any that commands under you."

- 182 The bishops, met at Loghreagh, imagined that the sending away of the English left them in effect masters of the kingdom: they wanted still to be so in the form of law. All their measures tended to, and all their views terminated in, exalting their own power, nor could they in the distresses of the kingdom be prevailed with to take any step that would contribute to the general service. ° Lord Castlehaven seeing the province of Leinster in danger of being utterly lost by the Irish gentry

making particular compositions with the enemy, and the inhabitants submitting to pay them contributions, and that Cromwell could neither find subsistence nor recruits for his army, but from the provisions, children and servants of the Irish contributors, proposed to the bishops to issue out an excommunication against all that were guilty of those compliances and practices, which (he was persuaded) would leave Cromwell as weak an enemy as ever they had to deal with; few of his men being left that he had brought with him out of England. This, considering the effect which such censures unanimously denounced usually had upon the people, was likely to prove an effectual remedy to the evil, at least it was the only one that could be used; but the clergy declined it, reserving the exercise of their spiritual authority for more rebellious purposes.

183 ^pThe marquis of Ormond, seeing that they would do 122 nothing for saving the kingdom, and that it was not in his own power to do any thing for that end, whilst his authority was contemned and his commands disobeyed, communicated to the bishops the king's letter of Feb. 2, directing him in that case to withdraw himself and his authority. He represented to them on this occasion, the pains he had taken to remedy disorders, the propositions he had made, the orders he had given, and the neglect, disobedience, and affronts he had received, to which the rebels owed all their success. He told them, that having received so little effect of all the pains he had taken, and so ill returns for all the affection he had shewed them, he resolved speedily to make use of the liberty the king had given him, as to his own person, which he found was rendered unacceptable to the people; yet if they could propose to him any way how he might deposit the king's authority in such a manner as it might not be exposed to the same affronts it had received in him, and might be

applied to the preserving of the people and the recovering of the kingdom, he should readily agree to it, and heartily wish they might receive that happiness by his absence which they could not have by his presence.

184 This assembly at Loughreagh was composed not only of the bishops, but of the principal nobility and the commissioners of trust; and though the former desired nothing so much as the lord lieutenant's departure, yet the latter were afraid it would throw them immediately into irremediable disorders and confusions. The bishops too wanted to have the king's authority left in the hands of a creature of their own, whom they were not yet ready to propose; and if the nation were left without any authority to govern it, the unavoidable consequence of such a state of anarchy would be a general submission to the English rebels, upon any conditions that private men could obtain. This made the whole body join on Apr. 30 in assuring his excellency "that they would with all care and earnestness labour not only to conserve in the people their good inclinations to the king's service, but if any person or place should be refractory or decline that obedience which was due to his majesty's authority, they would contribute their best endeavours to make them conformable to the same." In this address they seemed to excuse, rather than express a resentment against, the behaviour of Limerick. The marquis of Ormond took occasion thence to tell them, "that they could not better evidence the sincerity of their professions, than by applying their endeavours (where such undeniable instances of refractoriness were given) in the immediate reducing of the city of Limerick to its due obedience; which would, by the influence of its example, put the whole kingdom upon exerting their good affections in defence of his majesty's and their own interest." He represented at large the fatal consequences of that refractoriness, first in Waterford, and afterwards in

Limerick, and told them, "if this last and all other cities and towns were not reduced to perfect obedience, and immediately put under a military government, (as the provinces of Leinster, Connaught, and Ulster already were,) and thereby into a condition of defence and offence, it would be a vain attempt to offer to oppose the strength and power of the rebels." Hereupon the assembly promised to renew their instances with that city to receive a garrison; which had been in vain solicited by sir R. Everard and Dr. Fennel, employed by the commissioners of trust for that purpose. The archbishop of Tuam and sir Lucas Dillon were now sent to further that negotiation with a city which was entirely governed by the directions of the clergy.

185 Upon these assurances the marquis of Ormond altered 123 his purpose of quitting the kingdom; and dismissed a frigate, which (at his great charge) he had bought and fitted for his transportation^q. The city pretended to desire colonel Piers Walsh to be sent to command their militia; which was accordingly done; but demurred about a garrison. They thought three thousand foot and three hundred horse, the number proposed, to be too great; they insisted they should be all Ulster men, (which would destroy the troops on foot at the charge of the province,) that the county of Clare should be set apart entirely for their pay and subsistence; that the town should be charged with no loans or levies on their account; that they should not be quartered within the city, but in huts without the walls, and be under the command of the bishop of Limerick, Hugh O'Neile, or Mortagh O'Bryen. The archbishop and sir L. Dillon returned with an imperfect account of their negotiation, yet such as afforded hopes that the city might be brought at last to more reason upon further endeavours, and the lord lieutenant's nearer residence. The marquis had but

^q B. B. 188, 246, 345, 349, 372, 384, 386.

small encouragement to that step, considering a tumult which happened at this time in Limerick. There was a Dutch ship in the river, on board of which he caused to be put two trunks of papers, which he was desirous to secure by sending abroad. It was given out that they were full of money, and Dominick Fanning gathering a parcel of young men about him in a riotous manner entered the ship, broke open and rifled the trunks. When instead of money, they found only papers, they desisted; but (what was of more dangerous consequence) took a solemn oath to stand by one another in justification of that action. The mayor had opposed them in the attempt, but in vain; and the day after the tumult he convened the town council, called before him the rioters, (who pretended ignorance of those trunks belonging to the lord lieutenant, and begged pardon for their offence,) and obliged them to disclaim their oath of combination, and to take a new one of obeying the lord lieutenant, and of doing nothing without the license of the magistrates. As these seemed to have no hand in the tumult, the marquis, to encourage the good inclinations they professed, removed to Clare, quartering the troops he had with him (one thousand seven hundred foot and three hundred and fifty horse) in the neighbourhood, with orders to be ready to draw to a rendezvous. He did this the rather, because Cromwell had at this time sent propositions to Limerick, offering them the free exercise of their religion, enjoyment of their estates, churches, and church-livings, a free trade and commerce, and no garrison to be pressed upon them, provided they would give a free passage to his forces through the city into the county of Clare.

186 ^rThe marquis of Ormond visiting on June 11 some of his troops quartered within four miles of Limerick, and returning at night to Clare, received the next day a letter from the mayor, sent by two aldermen, signifying their

^r B. B. 440, 442, 443, 457, 458, 460, 461, 464. C. C. 100.

expectations, that when he was so near the city he would have made it a visit ; and desiring him “ to step thither to settle the garrison there, which without his presence could not be so well done, or with that expedition their necessities required.” The aldermen (to whom by the letter credence was to be given) boggling in their answers to some necessary questions, the marquis wrote to the mayor desiring satisfaction in some particulars, which if sent to the rendezvous the next day, he would visit the city, and employ his best endeavours to settle a garrison for their defence and satisfaction. The particulars he demanded were, “ to be received in the manner and with such respects as lord lieutenants had heretofore always been ; to have the command of the guards, the giving of the word and orders in the city ; and that quarters should¹²⁴ be provided within the walls for such guards of horse and foot as he should carry in, who were to be part of the garrison, whereof a list should be given at the rendezvous.” He went accordingly to the rendezvous, where the two aldermen met him, with an account that the city had consented to his proposals ; except to that of the guards, which they were unwilling to admit. He sent them back with assurances, “ that his intent of coming with guards was not out of any mistrust of the magistrates’ loyalty to the king, or affection to himself, but purely for the dignity of his place, and to prevent any popular tumult that might be raised by factious and desperate persons against him or the civil government of the city.” And to take away all possibility of suspicion, he told them, “ the guard he meant to take with him should consist but of one hundred foot and fifty horse, all Roman catholics, such as had constantly been of the confederacy, and were interested in all the benefits of the articles of the peace.”

¹⁸⁷ Not imagining that they could refuse so reasonable an overture, he advanced towards the city ; but when he

drew near the gates, the same aldermen came to him again, with an account that one Wolfe, a Franciscan friar, had raised a tumult in the city to oppose his entrance, and having forced or persuaded the keys from the sheriff, had seized and guarded the gates; so that it was by no means proper for him to come till the tumult should be quieted. The same night Fanning and his party called in colonel Mortagh O'Bryen, a man entirely devoted to their faction, with his regiment, increased by two hundred recruits; and though the mayor opposed his entrance at the gates, yet they made their way into the city by force, seized the magazine of corn laid up there for the supply of the army, (when the lord lieutenant believed it would be obedient to his authority,) and a quantity of corn belonging to his excellency himself, disposing of all at their pleasure. This was all pretended to be contrary to the will of the bishop, the magistrates, and better sort of the citizens; but it was certainly very unsafe for the marquis of Ormond to venture his person without a guard in a city, where friar Wolfe's power was above both civil and ecclesiastical authority, and which was possessed by a disaffected regiment that had entered it contrary to his orders. He retired that night to Shanbally, three miles from the city, and thence by letter put the magistrates in mind of the favours they had received from the crown, and desired to know what solid foundation of safety could be proposed to them by the present disturbers of their quiet, other than by receiving the defence he offered them; in relation to which he desired their present answer. All the return he had was, the bishop's coming to him with some proposals, and with a request that he would forgive Mortagh O'Bryen. The former he granted; and was ready to comply with the latter, if they would agree to the measures he proposed for their own and the nation's defence. This not being done, the commissioners of trust and the marquis of Clanrickard insisted with the

bishop, that he should excommunicate O'Bryen and Fanning; but this was constantly refused.

188 *Soon after, Ireton advancing with his troops near the town, and threatening to besiege it, the magistrates desired that Hugh O'Neile might be made their governor; which the marquis of Ormond readily agreed to, being well satisfied of that officer's abilities as well as fidelity. He did this, notwithstanding that general's repair into Ulster was very necessary to rally the dispersed forces there, and to settle the affections of the remaining officers and gentry of that province, after the rout of the bishop of Clogher's army; but Limerick would receive no other that was fit to be trusted. He offered on this occasion to put him-¹²⁵self into the city, and to run the same hazards and fortune with the inhabitants; but they still declined the offer. They appeared inclined to accept a garrison, but would have it composed of troops of their own choosing; among which they insisted particularly on O'Bryen's regiment. That colonel, after he had been received with his men into the city, had made incursions into the county of Clare, and there raised contributions upon those who had honestly paid the same for the use of the army, according to the orders of the lord lieutenant and commissioners. The marquis hereupon sent orders to the mayor and Hugh O'Neile to seize, and deliver him a prisoner to the guard appointed to receive him. The mayor, after a week's delay, returned answer that he could not meddle in the matter, because the government of the city was committed to O'Neile; who more truly wrote word, that he was only a cipher, and not suffered to act any thing but what the mayor and council thought fit. O'Bryen declared to them in a full assembly, "that as he had run into disobedience for their sakes, so he was ready to run into rebellion with them, if they pleased." Yet the corporation were not ashamed to intercede for this man, that

he might be continued in his command. The marquis absolutely refused their request, though he was ready to forgive him, and gratify them in any thing, on condition they would receive Hugh O'Neile with a garrison of his own choosing. Nor could all the overtures he afterwards made ever prevail to get himself admitted into the city, or to guard him from repeated insults and affronts, with strange circumstances of contempt and malignancy.

189 This obstinacy and disobedience of Limerick, made it impossible for the marquis of Ormond either to gather or keep the body of an army together. To attempt this any where on the other side of the Shannon but near Limerick, and without the absolute command of that city to secure it, could be no other than certain ruin of the design in the very beginning of it; and to have done it in the county of Clare, or west side of that river, was impossible, since the groundwork of the army must be raised and supported from thence; which, whilst it was forming, would have exhausted all the substance of those parts, and not have effected the work. 'The example of this city was followed by that of Galway, which for a time amused lord Clanrickard with proposals to receive a garrison; but at last absolutely refused to receive him or any number of troops, but what should be under their own command. The marquis of Ormond was hereby in a very bad situation, not having any sure place of retreat, in case the enemy should pass the Shannon, or by any other way enter Connaught. He could not see any reason why the magistrates of Limerick should reject his offer of venturing his person with them, and running their fortune, unless they either intended to yield to the rebels, or to endeavour their own defence without relation to the king. They had received propositions, and hearkened to an overture from the rebels, without his consent, or so much as giving him notice; and if in con-

sequence thereof the rebels' forces should have liberty to pass through the city, or, under countenance of their ships then in the river, should cross the Shannon, he should be irrecoverably inclosed, and had reason enough to expect that himself, and all that should withstand a submission to the enemy, would then be given up to them, if the rebels, according to their usual practice, should endeavour it, and the doing thereof would never so little benefit the conditions of either Limerick or Galway. He saw no manner of reason for his continuing in Ireland out of any expectation of success; all that could be said for it was, that his departure would occasion the different parties of Irish to strive who should make the first conditions with the rebels, and his stay might contribute to give a diver-¹²⁶sion to the enemy, whilst his majesty was drawing an army together in Scotland, in order to attack them in England. He had heard by report, and no otherwise, that the king had agreed with the Scots, and was gone into that kingdom, but was utterly ignorant of his situation and measures. To be informed of his pleasure, he determined at the end of June to send lord Taaffe, who was charged to lay before him the true state of his affairs in Ireland, and what had been transacted with the duke of Lorrain's agent; the marquis determining to stay, if possible, till he received his majesty's directions for his conduct.

¹⁹⁰ The main view of the clergy had always been to cast off the English government, and to subject the kingdom to some foreign Roman catholic power. ^uThey had on this account applied to several of those powers, and been for some time actually treating with the archduke Leopold, then governor of the Low Countries, to put themselves under his protection, or that of Spain and the house of Austria. ^xThis was their ultimate view in all the aspersions which they had thrown upon the marquis

^u C. C. 5.

^x B. B. 233.

of Ormond, and particularly in that which at this time they underhand encouraged, as if his intention of leaving the kingdom was not owing to the disobedience of the cities or people, but was the effect of a former agreement with Cromwell, as this was a sequel of the treaty by which he delivered Dublin to the parliament. Nobody knew the marquis's inviolable fidelity to the king better than the bishops, who had been concerned with the nuncio in offering him the crown of Ireland, if he would but join with them and embrace their religion. After the refusal of such an offer made with the concurrence of the court of Rome, with the hopes of assistance from all the Roman catholic powers of Europe, at a time when the Irish confederates were in all the fulness of their strength, they could not without the grossest absurdity believe, nor (if they did not believe it) without the greatest iniquity suggest, that he was now about to betray and give up the kingdom to the rebels, to sacrifice so eminent a loyalty as he had hitherto shewn, his friends, his country, and so noble a fortune as he had in it, purely to become a vassal to Cromwell, from whom he could not possibly promise himself any thing of honour or advantage equal to what he already enjoyed, or might justly expect hereafter from the king. These aspersions, incredible as they were, had however their effect upon a people blindly devoted to the clergy; though, not producing the ends they aimed at so quickly as they hoped, the bishops resolved [to] take more direct measures, and openly reject his majesty's authority, and the government of the lord lieutenant.

- 191 Pursuant to this resolution, they of their own motion appointed a meeting on Aug. 6 at James Town. From thence on the 10th they sent the bishop of Dromore and Dr. Charles Kelly, dean of Tuam, to signify to the marquis of Ormond their desires, "that he would speedily quit the kingdom, and leave the king's authority in the hands of some person or persons faithful to his majesty,

and trusty to the nation, and such as the affections and confidence of the people would follow." The marquis, though he expected no good from their meeting, yet could not imagine their presumption would have carried them to so great a length; and when he communicated it to the commissioners of trust, they were as much scandalized at the message. In hopes however of bringing them to a better temper and more reasonable measures, they desired him, instead of returning a particular answer to the purport of the message, to appoint them to meet him on the 26th of the month at Loghreagh. The bishops allowed him to make a journey thither, but instead of giving him the meeting, sent two of their number (Cork and Clonfert) to receive his answer to their proposition for his leaving the kingdom. The marquis seeing he could not draw them to a conference, wrote them word on the 31st, "that they might remember he had, upon the disobedience he had formerly met with, obtained his majesty's leave to depart the kingdom, but had stayed at their request, and upon their assurances of endeavouring to procure him such obedience as might enable him to carry on the war; that he had transmitted those assurances to the king, with his own resolution to attend the effects; that he plainly observed that the division was great in the nation under his government, yet it would be greater upon his removal, of which in a free conference he could have given them such pregnant evidence, as he held not fit to declare to them in writing; that for these and other reasons, unless he was forced by inevitable necessity, he was not willing to remove out of the kingdom, and desired them to use all means within their power to dispose the people to due obedience." The commissioners of trust on Sept. 2 wrote to them in very pressing terms, conjuring them to support his majesty's authority in the lord lieutenant, without which the nation would be exposed to unavoidable ruin, and they would

be guilty of cooperating to that ruin, and to the destruction of the royal authority. This wrought nothing on the temper of the bishops, who were resolved not to be satisfied with any thing that could be offered to alter the measures they had resolved to take. Thus, a few days after they had received the marquis's answer, they on Sept. 15 published a *declaration against the continuance of his majesty's authority in the lord lieutenant*, and a solemn *excommunication*, whereby they delivered to Satan all that should oppose or disobey it, or that should feed, help, or adhere to the lord lieutenant, by giving him any subsidy, contribution, or intelligence, or by obeying any of his commands.

- 192 It must be observed, that these two acts were signed by the congregation of the clergy at James Town on Aug. 12, the day before the bishop of Dromore and Dr. Kelly delivered to the marquis of Ormond their message for his leaving the kingdom; so that they were determined not to be moved by any thing he could offer to alter their resolutions. They were extravagant acts of a pretended ecclesiastical power, intermeddling in civil affairs, declaring against the king's authority, where his majesty had thought fit to place it, and shewing plainly how far the Irish clergy were from considering themselves as subjects, or intending to pay him any obedience, longer than they were governed in such a manner and by such persons as they liked themselves. They published these acts at a time when the rebels were strong in the field, when sir C. Coote, with all their forces of Ulster, and a strong part of their Leinster army, was advanced to Athlone, and another party of them into the county of Limerick, ready to pass the Shannon, and overrun all Connaught, had they not been restrained by the few troops which the marquis kept on foot, and those which the rising of the country ordered by the royal authority had got together. They published them at the head of the body of forces under lord Clan-

rickard, to set them loose from all government civil and martial, not directing them whom to obey, but requiring them to desert their proper commanders, and so leave the country exposed to the rapine and rage of a merciless enemy, who intended nothing but the utter extirpation of the natives. The danger indeed of the loss of Athlone, and the terrible consequences that would have followed, made a few of the prelates, assembled at Galway, send on Sept. 13 to those of James Town, to defer publishing these acts for a time; and accordingly they were suspended the next day after they had been published. But no entreaties of the commissioners of trust, (whom they loaded with intolerable reproaches,) nor any representations of ¹²⁸ the marquis of Clanrickard and others of the nobility, could ever prevail with the clergy to revoke them.

- 193 Their view in endeavouring to disband the forces drawn together to oppose sir C. Coote was probably to list them under their own banners. ^yThe congregation of James Town, before they broke up, appointed a committee to act by their authority during the recess; and these gave out commissions for levying of soldiers, for which a rendezvous was fixed at Ballintober. They expected there six hundred horse and one thousand five hundred foot, under Alex. and Randal Macdonnel, from Ulster; four thousand foot and some horse, under Bernard Mac Phelim, Lisagh More, and Daniel Cavenagh, from Leinster; and a party under lord Roche, O'Sullivan, and O'Driscoll, from Munster; and depended on Mortagh O'Bryen's regiment. They had beforehand taken their measures very well (as they imagined) for these succours, but were disappointed in their expectations. Clanrickard's forces did not desert him upon their censures; the marquis of Ormond found officers that were excommunication proof, to whom he gave commissions. The bishop of Killaloe had raised a troop, and appointed a rendezvous for more forces near

Quyn. The lord lieutenant sent colonel Edward Wogan against him ; the party was dispersed, the bishop was taken, and would have been put to death if the marquis had not saved him ; though he had signed and promulged the excommunication. The forces which the clergy expected from remoter parts could not come up to their assistance. They were however still clamorous, preaching up sedition and threatening the people with the divine judgments for contempt of their own and the nuncio's censures, to which they confidently imputed all the calamities which the nation had lately suffered or yet felt, as if an horrid rebellion, and such a scene of rapine and cruelty as few histories can parallel, were no ways accessory to the calling down of the vengeance of Heaven on the guilty. Thus they were capable of doing mischief, and of hindering that part of the kingdom which was left unconquered from uniting for his majesty's service.

194 A stranger to Ireland might probably expect to see some examples of severity made of the most rebellious of these clergy, who had ever since the peace disturbed the government, and had now broke out into such outrageous acts of treason as the declaration and excommunication were. But the want thereof will be no matter of wonder to any one acquainted with the bigotry of the common Irish, and the extravagant reverence they pay to their clergy, even of the lowest rank. Of this there happened a remarkable instance on an expedition at Kilkenny, where a regiment being on the march by the orders of their general, a seditious friar put himself at their head, took the colours in his hand, and pronounced damnation to such as should presume to march. The superior officers (though all Roman catholics) were most of them scandalized at this action, and renewed their commands for marching, but in vain ; all the common soldiers threw down their arms, and departed to their several habitations. The immunities of the clergy were another im-

pediment to such severity, and such an one as was insurmountable. These immunities were purely the grants of the civil power, removable at pleasure, and actually taken away in these kingdoms; yet the Irish Roman catholics of all ranks were zealous for allowing their clergy the same privileges which were enjoyed by ecclesiastics in foreign countries. Hence no justice could be inflicted in a civil or martial way on any clergyman, let his crime be never so enormous; those who were most zealous for his majesty's service, who were most offended at the intolerable behaviour of the bishops and clergy, and whose duty was not in the least shaken by their censures, being yet ¹²⁹ so tender of these immunities, and so apprehensive of the behaviour of the people in any case which should be declared a violation thereof, that they would by no means have any hand in inflicting capital punishment on any churchmen without the approbation and concurrence of the bishops. These, as their ordinaries, claimed the sole judgment of all inferior clergymen, and would never denounce or consent to any judgment upon them for being accessories in those crimes wherein themselves were principals. Hence in such cases the lord lieutenant must not only have determined by his own single will and judgment, but must have executed such determinations with his own hands. This obliged him to all those condescensions and forbearances which he used, and made him upon all occasions endeavour by arguments and persuasions to keep those prelates from any obstinate and ruinous resolutions, rather than declare them to be enemies whom he could neither reform nor punish. In these circumstances the hands of a government must be weak over a body of independent prelates, acted by other views than his majesty's service, and blindly followed by a senseless and bigoted people; and the refractoriness of those prelates obstructing the proper means of defence, easily accounts for all the successes of the enemy.

¹⁹⁵ There was an unlucky affair happened in this juncture which seemed to give some countenance, and contributed to procure submission, to these extravagant acts of the clergy. It hath been already observed, that the king had agreed to a personal treaty with the Scots at Breda, and it must now be added, that when he took up that resolution, he on Jan. 23 N. S. wrote to the marquis of Ormond to assure him^z, “that though he would endeavour to oblige that nation, by all just and honourable condescensions, to engage themselves to enter England in the spring with a considerable army for his service; yet he would not either in the said treaty, or upon any other occasion whatsoever, consent to any thing that should be contrary to the agreement made with the Roman catholics of Ireland; but would fulfil and perform all grants and concessions which he had either made or promised to them, according to the full extent of that grace he had always intended to that nation, which (as he had new instances of their loyalty and affection to him) he should study rather to enlarge, than to diminish or infringe in the least degree.” He desired the marquis to give these assurances to all the Irish Roman catholics; but the letter did not come to his hands till Midsummer, being sent by captain Roche, who, landing at Waterford, and all the country between that place and Connaught being in the power of the enemy, could not sooner meet with a safe way of conveyance. This delay brought an irreparable mischief upon the king’s service; the marquis’s continued ignorance of the king’s condition and pleasure disabling him to refute the malicious reports raised, and the aspersions thrown upon the king for breach of faith, and for having abandoned and given up the Irish; so that (as he complains in his despatches by lord Taaffe) the venom of the forgery had wrought very near a deadly effect

^z A. A. 329. B. B. 223, 268, 337. C. C. 50.

before the remedy came ; and the people were at once become almost unworthy and incapable of support, if the king were not concerned in holding up a resistance against the rebels.”

196 ^aThe Scots' commissioners, when they came to Breda, offered to the king such a set of unreasonable propositions, that they were even ashamed to publish them, and it was thought impossible any agreement could be made on those terms, or indeed any agreement at all, unless the commissioners had more power to recede than the Scots usually granted to their agents. The king had only with 130 him two of his old counsellors, lord Hopton and sir E. Nicholas. On this occasion he caused three others to be sworn of his council, viz. the dukes of Buckingham and Hamilton, and the marquis of Newcastle. The two old ones were not consulted in the treaty, being set aside from the very first day that the debate thereof was entered upon at the council-board. They had there delivered their advice fully and clearly, that the king ought not to approve or allow of the solemn league and covenant in any sort, either in Scotland or in any other of his kingdoms, though he might give way to the national covenant in Scotland only. From that time the treaty was carried on by the three new counsellors and Mr. Long, without calling either of them any more, the Scots insisting on their exclusion, and alleging that they argued at the board as parties, though they could not say they were either of Argyle's or Hamilton's parties, or charge them with any thing but an honest zeal for their master's honour and interest. The pretence made use of to charge them with being parties, was because one of the propositions being that none of the council of the king's father, nor any that had served him in the war against the parliament, without taking the covenant, should come with

^a B. B. 170, 290.

his majesty into Scotland. The king himself and all that attended him were to sign the covenant, before they could be admitted to set foot in the kingdom.

- 197 A man knows not what he does when he makes the first deviation from virtue: it is as hard to stop in a way of vice, as it is in running down a precipice. There are natural guards planted by Providence in mankind to keep them from certain profligate, vicious, and dishonourable actions: these are found by experience to be the greatest and most efficacious restraints in such cases, and the persons who can once get over them are afterwards fit for any thing. To say nothing of that compassion which is the source of the abhorrence generally had of murder and certain acts of oppression attended with shocking circumstances, there is a natural modesty in women, and a natural magnanimity in men to keep them from actions to which they cannot submit but with the ruin of their virtue and with the dishonour of their reason. It is often unhappily remarked, how the one sex by once getting over their restraint are betrayed into the worst of excesses, and any one that makes observations on the conduct of human life, will find it as true with regard to the other, that if a man once gets over his natural magnanimity, he is afterwards fit for any thing; and having done one mean thing, is capable of doing ten thousand. Of all actions that lie under the character of meanness, none are more detestable than falsehood and ingratitude, breach of faith and desertion of friends, deceit and hypocrisy: yet these were the actions into which these new counsellors were for plunging their prince at his entrance into the world, and first landing in one of his kingdoms. The king was young and unexperienced, full of good inclinations, inspired as yet with his father's principles, and affected with his dying instructions, which charged him never to abandon his friends or give up his religion for any prospect of advantage, or upon any consideration whatever. He was now

upon going to Scotland to renounce all these ; to sacrifice his best friends in a compliment to those who had been his father's ruin, and who meant to treat him as a slave ; to submit to conditions to which his heart did not agree, and which he could not observe with honour ; to quit his own principles of religion, to turn presbyterian, to establish that sect in all his dominions ; and whilst he was doing all this contrary to his real sentiments, he was in the most solemn manner to call upon the Searcher of hearts, to attest the sincerity of his profession, promises, and intentions. This was to embark him early in a way of life that would not bear reflection, and in a course of hypocrisy that could scarce fail of corrupting the integrity of his heart, and of making him sit loose to all religion : ¹³¹ yet those about him who had no principles of their own but what would vail to interest, cared not what became of their prince's conscience, honour, and reputation. All letters from England were very importunate for the king's agreeing with the Scots ; but the writers were ignorant of the terms proposed. Those who dissuaded the agreement had no other party to propose, nor any place where he could remain with any hope of subsistence. The weakness of Scotland in comparison with England, the danger he would run by putting himself into the power of the Argyle party, and the treatment he would meet with in Scotland, were the only topics that could be insisted on to dissuade his going to that kingdom. In answer thereto, the duke of Hamilton and Scotch lords proposed as an expedient, that the king should not sign the covenant till he came thither ; but tell the commissioners, that he deferred it in order to be better instructed, and when he came into Scotland would give the kirk satisfaction in that point. They confidently assured him, that he should not be importuned about it when he came there ; and as they were resolved to accompany him thither, though they lay under heavy censures and disqualifications, yet they

doubted not but their coming would produce great alterations, and he would find even the churchmen complaisant, and all the world fond of making their court, and recommending themselves to his favour. They were supposed to be the most competent judges in the matter, as best knowing the kingdom; and thus was the king drawn in to resolve upon going to Scotland.

198 Before he set out on that expedition, he frequently repeated his resolution never to condescend to any thing prejudicial to the peace made by the marquis of Ormond with the Irish; but when he came to Scotland, he did not find himself in that liberty which he expected. He was attended thither (besides the Scots) by the duke of Buckingham and the lords Wentworth and Wilmot, who went prepared to submit to any conditions that should be required of them. He was not suffered to land till he had taken the covenant, which he was persuaded by his attendants to do; yet none of them were suffered to continue about him but the duke of Buckingham. Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all of their party were forced to retire to lurking places; and the king found himself absolutely in the power of Argyle, treated at table and in public with ceremony as a prince, but in all other respects as a prisoner. Several papers were brought him, to which he was required to set his hand, being told, in plain terms, that otherwise he should have no authority over the people, and by implications easy enough to be understood, that his person would soon be put under a restraint.

^b Among these papers there was a declaration in his majesty's name, by which the peace concluded with the Irish in 1648 was pronounced void, and his majesty was absolved from any observation of it, upon the supposed unlawfulness of concluding any peace with that nation. The king was forced to sign this declaration, and therein to acknowledge his father's sinfulness, his mother's idolatry,

^b C. C. 323, 348.

and his own sorrow for making peace with papists, and to recall all the commissions granted by him to any in Ireland. This was done at Dunfermling on Aug. 16, four days after the congregation at James Town had signed the declaration and excommunication aforementioned; and the news of it coming soon after the publication of those acts into Ireland, the clergy made use of it to justify their proceedings, and render the people disaffected to his majesty.

199 The marquis of Ormond, when he first heard of this declaration, really believed it to be a forgery, contrived either by the English rebels, or the Irish congregation, to 132 seduce the people from their loyalty and affection to the king^c. But on Oct. 13 John King dean of Tuam came to him out of Scotland, with a letter of credence from his majesty, and an account how that declaration was obtained, which was in the following manner:

200 “In the treaty of Breda, among the articles of agreement proposed to his majesty, the Scots in the third insisted violently upon the breach of the peace made by the marquis of Ormond with the Irish. His majesty would by no means yield to it; in-
somuch that the treaty was intermitted for three days, and had like to have quite broken off upon that occasion. But the necessity of his affairs requiring him to continue and perfect the treaty, the king yielded so far as to consent, that if a free parliament of Scotland should think it fitting, his majesty would then find some way how with honour and justice he might make void that peace; in regard that the greater part of the Irish had not faithfully adhered to his lieutenant, the lord of Ormond, but had broken it on their side. In the mean time his majesty would by no means permit that any such thing should be inserted into the body of the articles of agreement; and it was concluded, that this matter should remain in a distinct paper in the hands of the earl of Cassels, in regard of the dishonour it might reflect upon his majesty, and the danger and prejudice it might bring upon the marquis of Ormond and the king's friends in Ireland. This was no sooner done, than his majesty laboured

^c C. C. 299, 384, 385, and 388.

to inform his lordship of what had passed ; and immediately Mr. Richard Weston was on May 16 despatched from Breda, and one hundred and fifty pounds given him to defray the charge of his journey. But when the king came into Scotland, he found him there, alleging that he was not permitted by the Scots to proceed in his journey, and making other frivolous excuses. His majesty was exceedingly troubled at it ; but saw plainly enough that it was a contrivance between him, L. W., and the Scots.

“ After his majesty had put to sea, and was gotten as high as the coast of Denmark, the Scots’ commissioners shewed him new and higher propositions, sent, after the defeat of Mountrose, from the kingdom of Scotland ; so that unless his majesty would immediately take the covenant, and *in terminis* break the peace made with the Irish, he was not to be received into that kingdom. The king was so disgusted at this heightening of the propositions, that he resolved to have landed in Denmark, and to lay aside all thoughts of going into Scotland upon such terms. But overcome at last by the entreaties of his servants, (who laid before him the present sad condition of his affairs,) he yielded at last to the breach of the peace with the Irish, upon condition that it should not be published till after he had acquainted the marquis of Ormond and his friends in Ireland with it, that they might provide for their own security, and had from them received instructions how he might with honour and justice break it, on account of the violation of it by the Irish, and their disobedience to the lord lieutenant. After the king had been some time in Scotland, and Cromwell was advanced with a powerful army into the kingdom, a declaration was pressed upon him with all possible earnestness and violence, by the committees both of the kirk and estates, who insisted positively that he should sign it. This for three days he resolutely refused ; but at length finding that not only his liberty but his life lay at stake, and that he could not upon any other terms engage them to oppose Cromwell, (with whom they had frequent treaties, and an agreement was feared,) his majesty, with unspeakable dissatisfaction and regret, did at last sign the declaration.”

201 This was the account of that affair which the king¹³³ caused Mr. secretary Long to give to the dean of Tuam, in order to be reported to the marquis of Ormond. His majesty at the same time took occasion to assure the

dean, “that he was still a true son of the church of England, and should continue firm to his first principles; that the marquis of Ormond was a person on whom he depended more than on any one living, and was much afraid the declaration he had been forced to sign would prejudice him; for otherwise what he had done could not bind Ireland, since he could do nothing in the affairs of that kingdom without the advice of his council there, and that kingdom had no dependance upon Scotland; that however his enemies would make a great advantage by it to hurt his affairs there, and to alienate the Irish from him, though their intent was to destroy them; that as for such of the Irish as had been loyal to him, he would make good to them whatever his father and himself had promised: and if they could for a while keep the business on foot there, he hoped soon to put life into it; that he was resolved wholly to be governed in the affairs of that kingdom by the marquis of Ormond, whose safety, and that of the lords Clanrickard, Inchiquin, Castlehaven, and Muskery, he preferred to any interest of his own in Ireland; that he had been used very ill by the Scots, and accounted it not only an error, but a misfortune, that he did not come into that kingdom when the lord lieutenant invited him.” The king, in his letter of credence by Dr. King, acknowledged “the great and faithful services which the marquis of Ormond had done him, of which he had no way to express his just sense and gratitude, but by taking care of his person, as of that in which he found himself much concerned. For this reason he entreated the marquis to be so careful of himself, as not to hazard it any longer than he should find good reason and cause for it; and of this (says he) I make you so much the judge, as I shall take it very unkindly if I find you do not withdraw yourself so timeously as to preserve your safety for better times.” Out of regard to this safety, he desired the dean to tell the marquis, that he would not

have him land in Scotland, for the Scots did not love him, but to go for Holland or France, where he should not fail of hearing often from him.

202 The marquis of Ormond^o had hitherto stayed in Ireland, because he found that his going away would increase the divisions of the nation, and that those who had been most active in procuring the peace would sooner submit to any conditions from Cromwell, than live under the tyrannical government of the clergy and those that opposed the peace. For this reason, and in some hopes that to keep the rebels employed there with part of their force, might be of advantage to the king's designs elsewhere, he had chose to sacrifice his quiet to the vexations he daily met with, and expose himself to the treachery he had cause to fear, rather than be wanting to what might possibly be of use for his majesty's service. But now having received by dean King, not only his majesty's leave for his departure, but his approbation of the marquis of Clanrickard's being left deputy, he saw no reason to defer his departure longer. His place was likely to be worthily supplied by that nobleman, and there was but one affair in which his stay and personal interposition might be more useful. He had, ever since the king's treaty with the Scots, had his eye upon the lord Broghill, as a person of the greatest consideration in Ireland, and the likeliest to improve that treaty for his majesty's service in this kingdom. He was satisfied of that lord's wishes for the king, and that no emulation with regard to power might deter him from following his inclinations, lord Inchiquin had consented to quit the presidency of Munster in his¹³⁴ favour. Cromwell had been jealous of him, and Ireton, who was left to command in chief in the other's stead, more openly shewed his suspicions. Lord Broghill, coming in July to the camp, whilst Ireton lay before Catherlogh, was welcomed thither by the old protestants, (so

^d C. C. 50, 136.

they called the troops that had served against the Irish before Cromwell came over,) with three huzzas; and all those soldiers complained to him of their wants and ill-usage, desiring his protection and assistance that they might be put on an equality with others. Ireton took so much notice of this, that he could not forbear shewing it in his carriage to lord Broghill, who was denied whatever he desired, and sent home discontented. He retired to Blarny, intending to act no more in the war, and several officers, in whom he had a particular interest, quitted the service. All the army that had formerly served under lord Inchiquin, and a great part of Cromwell's, expressed high discontents, and gave out intimations, that if Broghill would appear in the affair they would venture their lives to destroy the independents. They only wished this nobleman and Inchiquin were agreed, and that the marquis of Ormond had Limerick at his own disposal. Here was a fair opportunity of gaining the best body of troops in Ireland, and of recovering all Munster, perhaps the whole kingdom; for the Scots in the north, when they saw they should be supported, would certainly follow the example and measures of their countrymen; but the refractoriness of that city, the irremovable mistrusts of the Irish, and the vain unseasonable ambition and disloyal views of their clergy, rendered all union with that party impracticable, and denied all hopes of security and success to the revolvers.

203 Notwithstanding the proceedings of the clergy, most of the commissioners of trust, the principal nobility, and the most considerable gentry, continued firm and unshaken in their affection to the king, and submission to the authority of his lieutenant. ^eTo prevent their being affected with the late declaration in Scotland, and quiet the minds of people who might be disturbed on that occasion, the marquis of Ormond wrote on Oct. 23 to the commis-

^e C. C. 401, 410, and 425.

sioners, declaring to them “that since the said declaration was by undue means obtained from his majesty, he was resolved at all hazards in the behalf of the nation to assert the lawfulness of the conclusion of that peace, and the validity of it to bind his majesty and all his subjects, and therein to persist till himself, and such as the nation should authorize, had free and safe access to the king, and his majesty, after hearing what might on all sides be said, should declare his royal pleasure with regard to those affronts that had been put upon his authority; provided, 1. the bishops would revoke all their acts and declarations against his authority, and give assurances of not attempting the like for the future: 2. that the commissioners of trust should declare the bishops’ declaration and excommunication to be an unwarrantable usurpation upon his majesty’s authority, and in them a violation of the peace; and if the bishops would not give or observe the assurances before expressed, that they should endeavour to bring the offenders to condign punishment: 3. that the like declaration should be made by all magistrates and officers, civil and military: 4. that the lord lieutenant should reside freely in any place he should choose, within the limits not possessed by the rebels: and, 5. should be suffered to put garrisons, according to the articles of the peace, in all places as he should judge necessary for the defence of the kingdom. Wishing at last that some course might be taken for his support, in some proportion answerable to his place, yet with regard to the state of the nation; he being deprived of all his own fortunes, upon which he had wholly subsisted ever since he came into the kingdom.

204 The commissioners in return the next day, professed 135
 “their reverence to his majesty’s authority, and their resolution to do what lay in their power for his service, and for the satisfaction of his lieutenant; that they would, with his allowance, treat with the prelates to revoke their acts and

censures ; that they knew those censures to be an invasion of the king's authority, yet a public declaration of that kind from them might hinder their prevailing with the bishops to recall them, endanger the union which was necessary to preserve the nation, and would not be so effectual, as if it came from a general assembly, which they besought his excellency to call, and if in the mean time those censures were revived, they would not fail to publish such a declaration against them ; and that they would give him satisfaction in the other points, to the utmost of their power."

205 The lord lieutenant, though he had small hopes of success, gave leave to the commissioners to go to Galway, to treat with the bishops that composed the committee of the congregation. The bishops were desired "to consider the state of the nation, which could not be preserved without keeping the king's authority amongst them, for as soon as that was taken away, the most considerable among them would instantly make their conditions with the enemy, and that there was no hopes, either of the lord lieutenant's staying to keep that authority, or of his leaving it, or of the marquis of Clanrickard's accepting it, unless the excommunication and declaration were revoked ; which they pressed in the strongest manner, but all in vain." The bishops replied, that the king by his late declaration had cast the Irish nation from his protection, and thereby withdrawn his authority ; that they had nothing to do but to return to their old oath of association, and that they would not revoke their excommunication and declaration, nor give the assurances desired.

206 No remedy was now left for the disorders of the nation but a general assembly ; which the lord lieutenant called to meet on Nov. 15^f. As soon as they met, he acquainted them with his intentions of leaving the kingdom, and required them to consider of the most probable

^f C. C. 437, 440, 441, 450, 451, 452, 457.

ways of preserving it from utter ruin ; to which he would gladly, before his departure, contribute his best endeavours. Many of the bishops and other members not arriving at the day appointed, the marquis's letter was not delivered till the 25th, when sir R. Blake was chosen chairman. The assembly was very full, and composed of the principal nobility and gentry of fortune and interest then left in the kingdom ; far the greatest part of them being well affected to the crown, and very averse to the proceedings of the clergy. Several of the most learned and pious, both of the secular and regular clergy, heartily detested the late measures of the congregation of James Town ; and even some of the bishops, whose names were put to the declaration and excommunication, declared against them, as being obtruded on them by the major vote, or done by their proxies, without their assent or knowledge. It was expected that the assembly would call upon the bishops to know their meaning in those late acts of theirs ; and before they avowed them, it was thought proper for the lord lieutenant to make an answer to them in form, though the matter thereof had been already refuted in his answer to their pretended grievances. The marquis of Ormond did not think it needful to make any reply to such a collection of notorious falsehoods as were contained in the declaration ; which, however it had an effect on the ignorant commonalty, who blindly followed the directions of the seditious clergy, was abominated by all men of sense, knowledge, and integrity throughout the nation. But submitting to ¹³⁶ the judgment of those, who (he knew) wished well to the kingdom, and desired the preservation of the royal authority, he sent to the assembly on Dec. 5 a letter dated the 2nd, containing a full and clear refutation of all the calumnies with which the said acts of the clergy were stuffed.

207 ^gThe king, out of his great concern for the marquis of Ormond's safety, and out of a just apprehension that his boundless duty and affection to the crown might make him stay longer than was consistent with it in the kingdom, had on Nov. 11 despatched Mr. Digby to him from Perth, with an account of his own miserable situation in Scotland, and renewed instances for the marquis's taking care of himself by a timely quitting of Ireland. "The hazards (says he in his letter of that date) and dangers (besides the trouble) I hear you do expose yourself unto upon all occasions, makes me take this opportunity to entreat and command you to have a care of your person, in the preservation of which (I would have you believe) I am so much concerned, both in my interest and affection, that I would not lose you for all I can get in Ireland. If the affairs there be in such a condition, as it will be necessary for you to quit the country and retire into France, then I do very earnestly desire and entreat you to repair to my brother the duke of York, to advise and assist him with your counsels; upon which I have such a confidence and reliance, that I have wrote and sent instructions to him, to be advised by you upon all occasions. And I doubt not of his cheerful and ready compliance, and that you will find all good satisfaction from him."

208 The marquis hereupon had determined to quit the kingdom; but was not yet resolved to leave the king's authority behind him; fearing it might be insulted in another's hands, after the same manner it had been in his own. ^hThe clergy, when they sent the bishop of Down and dean Kelly to require him to depart the realm, had given them instructions to insist upon his delegating the royal authority to certain persons of their nomination. They named for this purpose two out of each province,

^g D. D. 510.

^h Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 2984—2987.

sir N. Pluncket and Terence Mac Coghlan of Leinster, Philip O'Reily and Turlogh O'Boile of Ulster, the marquis of Clanrickard, (whom they could not avoid mentioning, but were satisfied he would not act with the rest,) and Dermot O'Shaghnessy of Connaught, and the viscount Roche and Geoffrey baron of Munster. Out of these they were willing his excellency should name one out of each province, if he was not willing to appoint all the eight; but still insisted, that by all means sir N. Pluncket should be one of the four, (if that number was most acceptable to the lord lieutenant,) he being so universally agreeable to the nation, and so well versed in the affairs of the kingdom, that the rest might perhaps err if he was excluded. If these were appointed, the bishops were ready to assist him; but would protest against any others whom his excellency should invest with the government. I must here do justice to sir N. Pluncket's character, so far as to say, that though he was too much of a bigot, and by that means too much governed by the clergy, for which they thus insisted on his being named, yet he was a lover of his country, and well affected to the king, and in this assembly asserted the royal authority on all occasions, and did eminent service, in reconciling the minds of the members, and uniting them for the defence of the kingdom.

209 The view of the clergy who insisted on this delegation, was to have the government of the nation in their own power, under colour of its being vested in persons that were entirely their creatures, and would not fail to follow¹³⁷ their directions. Had the persons named been never so free from exceptions, such a delegation would have been very improper, power divided into several hands being always weaker than when united in one, and less able in this juncture to oppose the encroachments likely to be made on it by the clergy. The marquis of Ormond was resolved

ⁱ Lord Clanrickard's letter, D. D. 3 13.

to intrust the royal authority in nobody but the marquis of Clanrickard (the only person in the kingdom fit for so high a trust); but was still irresolute about leaving it in his hands, for fear it should not be obeyed. The assembly of Loghreagh were very sensible of the invasion made by the late acts of the clergy, as well on the liberties of the kingdom as the authority of the crown, and desirous to vindicate both. They saw plainly the terrible distraction into which the nation would fall, if the lord lieutenant departed without leaving them under a settled government; and that the consequence would be a ready submission upon any terms to the rebels. In a sense hereof on ^k Nov. 30 they acknowledged the great testimony which his excellency had given of his affection to the nation in calling them together, and entreated him, since he was departing, to leave the king's authority in some hand, acceptable to the people, and faithful to his majesty's service and interest.

210 The marquis of Ormond, in answer to this address, told them, "that when he should understand they had by some public instrument vindicated his majesty's authority from the affronts already offered it in his person, and had provided for the future, that the person to be intrusted with it should not be subject to the like, he should readily condescend to their request; and as he was confident they would not be wanting to themselves in manifesting their just dislike of the late proceedings of the clergy, so he expected their speedy sense thereof, before the wind turned favourable for his sailing." Assemblies, by reason of their necessary forms, proceeding slowly in their debates and resolutions, and the wind setting fair on Dec. 6, the marquis of Ormond resolved to embark. Before he went on board, (which he thought not fit to defer, lest some parliament ships should come to block up the harbour, Ireton, from whom he had re-

^k C. C. 467, 466. D. D. 3, 5, 10, 11.

fused to accept of a pass which he offered him, knowing of his intentions to depart,) he sent the marquis of Clanrickard an authority to act as deputy in his stead, for fear the assembly should make some such declaration, as if it overtook him, might induce him to depute his majesty's authority; requiring that nobleman either to make use thereof or to decline it, as he should be thereunto encouraged or deterred from it by the proceedings of the assembly. That body was at this time employed in drawing up a declaration for that purpose; and the same day by their command sir R. Blake wrote to him, "that they were preparing one which they conceived would conduce to his majesty's service, the union of the nation, and his excellency's satisfaction; that by to-morrow night they should be ready to present it, and entreated him to stay till that time to receive it before his departure."

- 211 The marquis of Ormond was under sail in the bay of Galway when he received this letter on the 7th; but stopped at Glaneinagh till the 9th, when he received the declaration of the assembly and though it was not so full and explicit as might have been expected, he wrote word in answer, "that he had left authority with the marquis of Clanrickard to govern the kingdom, provided their declaration was so far explained as to give his lordship full satisfaction with regard to the expressions they made use of to declare their duty of obedience." The points that he wanted to have explained were, "that by the king's authority they meant the power intrusted by him in 138 any governor of the kingdom; and that they declared there was no power in any person or persons to set free or discharge the people from yielding obedience to any such governor during his commission." He had at first made these particulars part of his answer to the assembly; but afterwards thought it best to mention them only in his letter to lord Clanrickard, that he might be at liberty to insist on what he should find necessary.

212 This being done, the marquis of Ormond put to sea again on the 11th from Glaneinagh, on board the *Elizabeth* of Jersey, a small frigate of twenty-four tons and four guns, but an excellent sailer, and sent by the duke of York, about a month before, for his transportation. Sir G. Hamilton would have attended him, but that clamours having been unjustly raised against him (as receiver general) by the clergy, he stayed to pass his accounts; which after many trifling delays, of which he was forced to complain to the assembly, were at last by their order of ¹Feb. 8 following passed by the commissioners of trust and the auditor general, much to the satisfaction of that assembly. This proved an irrefragable refutation of the false surmises of the clergy on that article, but it obliged sir George to defer the carrying of his lady and family to France till the spring, when the lady Clanrickard, Mr. Belling, and other persons of quality, went with him thither. The marquis of Ormond carried with him in his little frigate the lord Inchiquin, colonel Wogan, with forty other officers, besides several passengers. This throng of men, and all appearing to be well armed upon the deck, prevented their being taken by an Ostend privateer, that met them in the Bay of Biscay. He met in his passage with very tempestuous weather, natural to that season of the year; but after about three weeks tossing at sea, landed at Perose in Basse-Bretagne. As he entered that harbour, the ships in it fired at the frigate, till by putting out their yawl it appeared they were friends, and the sea running mountains high, the land was not unwelcome. There was a large Dutch ship called the *Seven Stars*, that sailed at the same time from Kilcolgan (where the marquis first embarked) with sir G. Lane, and a great number of others, besides his lordship's attendants, which got safe to another port in France. But there was a third vessel that had put to sea a little before

¹ D. D. 167.

them, with some of the marquis's servants, that miscarried. She was commanded by captain Bacon, and had on board some of his majesty's goods, sent over when he had thoughts of going into Ireland. These occasioned the loss of the vessel; for the captain, intending to make a prize of them, stood for England, and was cast away near Scilly.

213 ^mThe marquis of Clanrickard was at this time in a very bad state of health; and much afflicted in mind, for the lord lieutenant's departure. The entire affection he had ever borne him would not have let him be unconcerned on such an occasion, but the manner of his departure doubled his anxiety in regard of the ill situation of the king's affairs. He was likewise not a little perplexed on his own account, that he was either to take upon himself a government, wherein he was to struggle with abundance of present and growing wants, and the power of a prevailing enemy, (the influence of whose success and practices had reached as far as the assembly, and prevailed with some under colour of the necessities of the kingdom, to insinuate a treaty with the enemy,) or to lay aside the thought of accepting the king's authority, and with it the hopes of upholding his majesty's interests in the kingdom; and of protecting those who had continued faithful to them, and were by particular affection attached to his friend the marquis of Ormond. He determined however to accept of the government, if the assembly gave him ¹³⁹ the satisfaction desired. His motives thereto were, the lord lieutenant's desire and opinion that it would be greatly to the advantage of his majesty's service; and his own observation, that if he declined it, there was a general resolution taken by most of the nation, to put themselves under the protection and obedience of the parliament. There was the greater danger in this respect, because the refractory clergy, with the bishop of Ferns at

their head, though violent in their opposition to the royal authority in the lord lieutenant, had declared lately in their conference with the commissioners of trust, "that if the assembly, upon due consideration of their state and condition, should find it the best way for their preservation to make an agreement with the enemy, (who had murdered their sovereign, and professed the extirpation of their religion and nation,) they would not hinder the people from compounding with them, for the safety of their lives and fortunes." These very men had in truth expressed a desire that the king's authority should be left with the marquis of Clanrickard; whose zeal to the Roman catholic religion and interest in the nation was as well known, and as universally acknowledged, as his inviolable affection and duty to the king. But they did not intend this should last any longer, than till an assembly should take upon them to judge, whether it was best and safest for the defence of the nation to assert the peace, and keep up the king's authority, or to renew their oath of association, and set up their former model of government; and to decree and order what they should so judge to be the most proper expedient for the preservation of the people.

- 214 In the assembly's declaration of Dec. 7 mention was made of the bishops having protested, "that by their late declaration and excommunication they had no other aim than the preservation of the catholic religion and people, and did not purpose to make any usurpation on his majesty's authority, or on the liberties of the people, which they confessed did not belong to their jurisdiction." The assembly had also declared, "that the best foundation for their union was the obeying of the king's authority, and protested, that their allegiance to his majesty was so inherent in them, that they could not be withdrawn from the same, nor was there any power or authority in the lords spiritual or temporal, gentry or people, clergy or

laity of the kingdom, that could alter, change, or take away his majesty's authority, which they held to be the chief flower of the crown and support of the people's liberty; and that they would pay all due obedience to the person in whom the lord lieutenant should leave that authority." The marquis of Ormond did not think this declaration explicit enough, and recommended to lord Clanrickard to have a further explanation, in respect of their paying this obedience to the king *in the person of his lord lieutenant or deputy*. It was necessary to have some explanation of this sort made before the latter could accept the government; and yet there were great difficulties in the case; because the bishops would neither revoke their own acts, nor allow any thing to pass that necessarily reflected on them. Clanrickard however insisted on this explanation, which was referred to the consideration of a committeeⁿ. An instrument was accordingly drawn up on Dec. 23, expressing "that all obedience should be given to the king's authority invested in the marquis of Clanrickard, or any other governor, and that it should not lie in the power of any to take away that obedience." But to this a proviso was added, "that this obedience was not intended to any that should be appointed governor, who had joined in the covenant of the presbyterian party, or should violate the articles of peace." The bishop of Limerick said on this occasion, 140 "that such ties and declarations were not necessary; but if his excellency did suspect the prelates, they would give him as much satisfaction as might be expected, and would take their oath before the altar on their knees to give as great obedience to him as any catholic clergy in catholic times gave to a catholic governor." This protestation of his in behalf of the clergy gave great satisfaction to the house, and being sent as one of the committee to attend

ⁿ D. D. 22, 23, and 248.

the marquis of Clanrickard, he was desired to repeat it before him when they presented the instrument.

- 215 This however did not satisfy the lord deputy, from whom the committee brought another form expressed in other words, which was much opposed by the prelates; a debate thereupon arising, several expressions in it were altered, till at last it was thought likely to give satisfaction, and a committee was sent to present it. In this instrument the assembly declare, “that the lords spiritual and temporal, gentry or people, clergy or laity, shall not attempt or do any act to set free or discharge the people from yielding due and perfect obedience to his majesty’s authority, invested in the marquis of Clanrickard, or any other governor of the kingdom; and in case of any such act or endeavour, that no person shall or *ought* to be led thereby; but by their disobedience on any such grounds, are subject to the heavy censures and penalties of the laws of the land in force, and practised in the reign of Henry VII and other catholic princes. Yet by any thing herein contained it is not intended that the nation will not insist upon the performance of the articles of the peace, and by all just means provide against the violation of the same, and as his majesty was at present in the power of a party of the Scots, [the bishop of Ferns persuading his brethren not to insist on the word *presbyterian*,] who had declared themselves enemies to this nation, and had vowed the extirpation of their religion;” they further declared, “they did not thereby intend to oblige themselves to obey any governor that should come unduly nominated or procured from his majesty by reason of or during his being in an unfree condition, that might raise disturbance of the present government established by his majesty’s authority, or redound to the violation of the articles of peace.” The clergy, conscious of their ill-conduct, but jealous of a reputation which they had much more exposed by their actions than could be

done by stronger words than any inserted in this declaration, would not be satisfied with this, till the assembly had declared, “that by the word *ought* it was not intended to look back, or have a retrospect into any former proceedings of the clergy.”

- 216 °There was a great number of the best quality in this assembly who offered the marquis of Clanrickard to make any declaration or protestation that he would direct, which might give the fullest testimony of their loyalty, and most effectually vindicate the attempts lately made by the clergy upon the king’s authority in the person of the lord lieutenant. They assured him, it was their opinion that they might carry it by vote; but intimated withal, that being carried in that manner with such public disgrace to the prelates and clergy, it would produce such protestations from them, as would raise many factions and divisions in several parts of the kingdom, and obstruct the obedience of the principal towns. These consequences (they imagined) would deprive them of their chief and only aim and means of preservation, viz. the continuing under his majesty’s authority, believing that lord Clanrickard would not engage it amongst such dangerous confusions, and environed by a powerful and successful enemy. So that by this means those who were most loyal would be immediately exposed to the enemy’s fury, and to the violence of a party of their own nation, pretending likewise to loyalty, but accompanied with a specious show of zeal for defence of the church. They proposed to him therefore, that if he would accept of such a declaration or explanation as might be procured with the concurrence of the prelates, that should be binding against them and all others for future obedience, and would thereupon undertake the government, it was the only way of any possible preservation left them to hope 141

° Lord Clanrickard’s instructions to captain J. King, to be represented to his majesty. D. D. 30.

for; and as his power and interest increased by the king's authority in the army, and by having secured the towns in their obedience, he might call former acts of disobedience into question, so far as he should judge it safe, according to the disposition he found in the clergy and people, and the opportunity allowed him by the enemy.

- 217 These things being debated between the marquis of Clanrickard and some of the discreetest and most knowing of the assembly, in whom from former trials he had just reasons to repose a confidence, he deemed it most conducive to the king's service, and for the safety of a loyal party that had given large testimonies of their fidelity, in the hazard of their own persons, and loss of their friends and fortune, so far to accept of their declaration, as not to decline the authority left him by the lord lieutenant, provided they would enable him, according to the proposals he laid before them, to carry on the service as far as their abilities would reach. He wished the declaration had been couched in stronger terms, but still thought that in an age of general defection, such a profession of obedience, though not orderly expressed, might be of considerable advantage, especially when it produced no manner of tie or engagement upon his majesty, more than the imminent dangers which himself and his friends were to struggle with, till a further signification of his royal pleasure. The suspicious expressions in the declaration, relating to Henry VII and other catholic times, were not calculated to prevent any prosecution of the actors in treason, but were only a provision for the Roman catholic clergy, who by the laws since that time had not upon trials enjoyed the privileges that before belonged to their functions, but had suffered without any degrading or other ceremonies and respects of a like nature due to churchmen; a treatment to which even the laity of the assembly did not care to subject the clergy, and were therefore for leaving them liable to death or

other punishment according to their crimes and the ancient laws of the land. Upon consideration of these circumstances, and in hopes that a present union of the nation might give the rebels such a diversion in Ireland as might be of great advantage to his majesty's affairs in England and Scotland, the marquis of Clanrickard received the declaration, defective as it was, and declared his acceptance of the government on Dec. 23, the assembly being the next morning either to adjourn in an orderly way, or, in case of a refusal, to break up all in confusion.

218 P^tThe necessity of coming to an immediate determination in this point, and the evident danger of exposing the king's interests and the nation to utter ruin, by the divisions which would thence have arisen, induced the marquis of Clanrickard not to press, in the situation of affairs at this time, the publishing, and debating in the assembly, of the lord lieutenant's answer to the prelate's declaration and excommunication. It was a matter of great weight and delicacy. To have the answer read and debated in the house, if it produced a declaration, clearly justifying him from those imputations which many of the clergy endeavoured to cast upon him, it would render them so infamous, as to drive them into immediate desperate acts that would divide and tear asunder what re- 142
mained unconquered of the kingdom; and those who were honest and loyal would be betrayed and delivered up to the enemy. There was the more danger of this consequence, because some persons of quality had been busy at work, and therein countenanced by several of the clergy, to get the nation to submit to the rebels; though the lord deputy found afterwards that their drift was by a treaty to drive away the king's authority; and upon the enemy's refusal to grant them the high conditions demanded, to renew their confederacy, which would be

equally, perhaps more, destructive to the well-affected. On the other hand, to have the answer read, only for the satisfaction of the assembly, and as a tacit and private justification of his excellency, without a public declaration, would in present appearance prove rather a disadvantage to him, and leave the kingdom liable to a dangerous construction of being involved in a kind of consent to those high miscarriages of the clergy. It was considered that the assembly had already expressed their sense of his hearty affections to the kingdom, and sincere intentions for its welfare; that all honest understanding men were already satisfied, and many of the prelates ashamed and repenting of the manner of their proceedings, drawn in by practices of the bishop of Ferns, and some few others the most violent of the clergy; that factious, rebellious, and ill-affected persons were not to be converted by truth or reason, but by power and punishment; and that until the king's authority, and the lord lieutenant's own interests could be put into such a condition, (which was only to be done by a present unity and timely success against the enemy,) it was dangerous to have that public declaration enforced, with such apparent hazard to the king's, his excellency's, and all honest men's interests in the kingdom. For these reasons the marquis of Claurickard, presuming to understand the marquis of Ormond's inclinations so well, that if matters could be carried to the king's advantage and the preservation of the people, he would not be displeased at some delay to his own particular satisfaction, did not press the immediate reading of that answer, being confident that within a short and more proper time the marquis's honour and reputation would arise and appear in a full and public lustre. Hence there was nothing done in that particular in the house; only it was once or twice called upon among themselves to be read: but by reason of the hasty adjournment of the assembly through poverty, and

the necessity of the present service, the house growing thin on a sudden, it was only agreed to have it kept, and such as pleased to read or take copies thereof.

²¹⁹ ¶The marquis of Clanrickard had scarce accepted the government, when some deputies arrived from the county of Kilkenny to propose a treaty with the enemy. Colonel Axtel, governor of the city of that name, asking some gentlemen of the county, met before him, why they did not, as their neighbours of Tipperary, Wexford, and Waterford had done, send agents to treat with the parliament of England; and being answered, that they might not conveniently do so without the allowance of the assembly then sitting at Loghreagh, he gave leave for captain John Grace and John Brian of Bawnemore to be employed, with letters of credence from them to the assembly, but with instructions of his own penning. The substance thereof was, that they should represent their sufferings, with the application made from other parts to the parliament, and press the assembly to do the same, because, he believed, better conditions might be had for the kingdom in general than for any particular persons or places. This occasioned the motion for a treaty (which had been rejected before the holydays) to be revived on Jan. 10, the very day to which the house was adjourned. The letters and message were referred to a committee; ¹⁴³ the bishop of Ferns urged more vehemently than ever what he had before insisted on, that a treaty was necessary to undeceive the people, and cure them of all expectations of good terms from the enemy. The lord deputy taking notice of the draught of an answer, which might encourage the rebels to hope for an overture of that kind, expressed his dislike of an answer, which, under pretence of undeceiving the people, was the ready way to inveigle them, and make them stupid and negligent of their own preservation. He represented to them on this

q D. D. 452, 174, 112.

occasion, “that it was inconsistent with the king’s authority to admit of any treaty of submission to the parliament-party; that the danger and distraction was much greater at the former sitting of the assembly than at the present, as was evident by the arrival of shipping at Galway with arms and ammunition, and the recovery of several garrisons from the enemy; that if there were any ground for their despair, they ought to have discovered it, before their importunities to have the king’s authority continued amongst them; that at his first entrance upon the government, he had sent despatches to the king with an account of the dangerous condition of the kingdom, and the impossibility of opposing the enemy without a speedy relief, and was confident of receiving very soon either such relief or license, in case of extremity, to withdraw his majesty’s authority, and permit his subjects to treat with the enemy for their own preservation; that till he received the king’s pleasure, (unless upon inevitable necessity,) he could not, consistent with his duty, honour, and safety, admit of any treaty; that any connivance at an affair of such a nature would dishearten the forces ready to be drawn into the field, fix every body’s mind only upon expectations of the treaty, encourage the enemy to believe the nation was already conquered, and incapable of any conditions, and (which was their principal design) be made use of into England, to discourage the king’s party there and in Scotland, now growing in a prosperous condition, and leave an infamy upon the kingdom, so soon and so poorly to treat of a submission after their solemn declarations of adhering to the king’s authority and government; that the undeceiving of the people was not to be done by a seeming treaty, but by maintaining strong forces in the field, by appearing careless of the enemy’s power, by an excommunication against the Irish that serve actually under them, or such as advise a submission to them, by proclamations of

giving no quarter to any of them, and forbidding, upon the highest penalties, any addresses, communication, or treaty, private or public, by any province, county, town, or particular person, and also by frequent preaching and inculcating to the people the impiety, cruelty, and perfidiousness of a merciless enemy; which would much better become the pulpit, than for a 'prelate in his sermons to expostulate about the extent and power of the king's authority, under the denomination or character of being but an useless idol, set up in men's fancies, without power to relieve or support them; a practice which could not fail of deceiving and abusing the people, if suffered to pass without reprehension and punishment, and of fixing a belief in them that it was the sense and opinion of the rest of the prelates, and would let loose the tongues of the inferior and less considerate clergy to follow their example; and lastly, that, except there and in some factious persons in Galway, seduced by such like practices, he found every where in the provinces a forwardness to rise against the enemy, to be freed of their oppression and tyranny." Upon this representation made by the lord deputy, an answer was returned, "that the king's authority was vested in the marquis of Clanrickard, and ¹⁴⁴ that to him all application ought to be made." Another consequence of it was, an excommunication denounced by the bishops, and a proclamation issued out by the deputy, upon the advice of the assembly, against all persons that either served in the army of the rebels, or entertained any treaty with, or made any submission to them, declaring them guilty of high treason, and punishable with death, unless within twenty-one days they quitted the service, and left off all communication with the rebels.

²²⁰ The arms and ammunition mentioned in the marquis of Clanrickard's representation, as arrived at Galway, were

^r The bishop of Clonfert.

sent thither by Charles duke of Lorraine, with whom a treaty had been carrying on some time before ; of which it will be necessary to give some account. It hath been already observed that Hugh Rochfort, recorder of Wexford, a violent partisan of the nuncio and clergy's faction, had in the beginning of the foregoing year waited upon the king in Jersey, and by underhand practices endeavoured the removal of the marquis of Ormond from the government of Ireland. He came thither so little authorized, having only a trifling letter from lieutenant general Ferral to introduce him to somebody about the court, and behaved himself in so suspicious a manner, that he was taken by many to be a spy of Cromwell's. He did not omit however to promise great matters for the king's service, and was by some, who knew little of him, and were ill judges of business, favoured on account of those pretences, which, how groundless soever, will ever be hearkened to in the courts of distressed princes. ^sHe afterwards waited on his majesty at Breda, with proposals for mortgaging the fort of Duncannon to a person who would advance twenty-four thousand pounds for his service upon that security. The terrible distress of his majesty's affairs in Ireland at that time for want of money, and the hopes of retrieving them by such a seasonable supply, induced the king to hearken to the proposal. He gave on April 1 authority to sir Henry De Vic his resident at Bruxelles, and to Rochfort, to make the agreement, and sent orders to the marquis of Ormond, (if he deemed it convenient for his service,) upon his approbation of the contract and receipt of the money, to deliver the fort into the hands of the persons authorized by the lender of that sum to receive the place, which was to be maintained at the lender's charge during his possession. The king agreed to this the rather, because Duncannon

^s B. B. 102, 154, 161, 163, 186, 194, 260, 362, 375, 380, 332, 416, 420, 422.

was at that time in danger of being lost, and for fear of being loaded with the odium of any loss or misfortune that should happen in Ireland through the want of money and a seasonable supply of the army there, for the support of which this sum was to be employed. The duke of Lorrain was the person with whom Rochfort had been treating on this subject, and insisted upon terms different from sir H. de Vic's instructions in a material point. The king designed the money should be paid at Galway or some other place in Ireland to the marquis of Ormond's order, upon delivery of the fort ; but the duke would only consign the money in Flanders, and to be paid there only to his majesty's order, when it should be certified that the place was put into the hands of such as he appointed to take possession. This difficulty was increased by accounts which the duke received, that it was doubtful whether Duncannon was not already in the rebels' hands, which made [him] decline accepting of that security. He expressed however great inclination to serve the king ; and to improve the overture to his own advantage, he sent on April 29 colonel Oliver Synot to raise recruits and levy men for his service in Ireland, as he had been formerly allowed to do. This was all the purport of the duke's letter to the marquis of Ormond ; but Synot, when ¹⁴⁵ he arrived about May 21 in Ireland, pretended it was only a cover to the real and chief design of his journey, which was to see the condition of the place that was to be mortgaged to his master, and to be satisfied that the Irish would consent to have it put in his possession. He pretended to have had letters from the duke and powers to treat on that subject ; but that danger had made him throw them overboard. Rochfort, who came along with him, pretended likewise to have brought letters from his majesty to the lord lieutenant, but with directions to throw them overboard in case he was in danger of being taken at sea ; and that being chased by two parliament

frigates, and expecting every minute to be boarded or sunk, he had accordingly treated them in that manner ; but that his own and Synot's memory and knowledge could supply their loss.

221 The marquis of Ormond was not satisfied with this story. Captain Antonio, who brought them in his frigate, and was of the same faction with Rochfort, being asked by sir L. Dyve about the affair, said, that a parliament ship was once near them, and that Rochfort, not being acquainted with danger, had thrown his packet overboard sooner than necessity required. Rochfort was known to be a malignant, and strongly suspected of treachery ; and being apprehensive that the marquis of Clanrickard might cause him to be apprehended in Galway, withdrew thence privately, without going to the lord lieutenant ; which seemed to argue a consciousness of his guilt. The marquis of Ormond thought fit to ease Rochfort of his fears, and to hear what he and Synot had to propose. They waited upon him on June 4, and acquainted him with the duke of Lorrain's orders to Synot, that, if he liked the place to be mortgaged, and the lord lieutenant and commissioners would agree to put it into his hands, he should return immediately and bring over the men that were to possess it for the duke, and the money for which it was to be engaged. The marquis of Ormond, jealous of some deceit in the proposers, but desirous to make an advantage of the affair for the king's service, told them, that the business being of so high importance, as the putting of a considerable place and inlet of the kingdom into the hands of a foreign prince, how full credit soever he gave them, yet it was not fit for him to do any thing in it, without express orders from the king ; unless they could enable him to justify his doing so by inducements of present advantage to his majesty ; such as might be the advancing of a considerable sum of money in hand. They acknowledged the marquis had reason for what he said,

and added, that the necessity of the kingdom had been foreseen, and provision had been made, that in case the agreement should be concluded, captain Antonio was to advance ten thousand pounds upon his credit. But then they expected, that if in the mean time Duncannon should be lost to the enemy, some other place to Synot's satisfaction should be found out, or the money repaid. The lord lieutenant closed with this motion, and it was agreed they should return to Galway, and signify from thence what security would satisfy Antonio, and what payment he could make of the money. The marquis of Ormond offered them the public faith of himself and the commissioners; but that they did not like. He proposed [to] them that of Limerick or Galway; and they seemed to approve of it, if the obligation was to bind all the merchants of those places.

222 ^t When Synot came back to Galway, lord Taaffe, whom the marquis of Ormond was then despatching to the king, and who was to depart as soon as this affair was adjusted, treated with him and Antonio on the subject. This last offered upon Synot's bills of exchange to pay ten thousand pounds down in that place; but by their shuffling manner 146 of proceeding, it soon appeared that either Synot pretended to more authority than he had to engage his master, or captain Antonio to more credit than he had to give. The former probably was the case, for Antonio was certainly very rich, had taken a great number of prizes during the war, and had sold an hundred of them abroad to defraud the king of his tenths. The merchants of Galway, pleased to have so much money remitted through their hands, and such supplies sent for defence of the kingdom, were disposed to give their own security, upon receiving that of the lord lieutenant and commissioners upon the king's revenues. But Synot upon his

^t B. B. 343, 435, 445, 450, 455, 470, 474, 486, 489. C. C. 2, 27, 31, 34, 47, 64, 67, 71, 72, and 90, 127.

return thither, and after several private consultations with persons, had more mind to that place than to Duncannon, pretended that he must have a view of the latter place, before he could engage his master, excused his not waiting on the marquis of Ormond according to his promise, and sent no account about the payment of the money or the terms of that payment. The marquis always suspected that he had neither will nor power to advance it in the proportion desired, and that he would therefore tack to it some condition impossible to be complied with; but it was his business to place the fault in the other, rather than to subject himself to the scandal of negligence or want of affection to procure so great and seasonable an assistance. The lord Taaffe, and Athenry, with Geffery Brown, were on June 25 empowered to treat with Synot; but as they were on the road the next day to Galway, captain Antonio sailed in great hurry out of the harbour, leaving lord Taaffe and all his passengers (whose baggage he had on board) behind him. He thought fit indeed on the 30th to take his lordship on board at a creek in Ireconnaught; but till he was gone, Synot would not enter into a treaty with lord Athenry and Mr. Brown; and then he said he did not find the business so feasible as he once thought, and would meddle no more in the matter; confessing he had no means to raise the money now Antonio was gone. Thus ended that part of the treaty which was transacted whilst the marquis of Ormond was in Ireland.

- 223 Lord Taaffe arriving in Jersey, had on July 26 a letter of credence from the duke of York to the duke of Lorraine, with which he proceeded on his journey to Bruxelles, taking Paris in his way, where he made so long a stay, that he did not reach Bruxelles till the latter end of November^u. Soon after his arrival, the duke of Lorraine sent for him, and having perused the papers relating

^u D. D. 4, 26, 35, 125, 126, 137, 138, 197.

to the treaty between the lord lieutenant and colonel Synnot, expressed himself willing to assist the nation; but objected that nobody had authority from the king to conclude with him. Taaffe undertook that his majesty would confirm any agreement he should make with him, since he had the approbation of the lord lieutenant and the commissioners, and desired his highness would not stay to know the king's pleasure, since that delay might be the loss of Ireland. Taaffe was a bold and forward undertaker in all cases, and engaged that any place in the king's possession in that kingdom should be delivered into his hands for the repayment of any sums he should advance for that service. He proposed likewise of his own head a match between the duke of York and the duke of Lorrain's daughter by the princess of Cantecroix. Whether it was the prospect of that alliance, or the necessity of doing something for the relief of Ireland in order to his own ends, which engaged the duke of Lorrain to such an expense, he immediately delivered five thousand pounds to buy arms and ammunition to lord Taaffe, who before Christmas holydays despatched them away to Galway, where they arrived in the beginning of January, when the affair of treating with the rebels was¹⁴⁷ going to be debated in the assembly of Loghreagh. Lord Taaffe at first gave him his bond in behalf of the kingdom for that sum; but the duke returned it to him in a few days, with a message that his lordship's word was of more value to him, and what he had given was but an earnest of the future supplies he should send the nation. Taaffe easily imagined he had some design in that civility, and desired to know what retribution he expected from that poor kingdom. The duke ascribed all to his compassion for the miserable circumstances of the poor catholics of Ireland, which affected him so much, that if invited by them, he would personally appear in their defence, with such a fund of money and other necessities,

as would probably in a short time recover the kingdom. Taaffe asking him by what title or commission he would undertake that work, he answered, he would seek no other title than duke of Lorrain; but that he expected an entire obedience from all persons, and would not serve by commission from any body. Taaffe was strangely confounded at this resolution, not knowing how the king would take it, nor how the marquis of Ormond (whom he then supposed in Ireland) could be brought to submit to him, nor yet seeing any other way of obtaining relief for his gasping country but from the duke of Lorrain, whose power was not formidable, though his ends should be found unsuitable to his professions. In these doubts, he proposed to him to send a person of quality into Ireland, to treat and conclude with such as were in authority there upon the subject. The duke agreed to the motion, and soon after sent Stephen de Hennin Abbé de St. Catherine over with a commission for that purpose. The Abbé landed at Galway on Feb. 26, after that assembly had adjourned to Nov. 10, and after the bishop of Ferns was sailed for France, with a commission from the disaffected clergy to treat with the duke of Lorrain, and to put the kingdom under his protection.

224 Charles duke of Lorrain had married his cousin-german Nicole, daughter of Henry duke of Lorrain and Bar, and heir-general of those duchies. The motive of this marriage was a reason of state, to prevent any dispute about the title to those dominions. He afterwards fell in love with Beatrix de Cusance, widow to the count of Cante-croix, and married her in 1637. The duchess Nicole was still living; he wanted a divorce from her, and to have his second marriage declared valid. He had no child by the first, but by the latter he had Charles Henry count of Vaudemont, governor of the Milanese in 1701, and had the strongest passion to have this young prince succeed him in his dominions, to the exclusion of his brother

Francis. He found some ecclesiastics shameless and mercenary enough to write in order to prove the nullity of his first marriage; and used pressing instances at the court of Rome to get it declared void. All arguments and solicitations hitherto failing, he imagined that engaging in defence of the Roman catholic cause in Ireland would be an act of so much merit as might engage the pope to annul the former, and make valid the second marriage^x. This was his first view in sending succours to Ireland; though possibly the suggestions of the bishop of Ferns, and the faction of the clergy, might make him also entertain thoughts of becoming one day sovereign of that kingdom. He had likewise a daughter by the princess of Cantecroix, but that illegitimate child was not three years old when lord Taaffe proposed a marriage between her and the duke of York. The duke of Lorrain seemed fond of the affair, and in case it was agreed on, declared he would furnish money, men, and other necessities sufficient to recover Ireland, if the king would consent to the marriage, and the duke of York go over thither immediately in person. The princess of Cantecroix had a sister, called mademoiselle de Banners, who had an ¹⁴⁸ estate of two thousand five hundred pounds a year inheritance, (which in that country would sell for above sixty thousand pounds sterling,) besides what her brother would give her. She was about ten years older than lord Ossory; yet Taaffe, in his usual way of undertaking, would needs set on foot a treaty of marriage between her and that young nobleman; but the marquis of Ormond thought it too early to think of any thing of that nature, till the marriage of the duke of York was concluded. He desired that matter might rest till this proposal was either pursued or laid aside; which last soon proved to be the case.

225 ^yThe marquis of Clanrickard was much perplexed at

^x D. D. 197, 199, 209, 221, 228, and 245. ^y D. D. 274, &c.

the Abbé de St. Catherine's landing with letters of credence, not directed to him as governor, but to the estates of the kingdom, which was endeavoured to be excused by the duke of Lorrain's ignorance, that there was a person left therein intrusted with his majesty's authority. The marquis was uneasy till he could learn the substance of the proposals which the envoy brought; and was more so, when he found from F. George Dillon that they were such as, in his judgment, were no better than a total transferring of the crown from his majesty to a foreign prince. It was impossible for him to come any thing near those proposals, and yet if he rejected them, such were the necessities of the kingdom, and so eager were the people's expectation of supplies, (which were much enlarged by reports,) that he would presently have been censured as a betrayer of the nation. In these difficulties he judged it the best way to debate them by a public treaty, and to call in the commissioners of trust, and such of the bishops, nobility, and gentry, as could be got together to assist in the transaction. These being met, advised by all means an agreement with the duke of Lorrain as necessary to save the kingdom, upon the terms of receiving him for protector of the nation, and giving cautionary towns for security of such aids of men, money, arms, and ammunition as he should ascertain and furnish; but this to be done, without prejudice to the king's right and interest in the realm, without interruption to his majesty's government, or hurting the liberties and properties of corporations, and the people of the kingdom. They had received from the envoy (who was probably put upon such high demands by the suggestions of sir James Preston, Rochfort, and other disaffected persons) a paper of proposals to this effect. They had debated these among themselves, without sending the paper to the lord deputy; they had admitted improper persons to be present at their debates, and had altered the com-

mittee, appointed by him to manage the treaty, and put others in their stead, without his consent. He complained as well of these proceedings, as of the overtures made in the name of the duke of Lorrain, which, after all his professions of assisting the king, were plainly calculated to overthrow his government, and extinguish his authority for ever. He represented to them, “that it was neither in his nor their power to dispose of the kingdom; that matters were not yet desperate in England and Scotland, but some revolution might be there expected in his majesty’s favour; that no necessity could justify the accepting of such proposals; and that the duke of Lorrain might probably afford them succours on more reasonable terms, if not misled by disaffected persons.” He observed that the envoy had declared he had no power to conclude in Ireland about further supplies, so that a treaty for them must be carried on abroad; and proposed, that if the Abbé de St. Catherine would advance a considerable sum to enable him to draw out an army into the field, he would venture to give a security for the money on the towns of Limerick and Galway, and this offer being accepted, he would send an agent abroad, to ¹⁴⁹ be joined with lord Taaffe, to treat with the duke about further supplies.

- 226 The bishops and gentlemen, without trying the success of the lord deputy’s proposals, still insisted that there was no way to preserve the nation but by agreeing to the envoy’s demands, which were, that the duke of Lorrain, his heirs and successors, should (with a saving to his majesty’s rights, and the liberties, estates, and property of the subjects) be accepted as protectors of the kingdom, should, whilst there resident, be subordinate to no superior, and should have the whole government of the militia in his hands; and in case of abuses, have power to call a general assembly, till he was repaid all his disbursements. The marquis of Clanrickard required

the persons who gave this advice to sign it before he gave any answer to it; and to get likewise the envoy to declare under his hand, either that he would not agree on less terms, or if he would admit of any qualifications, to specify what they were. The bishops and gentry did not care to sign their advice; but the envoy giving in his lowest demands, insisted on his master's having the protection and military power of the kingdom; and if he did not come thither in person, to have the appointment of what Roman catholics he thought fit to command the forces of the kingdom; and to assist in his name in the council of state, with the same power as other counsellors authorized by his majesty; to have the estates of rebels and delinquents applied to his own repayment or the maintenance of the war, and to establish garrisons in all places where he should deem it necessary; and in consideration hereof, he offered to advance twenty thousand pounds (including six thousand pounds already received by F. G. Dillon) for a present supply. The bishops and commissioners recommended an agreement upon these terms; but the lord deputy absolutely rejecting them, would not so much as admit the envoy to take leave of him, after offering such an affront to the king's honour and interests by his proposals; of which he should give an account to both their masters. A message to this effect was sent to the Abbé de St. Catherine in writing, and joined with the instances of the prelates, had such an effect, that he agreed to advance the twenty thousand pounds upon the security of Limerick and Galway, and to refer the other articles about the protectorship and military power of the kingdom, and further supplies, to be settled in a treaty at Bruxelles. An agreement was accordingly concluded on April 4 to this effect, between the lord deputy and the envoy: in consequence of which the former sent over sir N. Plunket and Mr. G. Brown to treat (in conjunction with lord Taaffe) with

the duke of Lorrain in Flanders, enjoining them not to proceed in the treaty (except with regard to the procuring of more supplies upon caution) otherwise or further than they should be directed in writing by the queen, the duke of York, and the lord lieutenant.

- 227 When these commissioners came about the middle of June to Bruxelles, they found there the bishop of Ferns in great favour with the duke of Lorrain, and treating with him in virtue of a private commission from the disaffected clergy and their faction in Ireland. ²That faction had long laboured to bring the nation to the necessity of calling for a Roman catholic protector, from which office to absolute sovereignty the way was short and easy: and that necessity being now evident, and the king's authority in a manner destroyed, they imagined they should easily effect their scheme. Rochfort and others were also sent over by the remaining towns, as well as the clergy, to join with Ferns, and assure the duke of Lorrain, that if her majesty, the duke of York, and the marquis of Ormond should not give free way to the pawning of the kingdom to him, they were able and ready to put all that was left of it into his hands. They 150 had the less difficulty in their way, because the new commissioners, Plunket and Brown, being resolved to get supplies at any rate, determined not to follow their instructions, and shewed the duke of Lorrain an authority which had no limitation of acting only by the directions of the queen, duke of York, and lord lieutenant. Lord Inchiquin was with the duke of Lorrain when they shewed him their authority, and was much surprised to find in it none of those limitations which he had seen mentioned in lord Clanrickard's letters; and could not forbear (in a letter from thence of June 21 to the marquis of Ormond) expressing his fears, lest an advantage should be taken of Taaffe's journey to Paris, by the other

² D. D. 454, 436.

commissioners to sign, in his absence, something that might be very prejudicial to his majesty in his other kingdoms as well as Ireland. The event shewed that he had reason for these apprehensions.

228 Lord Taaffe set out for Paris on June 19, with lord Clanrickard's letters, containing an account of all that had hitherto passed in the treaty, and copies of the powers and instructions which he had given to the commissioners. Agreeable to those instructions, they desired her majesty's and the lord lieutenant's directions for their further proceedings in the treaty to be finished at Bruxelles. Taaffe found the marquis of Ormond at Paris, and was surprised to find that neither he nor the queen had any opinion of the affair. ^aThey had reason to think the duke of Lorraine had no real intentions to serve his majesty; or if he had, that it was not in his power to do it in the manner proposed. They knew him to be an artful, designing man, covetous, rapacious, saving of his money, which was all he had to leave for a fortune to his children, in case that, by failing in his endeavours to get them legitimated, he could not leave them the succession of his dominions. They could not conceive why he should be ready to part with any considerable supplies of this sort, which were all that they wanted from him, and embark in so chargeable and remote a business, unless he had some designs upon the kingdom, which it was not proper for him to own, even when he was taking measures to execute them, but which he was very capable of entertaining. They were not so apprehensive of his particular power, as to imagine that he proposed to set up himself for absolute king of Ireland; but they vehemently suspected that he acted in concert with the court of Spain, in whose service he was engaged with his troops, and by whose directions he might well be supposed to move. That crown had long had a design to

^a D. D. 375, 411.

make themselves masters of Ireland, and was now in a strict league of friendship with the English parliament, which they had acknowledged as a free state. This treaty with the duke of Lorraine afforded Spain an opportunity of getting the possession of that kingdom, without either giving jealousy to the king, or breaking the league with the English rebels. ^bWhat either increased the jealousy of that duke's designs, or demonstrated the insincerity of his proceedings, was his resolution to send, at a vast and needless expense, a body of his forces into a kingdom where there was no want of soldiers, but only of subsistence, the defect whereof made great numbers enlist in the enemy's army, and disposed thousands to enter into foreign service. Whatever the duke proposed in this respect, the project was ridiculous, and the execution of it impracticable. There was no transporting men from any port of Flanders, because of the league between Spain and England; and from Holland neither ships nor leave of transportation could be expected, there being two agents there from the new commonwealth treating for a league offensive and defensive between the two states, to which the city of Amsterdam had agreed, and ¹⁵¹pressed the provinces to do the like; which was not doubted, but only deferred, till the event of the king's proceedings in Scotland was known. No port being to be had convenient for the purpose in those parts, the duke of Lorraine desired that the queen and the lord lieutenant would solicit the court of France to obtain leave for five or six thousand of his men to march through their country to some haven where they might embark for Ireland. It was not a likely thing, that in the unsettled condition of the affairs of France at that time, permission should be given to the troops of a foreigner and an enemy to march through the country upon any pretence whatever. There could not indeed be made a

^b D. D. 334, 365, 386, 399, 436.

proposition more remote from all probability of succeeding, nor could there be a greater mark of the duke of Lorrain's insincerity in the business, than his founding it upon so great an extravagance, as the hopes of such a permission from France, the very promise whereof would engage them to an unreasonable breach with the English parliament in a thing neither practicable nor in all probability intended by him. The queen however and the marquis of Ormond resolved to propose the matter to the court of France, not out of the least hopes of success, but purely to avoid the calumny of having omitted any thing that even the folly of others might pretend to have been important to the king's service and the relief of Ireland. Thus the affair was proposed, and leave refused.

- 229 In this situation were things at Paris when lord Taafe arrived in that city. He had there the satisfaction of being restored, by the marquis of Ormond's mediation, to the queen's favour, which he had forfeited by proposing and treating of the duke of York's marriage without her majesty's consent, or so much as communicating to her any thing of that transaction. But he was not a little mortified to find the duke of Lorrain's assistance, which he had ever been fond of as a favourite project, and founded great hopes upon as a feasible enterprise, (notwithstanding all lord Inchiquin's reasoning with him to the contrary,) now considered as a mere chimera and romantic design. He returned back to Bruxelles with instructions not to treat for succours of men, which it was impossible to transport, and of which there was no want in Ireland, but to propose supplies of money, which might be easily remitted and arrive in time, if obtained without delay. This did not answer the duke of Lorrain's views, who did not care to part with his money, and wanted only the show of a treaty, to magnify his zeal for the Roman catholic cause, in order to carry the point he was

soliciting at Rome. Taaffe hereupon would have no hand in the treaty, which upon his return was made with that duke by the other agents. ^cSir N. Plunket and Mr. Brown concluded and signed it upon July 22, upon conditions the same in substance with those which the marquis of Clanrickard had before rejected, calculated to put the kingdom into the duke's hands, under the title of a royal protector, all the military power thereof being to be vested in his person, and in case of his absence, in whatever Roman catholic he should substitute, independent of any whosoever; and the obedience and fealty of the people and kingdom to be given to his highness, free from the superiority of any other. In the second article there was a pompous pretence, that the cause of religion was the chief concernment of the treaty, which the parties contracting were to represent to the pope, in whose obedience and faith they professed constantly to remain. Plunket and Brown had the modesty not to take upon them in this transaction to act in virtue of the commission they had from the lord deputy, but signed the treaty as agents authorized on the behalf of the kingdom and people of Ireland, from which they neither had nor could ¹⁵² have any such powers. A petition likewise to the pope was at the instance of the bishop of Ferns drawn up, making a submission to him in the nation's name, and desiring his absolution from the nuncio's censures. Plunket signed it; but Brown absolutely refused, and Taaffe's name was put to it in his absence, without his knowledge or consent.

- ²³⁰ This transaction was kept very private for a time, no account being sent of it either to the queen or the lord lieutenant. Seven weeks passed after the treaty was signed, before any of the contractors thought fit to write about it to the marquis of Clanrickard, who received their letters in the beginning of October. He was

^c D. D. 454, 496, and 499.

amazed to see a treaty concluded on the same disloyal conditions, expressed in plainer and more offensive terms than the overture which he had before rejected. He reproached the agents (who not daring to appear before him, continued still in Flanders) with their shameful breach of trust, and confiscation of all his majesty's rights and interests in the kingdom. He represented to the duke of Lorraine, "how much the agents had imposed upon him by agreeing to articles for which they had no authority, and which were directly contrary to his instructions; that they had abused his highness by a counterfeit show of a private instrument fraudulently procured and signed by some inconsiderable and factious persons, ill-affected to his majesty's authority, without any consent or knowledge of the generality of the kingdom; that himself was obliged, in the king his master's name, to protest against their unwarrantable proceedings, and to declare all the agreements and acts concluded by them to be void and illegal; that the bishop of Ferns, who (he was informed) had some interest in his favour, had been ever a violent enemy to the king's authority, and a fatal instrument in contriving and fomenting all the divisions that had rent the kingdom in sunder, and reduced it to its present weak and miserable condition; and that he might judge himself of that person's temper, he sent enclosed to his highness the bishop's letter of July 20 to the agents. He added further, that if ten thousand pounds had been sent in the galliot which brought the letters, he should have been enabled to raise the siege of Limerick, and pressed the duke to afford his assistance upon terms more glorious for himself, and more consistent with the king's honour and authority." But the duke having now found that all the representations made to Rome in favour of this treaty, and his great zeal for the Roman catholic religion, had not produced the effect he hoped, and that there were no longer any hopes of his

second marriage being confirmed, or of his children being legitimated, (that court being very tender of exercising her pretended authority in cases which affect the succession of estates,) had no further end in carrying on the treaty ; so that the affair was entirely laid aside.

- 231^I Clanrickard in the mean time had all the measures which he took for the defence of the kingdom traversed by the clergy, who having only their own persons to take care of, seemed indifferent as to what became of the nation, and not at all affected with the common danger. Sir Charles Coote had taken Athlone on July 8, and entered Connaught ; but they were much less solicitous to oppose him than they were to subvert the royal authority. ^dThus on the 29th of that month the titular primate of Armagh summoned a provincial synod to meet at Clochvachtuir, at which the bishops of Kilmore and Clonmacnosc assisted in person, with divers others. The synod was opened by an oration of F. Anthony Geoghegan, lately come from Rome with instructions from the congregation *de propaganda fide*; and their first decree ¹⁵³ was, that no bishop of that province should be admitted to sit in the general assembly till he was absolved from the nuncio's censures. They declared the duke of Lorraine protector of the kingdom, accepted him as such, and forbid all, of what degree and condition soever, to assert the contrary, under pain of excommunication. They resolved, according to F. Anthony's proposal, to renew the old confederacy ; and having taken an oath of secrecy, chose a committee to regulate the manner of proceeding in that business. In order thereto, it was agreed " that the prelates of each province should name two gentlemen to order all matters therein ; that the eight so named should have the government of the whole kingdom in civil and military affairs, but to do nothing of moment without the consent of the clergy, otherwise all their acts

^d Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 3130—3157, 3213, 3224.

to be null ; that these eight should take the oath of association, act as the supreme council had done formerly, renew the confederacy all over the nation, and so change the form of government.” This was what the bishop of Ferns had laboured in vain to do in the late assembly at Loghreagh ; and was what the factious clergy had always aimed at, from the time that the nuncio came into the kingdom. Agents were appointed to invite the other provinces into this scheme and confederacy. Anthony Geoghegan, bishop of Clonmacnose, and one of the same name, abbot of Kilbegan, were sent to communicate it to the prelates and gentlemen of their party in Leinster, as Nic. Bern (who was at this synod proxy for the bishop of Down,) to those in Connaught ; the former of which on their return reported upon oath, that six thousand men had been enlisted in Leinster under faithful officers, resolved to follow their directions, as the latter answered for seven thousand in Connaught, ready to execute what had been determined. They considered the marquis of Clanrickard as the greatest obstruction in the way of these measures, he being invested with the royal authority, which they proposed utterly to destroy. To disable the lord deputy to support it, they drew up and signed an act of excommunication (to be published in a proper time) against that marquis and all his adherents, forbidding all, under pain of that censure, to communicate or serve in the army under his command, with such as had been censured by the nuncio, and had not received absolution.

- 232 These acts were renewed in another synod, which the bishop of Leighlin, as senior bishop of Leinster, took upon him to call for that province on Sept. 1 at Balledrohid. There was no bishop present at it besides himself ; but to supply the defect of ecclesiastical authority, they admitted fourteen officers of troops that ranged over the province to join with them in subscribing the instrument,

whereby on Sept. 23 they appointed F. Francis Fox, guardian of the Friars Minors at Ross, to treat with the duke of Lorrain to be protector of the kingdom. James Dempsy, vicar-general of Kildare, was deputed to treat with the deputies of the other provinces for renewing the confederacy; as the bishop of Leighlin, Roger O'More, and Hugh Rochfort were for settling the intended form of government. The like scheme was carried on in another meeting of clergy soon after at James Town.

- 233 Clanrickard made several attempts to assemble an army in the field, but was still defeated in his measures by the disaffection of his officers, caused by the intrigues of the clergy. Thus when Castlehaven passed the Shannon with one thousand horse, on a design concerted with sir Walter Dungan, who was to join him with a party of the Leinster forces to make up the face of an army, and subsist in that province, to the great annoyance of the enemy, this was disappointed by colonel R. Bourke and Randal Macdonnel failing to come with their regiments of one thousand five hundred foot to the rendezvous near Cashel; so that Castlehaven, being pursued by Ireton and sir H. Waller, was forced to retire for want of that reinforcement to Athlone. Afterwards when Ireton was 154 preparing for the siege of Limerick, and for that end was endeavouring to pass the Shannon, the lord deputy mustered in several places, for the better subsistence of the men, all the forces he could raise, (which amounted to about seven thousand foot and one thousand eight hundred horse,) intending to join them all together and venture a battle with Ireton, who (he heard) was marching towards Athlone, having failed of forcing a passage over the river at Castleconnel, where he had lost a good deal of time in attempting to build a bridge. With this view he sent orders to Castlehaven to come up to him with the forces under his command, making no question of defending a narrow pass within a mile of the main body of the

enemy, till he was joined by that reinforcement. Castlehaven, leaving the passes on the Shannon sufficiently guarded, advanced towards him; but had not left Bryan's bridge (where there was then an old castle, but no bridge) above three hours, when he was alarmed by the noise of muskets, and was overtaken by some of the two troops of horse, which he had left with a company of foot to guard the pass, flying in great disorder, though nobody pursued them. The enemy having immediate intelligence of his march, had sent two or three boats of musketeers from the other side of the river, who, by the treachery of one captain Kelly, took possession of the castle without opposition. Castlehaven hastened back with some troops to recover the castle and hinder the passing of other forces; but in his way had advice that colonel Fennel, whom he had left to defend the pass at Killaloe, had cowardly or treacherously quitted it, and was fled with all his party into Limerick. Upon this news all his army disbanded, before they had so much as seen an enemy; so that of four thousand men, which he had with him when he began his march, he brought only forty horse with him to join the deputy, who, finding himself too weak for an engagement, was obliged to retire, and could never after draw any considerable body into the field, or make any opposition to the progress of the rebels, to whom the Irish in all places eagerly submitted.

234 Ireton being master of the Shannon, began to form the siege of Limerick. The marquis of Clanrickard offered to put himself into the place, and to run the same fortune with it; but was refused as peremptorily as the marquis of Ormond had been. The citizens would indeed receive soldiers, but only such as were of their own choosing; and admitted Hugh O'Neile with the name of governor, yet all the while kept the government to themselves, and would obey no commands of the lord deputy, any farther than suited their own conveniency. There

was also a continual correspondence between the inhabitants of the town and those who had compounded with the rebels in the country, and now served them in carrying on their measures, and procuring them constant intelligence. One effect of this was, that the siege had not been formed three days before some of the city were for treating about a surrender ; great pains having been taken to insinuate to them that the independents were by principle against all violence in matter of religion, and were more charitable to the Roman catholics than the presbyterians. The bishop and others prevented this treaty for a time, but it was frequently attempted to be renewed. Lord Muskery advanced from Kerry with a strong party to relieve the town ; but being met by lord Broghill, was, after a smart action, resolutely disputed on both sides, forced to retire with loss. Ireton made an attack on the island, but was repulsed with great slaughter ; and it was expected that the winter would oblige him to raise the siege. It was well known that he resolved to except many principal persons from the benefit of articles, and that he would grant none in favour of religion. Yet on Oct. 23 a company of officers and some of the civil magistracy met in the town-house, and resolved to proceed to a treaty, and not break it off upon exception of any person for quarter or confiscation of their goods. Commis-¹⁵⁵sioners were to be chosen the next day to send to the rebels. The bishops of Limerick and Emly came to the assembly, and threatened to excommunicate them if they proceeded in those counsels, the effect whereof would be to deliver up the prelates to be slaughtered. This did not stop the treaty ; the bishops published their excommunication, with a perpetual interdict on the city : but those censures had been played with too lightly, and had now lost their effect. The governor, Hugh O'Neile, was much against a surrender, but he had only power to set the watch, whilst T. Stretch, the mayor, kept the keys, and had many

of the principal officers at his devotion. Colonel Fennel was one of these officers, who, having the keys delivered to him, did, with other officers of the combination, seize on St. John's Gate and Cluam Towers, driving away the guards which Hugh O'Neile had placed there. The governor sent for Fennel to a council of war, but he refused to come; and being supplied with powder by the mayor, turned the cannon upon the town, declaring that he would not quit the places he possessed till the city should be yielded to the enemy; and as a proof of his resolution, received two hundred of Ireton's men into St. John's Gate and Tower. Hereupon Limerick was surrendered on the 27th of that month, twenty-four persons being exempted from mercy. Of these the bishop of Limerick escaped in a soldier's habit, and getting into Kerry was kindly received by lord Muskery. Geffery Baron, who had been a great means of preventing the marquis of Ormond's being received into Waterford; the bishop of Emly, one of the most violent of the nuncio's party; friar Wolfe and Dominick Fanning, who had raised tumults to oppose the lord lieutenant's being admitted into Limerick; Stretch, who delivered the keys of the place; and Fennel, that had brought in Ireton's soldiers, and been the cause of the surrender, were, with several others, hanged by Ireton's orders.

- 235 Clare followed the fate of Limerick, as Galway probably would have done, if the severity of the winter, and Ireton's death, which occasioned some dispute about the command of the forces of the rebels, had not for a time put a stop to action. But in the beginning of the next year sir C. Coote invested it on one side, and took a castle in the neighbourhood. This made the inhabitants eager to capitulate, and they desired leave of the lord deputy to send commissioners to treat of conditions for the nation. The rebels would not grant a safe-conduct for their deputies, nor admit of so much as a treaty for

the nation ; but only that particular persons and places might compound for themselves on such terms as others had done. This put a stop for a while to the treaty, and consultations were held about means of raising the blockade of the place. *Some officers of the party thought it a proper opportunity for executing the measures concerted for reviving the old confederacy, and suppressing the royal authority ; and proposed sending for some Leinster and Ulster commanders to repair into Connaught with their forces. Those proposed to be sent for were all devoted to the clergy, and engaged in that scheme ; but their measures were disconcerted by the intercepting of some letters of F. Anthony Geoghegan beforementioned, the great promoter of that design, lately come over with instructions from the congregation *de propaganda fide* for that purpose.

- ²³⁶ He kept a correspondence with Abbe Crelly, then at London, and sent his letters generally written in cipher to the clerk of the parliament, who delivered them to Crelly. He sent his letters by the enemy's canal so privately, that it was known to very few of the party with which he was engaged, except to such as he was forced to use as instruments in forwarding them. Having wrote on Feb. 4 at Galway letters to the vicar-general of Clonmacnosc, with others enclosed to Kelly, the woman by whom ¹⁵⁶ he sent them was taken in crossing the river, and the letters intercepted brought to Clanrickard. They were mostly written in cipher ; but among what was out of it there was this passage : "If the service of God had been as deep in the hearts of the nation as that idol of Dagon, *a foolish loyalty*, a better course for its honour and preservation had been taken in time." Geoghegan was sent for, and owned the letters which were shewn him ; but refused to produce the cipher, protesting that they related to affairs between the clergy and the court of Rome,

* Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 3225—3241.

and he would not betray their secrets. Nothing could be done to a clergyman till application was made to his ordinary; and James Fallon, vicar-general of Tuam, being ordered by the deputy to seize his person, did so; but the friar had first found means by a friend to secure his other papers and ciphers, and then laughed at the prosecution. He was examined before the vicar-general and the bishops of Clonfert, Down, Finibore, and Kilmacduagh, but would discover nothing. Clanrickard wrote to the assembly then sitting at Galway, requiring them to vindicate the royal authority from the affront offered to it, or he would leave the kingdom the next day. They interposed with the prelates, and by way of compliance Geoghegan shewed the bishops that examined him the credentials he had from Rome, and also explained to them the meaning of his letters; but under a charge of secrecy that it should not be discovered to any body, not even to the lord deputy. Clanrickard complained to the assembly, where the affair was warmly debated; the lawyers insisting that he ought to be punished by the secular court, and the bishops as stiffly maintaining the ecclesiastical immunities. The bishops pretended to judge him, and declared that though there were some indiscreet things in the letters, yet he was innocent as to treason. The chairman of the assembly ordered the sheriffs to take him into custody; but they durst not execute the warrant. This dispute took up all the month of February; and on March 4 some letters from London wrote by Crelly to Geoghegan being brought to Clanrickard, he laid them before the assembly, and renewed his instances for punishing the criminal. But such was the power of the clergy, that nothing was done in it, and the deputy leaving Galway on the 15th, the friar went on the 18th with the vicar-general towards Tuam, in order to appear before the archbishop as his ordinary. But being on the 20th near Aghnnewre, he understood that Clanrickard,

who had retired thither, had the day before received letters from sir Walter Dungan, with a full account (which he had received from the bishop of Leighlin, or some of the provincial council) of all that had been transacted the last autumn in Leinster, and of the truth of what had been objected to a certain priest lately taken up at Galway. Clanrickard being now furnished with clear proofs, had that morning sent his secretary to Galway to have Geoghegan immediately secured ; but upon this intelligence, he altered his design of going to Tuam, and made the best of his way to a place of safety. This affair, which the compiler of the nuncio's Memoirs takes out of Geoghegan's own relation, shews as well the pernicious designs of the clergy, as how impossible it is for the royal authority to subsist in countries where such extravagant immunities are indulged to ecclesiastics, to the destruction of all order and government.

- 237 The town of Galway soon after, by the persuasion of the warden and others of the nuncio's party, without consulting the lord deputy, entered into a treaty with the rebels, who were amazed to see a place of that strength and consequence, with a port open at all times for supplies from abroad, parted with so easily by the Irish, when they had, in loose parties over the kingdom, more men in arms to defend it than the English could have brought to invest the town. It surrendered on May 12, yet Clanrickard four days after took Ballyshannon, and held out 157 for several months, endeavouring in vain to draw a sufficient number of forces together to fight the rebels. He had in the last week of February sent the earl of Castlehaven to the king to desire his commands ; and his majesty, not able to supply him with succours, sent him letters, acknowledging his good services, and ordering him to make the best conditions for himself and party that he could, and to expect a better season. He might have provided very well for himself if he pleased ; yet he

would receive nothing from the rebels on his own account but a pass, and leave to transport himself into their quarters, and to remain there without taking the oaths usually imposed, till he had settled his affairs; and afterwards to have the liberty of transporting himself beyond the seas. He retired into England to his estate at Somerhill, where he died in Oct. 1659, and was buried at Tunbridge. The lord Muskery had the like orders sent him, and submitted with the earl of Westmeath, sir W. Dungan, and others, upon conditions "that they should abide a trial for the murders committed in the beginning of the rebellion, and those that only assisted in the war were to forfeit two thirds of their estates, and be banished." The parliament, having now reduced Ireland, thought fit to erect at Dublin an high court of justice (as they called it) for the trial of persons charged with those murders; in which it is not a little remarkable, that though they used very hard measure to several gentlemen in the southern parts of the kingdom, who were (like colonel Walter Bagnal) condemned upon slight pretences and false evidence; yet (except sir Phelim O'Neile, whom they would have pardoned and rewarded, if he had been profligate enough to have falsely accused the late king of giving him a commission) there was scarce any body taken up and tried for those murders in Ulster, where the massacres first began, and where far the greatest part of the cruelties upon the British protestants were committed.

238 Such was the fatal issue of those divisions raised and fomented in Ireland by the intrigues of the nuncio and the ambitious views of those prelates, which he either drew into his measures, or had promoted to their dignities, because he thought them the fittest instruments that could be made use of to embroil the nation to cast off the authority of the crown of England, and to put the kingdom under the protection of the pope or some other foreign power; which had been his view from the first

moment of his coming, and which they persisted in to the end of the troubles, not being deterred in pursuing it by the near and certain prospect of the utter ruin of their country. They found on various occasions that they had a much greater power to do mischief and raise disturbances than they had to do good, and bring people to a sense of their duty, and to a necessary defence, even when their own safety was concerned. In a frantic exerting of this power, they had defeated all the measures which the marquises of Ormond and Clanrickard would have taken, and would in all probability have taken with success, for the king's service and the good of the nation; and having forced the former to quit the kingdom, and the latter to submit to the prevailing power of the enemy, they brought themselves in the end to a necessity, either of being exposed to a perpetual fear of death by their stay, or of banishing themselves for ever from their country.

- 239 It hath been observed that the marquis of Ormond landed in France in the beginning of January 1651. ^fAfter a few days' stay with his family at Caen, he went on the 21st of that month to pay his duty to the queen at Paris, and to give her an account of the condition of Ireland. He returned to Caen in the beginning of February, and continued there till the latter end of June, 158 when he returned to Paris to wait on the duke of York, whom sir E. Hyde (being returned from his embassy to Spain, and going into Flanders) had been charged by her majesty to invite thither, the court of France having at last consented to settle on him a pension of four thousand pistoles a year. That court at the same time expressed their desire that his royal highness would take on him a command in their troops, and learn the art of war under the viscount of Turenne. Whether they proposed this purely out of regard to his glory, and because

^f D. D. 133, 414, 454.

they thought it might be for his advantage to distinguish himself in his early youth by gallant and honourable actions, or whether they expected that his appearing in their troops might draw over some of the Irish regiments that had entered into the Spanish service, (as happened afterwards in the case of sir James Dillon and some others) the proposal was perfectly agreeable to the duke of York's inclinations. He was even impatient to be in the field; but it was not thought proper to expose the presumptive heir of the crown to the accidents and hazards of a campaign without his majesty's knowledge or approbation.

240 § The marquis had now an opportunity of doing a service to his old friend sir G. Radcliffe, who had been for some time in disgrace with the queen, as being supposed a principal adviser of that sudden sally and excursion which the duke had made into Flanders against her majesty's sentiments and entreaties. Sir George was very desirous to obtain leave to kiss her hand, and to be admitted to answer what might be objected against him. The marquis of Ormond undertook the mediation, as well out of duty to the queen as out of friendship to sir George, believing it suitable thereto, to put her majesty in mind of the obvious objection that would lie against her justice, if she refused to hear any body accused to deserve her displeasure before she placed it upon him. Radcliffe was accordingly admitted to an audience, and after a long hearing, (in which the marquis did not interfere, though he stayed in the room all the while,) her majesty expressed herself satisfied with his defence, and gave him her hand to kiss. The marquis of Ormond, encouraged with this success, offered sir E. Nicholas (who was then at Antwerp, and had thoughts of retiring to Wesel to live at a small expense and free from business) to reiterate this part of his duty to the queen, and to

mediate his reconciliation. But there was a great difference in the two cases ; Radcliffe might easily remove her majesty's anger by convincing her that it was founded purely upon misrepresentations of his conduct ; but sir Edward could not reconcile himself to her without confessing himself guilty of a fault where he was conscious he did his duty, and altering a conduct too full of honour and virtue to be ever changed. The English about her majesty most favoured and consulted by her were generally suspected to betray her counsels, and were too well known to have little regard to virtue, or to be acted by any settled principle of religion or honour. The old cavaliers did not care to trust any of them ; and when they confided their sentiments, advices, and measures to sir E. Nicholas, they positively insisted that he should not communicate any of them to those confidents of her majesty, nor even to the queen herself, who could conceal nothing from them, but consulted them in all affairs. Sir Edward kept secret what was thus confided to him as a sacred deposit ; and this reservedness was the cause of her majesty's resentment, who expected to be acquainted with every particular of the king's affairs. Sir E. Nicholas judged very well, that there was no regaining her good opinion but by altering his conduct ; and that could not be done but by falsifying the trust reposed in him by men of honour and loyalty. He resolved therefore to lament his misfortune rather than alter his resolution, ¹⁵⁹ and declined the offer which the marquis made of attempting his reconciliation.

- 241 The marquis of Ormond's stay at Paris was not above a month, and yet it was longer than he designed ; but the duke of York commanded his presence and assistance in settling and proportioning the expense of his family to the quantity, as well as possible uncertainty of his pension ; which was but barely sufficient to keep him at Paris with the help of the queen's table, and was far from

enabling him to make a campaign in such a figure and with such an equipage as became his quality. As soon as this was done, the marquis returned to Caen, where he continued till the king, having made his escape out of England after the battle of Worcester, arrived at Paris. This happened at the latter end of the year 1651, and being soon after sworn of the privy-council, and consulted [by] his majesty in all his affairs, he was obliged to make his constant residence in that city. Sir E. Hyde was about the same time invited thither by his majesty; and though the marquis and he had not seen one another for twenty years, yet they on this occasion renewed their acquaintance, which had begun in the court of England when they were very young, had been kept up by a commerce of letters, and great expressions of mutual esteem, whilst they were employed in different branches of the king's affairs, and was now improved to a perfect friendship, which lasted to the end of their lives, and (being both persons of great experience and wisdom, and having an entire confidence in each other) was of great service for the uniform and good conduct of his majesty's affairs.

242 The king's allowance from the court of France did not exceed six thousand pounds sterling a year; which scarce sufficing for his diet, nothing was left to be distributed among his servants. The marquis of Ormond when he left Ireland had made little or no provision for his future subsistence, and was now forced to put himself in pension at the rate of a pistole a week, and to walk the streets on foot, which was no honourable custom at Paris. His family continued at Caen till they were no longer able to subsist, and then it became necessary for the marchioness of Ormond to go over into England to solicit the parliament for some part of her husband's estate, which had been originally her own inheritance. Cromwell had formerly expressed a great sense of her merit, professed a mighty respect to her, and declared that her

estate should not be given away to any body. Ireland was now subdued, and commissioners were sent thither to divide all the lands which had belonged to the Irish, or to those English that had adhered to the king, among the adventurers who had advanced money for carrying on the war, and the officers and soldiers that had served in it, who had great arrears due to them for their pay, and had now liberal assignments made them in lands. This was the point of time for the marchioness to enter her claim, before her estate was given away; and being favoured with passes from the king and queen, she set out in August this year for England.

- 243 The marquis himself was left in no small distress at Paris, but treated, on account of his quality and virtues, with great respect by the French nobility. ^bOne of these having invited him to pass some days at his house in St. Germain en Laye, there happened on that occasion an adventure, the relation whereof may perhaps gratify the reader's curiosity. The marquis of Ormond, in compliance with an inconvenient English custom, at his coming away, left with the *maître d'hôtel* ten pistoles to be distributed among the servants. It was all the money he had, nor did he know how to get credit for more when he reached Paris. As he was upon the road ruminating on this melancholy circumstance, and contriving how to raise a small supply for present use, he was surprised to 160 be advertised by his servant, that the nobleman, at whose house he had been, was behind him driving furiously, as if he was desirous to overtake him. The marquis had scarce left St. Germain, when the distribution of the money he had given caused a great disturbance among the servants, who exalting their own services and attendance, complained of the *maître d'hôtel's* partiality. The nobleman hearing an unusual noise in his family, and upon inquiry into the matter finding what it was, took

^b Relation of Dr. Drelincourt, late dean of Armagh.

the ten pistoles himself, and causing horses to be put to his chariot, made all the haste that was possible after the marquis of Ormond. The marquis, upon notice of his approach, got off his horse, as the other quitted his chariot, and advanced to embrace him with great affection and respect. But was strangely surprised to find a coldness in the nobleman, which forbad all embraces, till he had received satisfaction in a point which had given him great offence. He asked the marquis, if he had reason to complain of any disrespect or other defect which he had met with in the too mean but very friendly entertainment which his house afforded; and being answered by the marquis, that his treatment had been full of civility; that he had never passed so many days more agreeably in his life, and could not but wonder why the other should suspect the contrary. The nobleman then told him, that the leaving ten pistoles to be distributed among the servants was treating his house as an inn, and was the greatest affront that could be offered to a man of quality; that he paid his own servants well, and had hired them to wait on his friends as well as himself; that he considered him as a stranger that might be unacquainted with the customs of France, and err through some practice deemed less dishonourable in his own country; otherwise his resentment should have prevented any expostulation: but as the case stood, after having explained the nature of the affair, he must either redress the mistake by receiving back the ten pistoles, or give him the usual satisfaction of men of honour for an avowed affront. The marquis acknowledged his error, took back his money, and returned to Paris with less anxiety about his subsistence. The same way of thinking still prevails, though possibly not in so great a degree as at that time, in France; but few men of quality will suffer a servant to stay a moment in their houses who receives any thing from a stranger or a visitant. They

generally treat their servants (who think themselves settled, if they get into a good family) with great affection and kindness; but will not allow them in any degree or manner to depend upon any other than themselves; so that their families, however large and numerous, are more orderly and quiet, and the gentlemen are better served than in any other nation of Europe.

- 244 The marchioness of Ormond, coming into England, found all the world expressing a great respect to her person, and professing as great compassion for her case. But solicitations of parliaments are tedious affairs, and it behoved her to move surely in an application, which, if unsuccessful in that juncture, might probably be fruitless for ever. ⁱIt was the first of February in the following year before she obtained an order of parliament to empower and authorize the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland to set apart, for the provision of herself and children, Dunmore-house near Kilkenny, together with lands of the clear yearly value of two thousand pounds a year, (as they were set in the year 1640,) out of lands which had been her father's or mother's. It was necessary to have further explanatory orders, and to get letters from the council of state in England recommending her case to the commissioners in Ireland. Having obtained these, on Aug. 22, 1653, she set out for Dublin to solicit the effect of those orders and letters. Whilst she was there, she had ¹⁶¹ an opportunity of doing a great service to lord Muskery, who had married her lord's sister; and having after his capitulation transported some of the forces allowed him to carry into foreign service, was seized upon coming back to fetch the rest, and brought to trial. Though no person in the kingdom had distinguished himself more eminently in saving and relieving the English in the beginning and progress of the rebellion than that nobleman, yet such was the virulence of some of his

ⁱ E. E. 248—253. Narrative by sir R. Southwell, p. 25.

judges, and the malice of his prosecutors, that it would probably have gone hard with him if it had not been for her assistance. Sir Gerard Lowther, one of the judges of the high commission court, before which that nobleman was to be tried, had a great reverence for the marchioness, acquainted her with what would be objected against lord Muskery, and dictated the answers he should give, and the defence he should make at his trial. These directions had an happy effect, and that lord was honourably acquitted.

²⁴⁵ The marchioness of Ormond was to prove her right of inheritance in the lands to be settled on her, and the rates at which they were set in 1640, before she could have any benefit of the orders of parliament. She was desirous likewise to have them set out as near as possible to her house of Dunmore, and (if it might be allowed) in the county of Kilkenny. She could not, till December 2, get an order from the commissioners to have her claim, and the schedule of lands and rentals which she gave in, referred to a committee and examined. When this was done, and the lands were assigned her, she found them far short of the clear yearly value appointed by parliament, being charged with a contribution, which in some places amounted to a full moiety of the rent reserved to her, and in other places exceeded it; so that in some instances the contribution charged was in the proportion of thirty-nine pounds to fifty pounds rent assigned her by the year, besides the sums assessed upon the tenants' stock. To remedy the grievance she suffered by so unreasonable an applotment, she was forced to apply again to the commissioners, and to represent the losses she sustained by the failure of her tenants, who, not able to bear the weight of the burden, were ready to leave their holdings before the rent day. Some part of the lands decreed her (and those generally the best manors and lordships) were subject to mortgages and other encumbrances made

to English and protestants before Oct. 23, 1641, and the rest were subject to the disposal of parliament during her husband's life. Hence many of them lay waste, and yielded no rent; and the lands being only forfeited during her husband's life, there was no encouragement to build or plant upon so contingent an estate; the timber thereon was daily destroyed, and the buildings more and more ruined, to the present detriment of the estate, and the future damage and disinherison of herself and her children. For these reasons she desired to have a lease made her in trust, during her lord's life, of all such of her lands as had been set by the commonwealth from year to year, or for three, five, or seven years, (permitting the present lessees to enjoy their terms, but obliging them to pay rent to her,) and of all other the lands assigned her at such rents as, upon a valuation thereof by indifferent persons, should be found reasonable. She carried her point; but it obliged her to two years' stay in Ireland, from whence, when she had settled her affairs, she went in A. D. 1655 to England to fetch over her children.

246 Her eldest son Thomas earl of Ossory was now about one and twenty years of age, of whom the following character was given at this time^k by a person who knew him well: "He is," says he, "a young man with a very handsome face, a good head of hair, a pretty big voice, well set, and a good round leg. He pleaseth me exceedingly, 162 being very good-natured, talking freely, asking many questions, and humouring the answers. He rides the great horse very well; is a good tennis player, fencer, and dancer. He understands music, and plays on the guitar and lute; speaks French elegantly, reads Italian fluently, is a good historian, and so well versed in romances, that if a gallery be full of pictures or hangings, he will tell the stories of all that are there described. He shuts up his door at eight o'clock in the evening,

^k Sir R. Southwell. Ireland, vol. iii. p. 100.

and studies till midnight. He is temperate, courteous, and excellent in all his behaviour." His own merit, and the advantage which his father's character and virtues added to his own, made him so well beloved and esteemed, that Cromwell grew jealous of him; and though he had granted him a pass to travel into Italy, and from thence to Jerusalem, and parted with him, when he came to take leave, with great civility, he thought fit, before lord Ossory went on board, to seize his person, and clap him up in the Tower.

- ²⁴⁷ The marchioness of Ormond sent the rest of her children to Acton, and stayed in town to solicit his enlargement. She addressed herself to Cromwell, answering with great confidence for her son's innocence, upon forfeiture of her life, if he were found to be guilty, and desiring to know his crime and accusers. The protector hoped she would excuse him in that respect, and told her that he had more reason to be afraid of her than any body. She was a person of an undaunted spirit, and replied, in a full drawingroom, hundreds being present, with great assurance, that she desired no favour, and thought it strange that she, who was never concerned in any plot, nor ever opened her mouth against his person or government, should be represented to him as so terrible a person. "No, madam," said he, "that is not the case; but your worth has gained you so great an influence upon all the commanders of our party, and we know so well your power over the other party, that it is in your ladyship's breast to act what you please." She answered, that she must construe it as a civil compliment; but that and a shrug was all that she could get from him for a good while. He treated her indeed always with the greatest civility; never refused her an audience; and when she went away, he always waited on her to her coach or chair; a respect which he never paid to any body else. At last, lord Ossory falling ill of an ague,

she did prevail in October to have him set at liberty, for the recovery of his health by a freer air. He was not however entirely discharged till the spring following, when she took him down with her to Acton in Gloucestershire, and sent him soon after with his brother lord Richard Butler into Holland. She went herself at the same time with her other children into Ireland, where she lived at Dunmore, applying herself to tillage and country affairs, and never saw her lord till he came over into England in the June after his majesty's restoration.

248 The marquis of Ormond was in the mean time attending on the king at Paris, till the treaty made between Cromwell and the crown of France rendered his majesty's stay in that country disagreeable, and his departure absolutely necessary. The conditions of this treaty were so shameful on the part of France, that it was a long time before that court would agree to them in form, and much longer before they were published. The king's friends in England were uneasy at his abode in a court engaged in a secret alliance with the usurper of his dominions; he was himself uneasy on the same account, yet could not remove for want of money to pay his debts and defray the expenses of his journey. Cardinal Mazarine at last supplying him with what was barely necessary for that purpose, his majesty left Paris on July 8, and, passing through Mons and Namur, went to the Spa. There he met his sister the princess of Orange, and having passed about a month in that place, they all removed 163 to Aix la Chapelle, where they stayed above a month longer, when the king went to Cologne, the marquis of Ormond, who had been constantly with him all this time, attending him likewise thither.

249 The marquis had scarce been there three months when he was ordered back to Paris on an extraordinary occasion. Cromwell had, at the latter end of the year 1652, given leave to the duke of Gloucester, then about twelve

years of age, to transport himself beyond sea ; and thereupon he had come first to Holland, and then to Paris. When the king was leaving this city, the queen-mother desired the duke might stay with her, alleging, that he having been bred as a prisoner in England, without learning either exercises or languages, and having seen nothing of a court or good company till he came to Paris, it was not proper, at an age when he might be instructed in all these, to take him from a place where he had an opportunity of acquiring those accomplishments, into Germany, which afforded none of those advantages. The proposal was reasonable, and the queen very importunate: the king was unable to support his brother in a condition fit for his quality, and had no objection to his stay, but the fear of his being perverted in his religion. Her majesty assuring him, that she was far from any thought of that nature, and would not suffer any such attempt to be made, the king consented to leave the duke of Gloucester with her. It was either on account of this additional charge to her household, or to enable her the better to supply the king, in order to lessen the resentment of his being sent away in so disrespectful a manner, that the court of France at that time added two thousand livres a month to her pension.

250 The queen, when she was formerly at Paris, always resided in the Louvre, as the king too did, whilst he remained in that city ; and there was a room in that palace set apart for a chapel, in which divine service, according to the liturgy of the church of England, was constantly [performed] by Dr. Cosins, (afterwards bishop of Durham,) for the benefit of the protestant servants of the royal family. This continued till after the king was gone into Scotland ; in whose absence, and about the time that the duke of York went into Flanders, that room was shut up; and the queen regent of France declared her pleasure, that she would not allow the protestant service

to be used any more within the walls of the Louvre. From that time the king's servants had no opportunity of exercising their religion according to the manner of the church of England, but in the house of sir Richard Brown, who had for many years been his majesty's resident at Paris, and enjoyed the privilege of a public minister. This was owing to the busy temper, the spiritual pride, and furious zeal of Mr. Walter Montague, who having lately entered into priest's orders, was, upon the death of father Philips, a pious, prudent, quiet, and inoffensive man, made the queen of England's confessor. The French court were so obstinate in adhering to their order, that the king and the duke of York returning from their several expeditions, could have no opportunity of joining in divine service but by going to sir R. Brown's chapel; and thither the duke of Gloucester constantly resorted, from the academy where he was learning his exercises.

251 Thus matters continued for four months after the king had left Paris; but about the beginning of November 1654, (under pretence of weaning him from the company of some young French gallants, who, being educated in the same academy, were more familiar with him than was thought convenient,) the duke of Gloucester was removed to Mr. Montague's house at his abbey near Pontoise. Mr. Lovel his tutor was at first with him; but he going to Paris, only for a day, upon business, (designedly contrived by the abbot, as was supposed,) the duke, during his absence, was vehemently pressed by 164 Montague, with all the motives spiritual and temporal that could be thought of, to turn Roman catholic, having at that time no protestant near him to advise with, but a young gentleman scarce of age, Mr. Griffith of his bed-chamber. The duke upon this attack shewed no little zeal for his religion, and replied to the abbot's arguments with more ingenuity than could be expected; and then told Montague, that he could not but wonder how he

durst make this attempt upon him, knowing the queen's promise to the king his brother, that no change in his religion should be endeavoured; that for his own part he was resolved not to incur his majesty's displeasure, by neglecting the command he had given him not to listen to any argument intended to pervert him from his religion; that as to the proposal of making him a cardinal, and the promise of placing him on the throne of England, he rejected them with contempt and indignation; and that it was a mean and disingenuous action to assault him in the absence of his tutor, who could easily refute his arguments. Mr. Lovel at his return answered the duke's expectations in this respect so fully, that it was thought convenient to remove his highness back to Paris, where he was permitted for a short time to repair to sir R. Brown's, and enjoy the free exercise of his religion.

252 This liberty did not last long, for the queen his mother soon after avowed the attempt made upon him to have been done with her approbation, and declared, that though she had promised not to force him, yet she thought herself obliged to have him shewed the right way to heaven. She attacked him herself upon the subject, represented the desperate condition of the royal family and of his own fortune, the little hope there was of the king's being restored, unless he became a Roman catholic, (whereby the pope and other princes of that religion might be united in his quarrel, who otherwise would undertake nothing in his favour,) and the power, which his own turning would give her, of procuring him great advantages of abbeys and benefices in France, and of a cardinal's hat from Rome, whereby he would be enabled to live in a splendour answerable to his birth. She found the duke more firm than she expected; he urged the dying precepts that he had received from his father, and the promise he had made to the king his brother at

parting; he put her majesty in mind of her own promise at that time, and desired her to press him no more on the subject, at least till he had informed the king of the matter. She knew the king's mind too well to stop in the attempt for his consent, which she had no hopes of obtaining; and to prevail the easier upon the duke, Mr. Lovel was removed from about him; and that he might not have the assistance or advice of any other protestant, he was forced away from Paris in a violent hurry, and conveyed to Mr. Crofts's house, where he was under the direction of Mr. Montague, none of his servants but young Griffith being permitted to attend him.

253 Lord Hatton, an eminent sufferer for the royal cause, and a true son of the church of England, was then at Paris; and hearing how violently this young prince was persecuted for his religion, engaged Dr. Cosins to draw up what arguments and instructions he thought proper to fortify the duke in this warm attack. He knew it was scarce possible for a protestant to get access to the young prince, so strictly was he guarded; but being by his lady related to the abbot, he resolved to make him a visit, and get at the same time access to the duke. He was admitted to see him, but it was with great difficulty that he found means to convey the paper he had prepared into his hands without being perceived; and when he had afterwards farther advices to deliver to him, he was still forced to vary his stratagem. The duke was so narrowly watched by the spies set upon him, and so continually teased by priests pressing him all the day long to change his religion, that he could find no opportunity of ¹⁶⁵ perusing the instructions sent him; so that he was forced to deliver them to Mr. Griffith, who in the night, as he lay in his bedchamber, acquainted him with the purport thereof. This kept the duke so firm against all their arguments, that they resolved not only to remove

Mr. Griffith from him, but to confine the duke in the Jesuits' college.

254 The king in the mean time having advice of the attempts made upon his brother, sent an expostulatory letter to the queen, and laid his commands on the most eminent of his protestant subjects at Paris, to be assistant to him in his distress, to the uttermost of their power. Some days before he was to have been removed to the Jesuits' college, sir G. Ratcliffe endeavoured to deliver him a letter from the king, but not being able to do it with privacy, was obliged to leave it with Mr. Griffith. In that letter, his majesty put him in mind of the strict command he left with him at his parting, to continue firm in his religion ; the vanity of the motives, and emptiness of the promises of those who laboured to pervert him, the last charge of their dead father, with the entail of his blessing annexed ; telling him withal, that if he changed his religion upon any enticements whatsoever, or put himself into the Jesuits' college, this was the last letter he should ever have from him, and he must never expect to see his face again.

255 The duke having received this letter, transcribed and sent a copy of it to the queen, desiring her leave to come to Paris, as well on account of those commands of the king, as of his brother the duke of York's being returned from the French army. But her majesty sent him word, that she could not cease to wish his eternal good and the change of his religion, and therefore though she would not force him, yet she advised him to hearken to what Mr. Montague would farther propose to him. This proposal was, that he would go into the Jesuits' college, where he should have all the liberty that he could desire ; and the resolution was taken to force him thither, had it not been prevented by the arrival of the marquis of Ormond.

256 The king was infinitely uneasy at this affair, which would expose him to terrible inconveniences, and give credit to the most mischievous reproaches of his enemies, and very solicitous to rescue the duke out of the hands of his persecutors ; but how to do it was the difficulty. In this exigence the marquis of Ormond proffered himself to go to Paris, and fetch him to his majesty. A person of his eminent quality, great abilities, tried wisdom, and irreproachable integrity, was no more than necessary for the work ; and it was the best, perhaps the only method that could be taken with any prospect of success. The king knew very well that the marquis would steadily execute his commands ; and was highly pleased with the offer ; against which, however, there lay an objection from the great hazard it would be to his person in so ill a season of weather, to take so long and dangerous a journey, just upon the armies retiring into their winter quarters, the soldiers having beset all the ways, so that nobody could pass without very great peril. This weighed more with his majesty than it did with that noble lord, who had so generously sacrificed a vast estate, and so often already hazarded his life for the service of his prince and the defence of the protestant religion, and who was not to be affrighted from engaging in any attempt for the future that would contribute to the same ends. The hazards and difficulties of the affair made him more earnest in pressing his majesty for leave to go, for the instructions proper to be given him, and for the letters which he was to carry to the duke (directing him to persevere in his religion, to follow the marquis of Ormond's advice, and to accompany him to Cologne) and to the queen, conjuring her to discontinue her prosecution of the affair, and suffer the duke to repair to his presence.

257 It was a matter of the greatest difficulty as well as im- 166 portance, beyond the power perhaps of any body about the king, but the marquis of Ormond, to accomplish. A

person of less authority, interest, and reputation for his ability in state affairs or zeal for the king's service, would probably have returned without carrying his point. For had not the marquis used all possible expedition, had he stayed but four days longer before his arrival at Paris, he had come too late, and the duke had certainly been shut up in the Jesuits' college, from whence he could not have been retrieved. For the French court had so zealously espoused the affair, that his lordship was forced to exert all his prudence to accomplish the business he came about.

258 As soon as the marquis arrived at the palace royal, where the queen of England then resided, he pursued his instructions so effectually, that the duke of Gloucester had liberty to return to Paris, and enjoy the free exercise of his religion; but going soon after to the French court, the queen regent and cardinal Mazarine pressed him, with all the allurements they thought might prevail upon him, to turn Roman catholic. They told him that they considered him as a child of France; that they pressed him to do so purely for his own advantage, and to have the better means of serving him; and that since his father was dead, he ought to obey his mother in all she commanded. The duke, pursuing the king's instructions not to engage in any dispute, replied only in general terms, that he was resolved to obey his mother as much as any son could and ought to do; and thereby disengaged himself from any further dispute at that time.

259 The queen, seeing how ineffectual the allurements of the French court, and all other methods, had hitherto proved to shake him in his religion, resolved to have recourse to the extremest measures. She however thought fit first to try what effect caresses would have, and taking him apart, began to tell him, with all the sweetness imaginable, how tender an affection she bore him, and how much it grieved her that love itself should compel her to

proceed now with a seeming severity. She presumed he was weary of being solicited, and truly she was so too; she would therefore shorten the time of his trial, and ordered him to withdraw presently into his lodging, to give one hearing more to Abbé Montague, and then to sequester himself from any diversion for a while, to reflect seriously on what had been said to him, and that night either to send or bring her a full and final answer.

260 The duke, upon the first appearance of this intended privacy of his mother with him, whilst the room was clearing, had sent Mr. Griffith to desire the marquis of Ormond to come to him as soon as he returned from the queen, that he might have his advice how to behave himself as occasion should serve. As soon as he left her majesty, he retired according to her command into his chamber; and Montague coming to him, expatiated at large on what the queen had but briefly hinted to him, and pressed him for his final answer. The duke refused to give any, till he had first consulted the marquis of Ormond; upon which the abbot withdrew, declaring that he would return in an hour. The marquis coming in the mean time, the duke quickly resolved what answer to make; and upon Montague's return told him his final answer was, that he was resolved to continue firm in his religion. The abbot thereupon in an abrupt manner, signified to him her majesty's command, that he should see her face no more. The duke was not a little moved at this order, and with great earnestness entreated that he might at least have her parting blessing; which was refused. The duke of York, who with great tenderness pitied his condition, interceded for him; but in vain. The queen was inexorable, and would intimate her pleasure 167 to him by nobody but Montague, who solicited him again, aggravating the peril of his mother's displeasure, and advising him at that instant, being the most proper time, as she was going to mass at her monastery, to apply himself

to her ; for she had proposals to make to him which would set his heart at rest, though he could not then name them. The duke replied, that he feared her proposals would not have that effect, for he could have no rest, but in the free exercise of his religion ; and approaching towards her, as she was passing by in her coach, attempted to beg her blessing ; but was with great indignation rejected. Being much discomposed at this repulse, the abbot came up to him, and asking what her majesty had said which had put him into such a disorder, he replied with some sharpness, "What I may thank you for, sir ; and it is but reason that what my mother said to me I should now say to you, Be sure I see your face no more." This said, he turned away from him ; and it being Sunday morning, and the hour of prayers, he went immediately to sir R. Brown's chapel, accompanied by his brother the duke of York.

261 The rigour which followed this answer has something in it too extraordinary to be omitted, though not to be read without indignation. Banished from his mother's presence, when he returned from divine service he was at a loss for a dinner ; there being a very strict prohibition given to all the officers in the queen's court that they should not furnish him with any provisions or necessities. His horses were that night turned out of the queen's stables, and the next day the sheets were taken off his bed. Thus was he forced to seek a lodging elsewhere than in the palace royal ; and nobody that had any dependence on the queen durst receive him into their houses. In this distress lord Hatton desired his highness to honour his house with his presence, assuring him of being there received with all the dutiful regard that could be paid to him by so ancient and faithfully devoted a servant to the royal family, and with an entertainment as suitable to his quality as the remains of the fortune he had spent in his father's service would afford. The duke

at first modestly declined the invitation, being apprehensive it might occasion a second sequestration of that nobleman's estate in England, bring upon him the displeasure of the court of France, and of the queen mother of England, and perhaps expose his person to the insults and fury of the rabble, instigated by some furious zealots, enraged at being disappointed of making a proselyte ; of which they had made their boast, and given public thanks for it in several churches. But his lordship expressing an uncommon zeal, after having spent the greatest part of his life and fortune in the service of the crown, and defence of the church of England, to sacrifice the remainder of both on so honourable an occasion, the duke accepted his offer, and continued with him as long as he stayed in Paris.

²⁶² He was scarce gone from the palace royal, when the queen regent of France came thither, intending (as was conceived) another trial to prevail with him to change his religion, and sent her son the duke of Anjou (afterwards of Orleans) to make him a visit, who returned with an account that he was not to be found. As soon as it was known that he was at lord Hatton's house, she sent the marquis de Plessis, to persuade him to comply with his mother's advice ; and that gentleman exerted all his fine parts and elocution to attain his purpose. But the marquis of Ormond and lord Hatton, who were present, opposed him with so much strength of reason, that he lost his temper in the debate, and returned without the expected success to the palace royal, where the queen regent stayed very late, till he came back. When the two queens heard his report of the conference, they were fully convinced of the duke's firmness to his religion ; and after that, no considerable attempt was made upon him, though he continued near two months nobly entertained ¹⁶⁸ by the lord Hatton, till the marquis of Ormond could borrow money (which was no easy matter, and which he

was forced to raise by pawning his garter and the parliament jewel) to defray the journey to Cologne. The king received them with great joy, being extremely satisfied with the marquis's negotiation and success, and kept his brother always with him till he returned into England.

263 It is natural enough for persons of any communion of Christians, who think themselves in the right, to endeavour to persuade others to embrace their sentiments, and join in their communion; but to force them by violence to such a step; to inveigle them by motives of interest and convenience, rather than persuade them by arguments proper to instruct their reason and convince their judgments; and to hurry them into a change of such importance with regard to this and to another world, that it ought never to be taken but after the most serious deliberation and the fullest conviction, is a very dishonest and cruel treatment, however it may be meant, and pass under the guise of tenderness and affection, and is such an absurd act of a furious and senseless zeal, that it tends to destroy the very end it aims at; and however it may encourage hypocrisy, can never be of service to the cause of true religion, which needs no such scandalous arts or violent measures for its propagation. After so remarkable an instance of this extravagant kind of zeal for what is called *catholicity*, the reader may perhaps be diverted by another, which shewed itself in less formal attacks, and ended more ludicrously in the conclusion. It happened a little before the marquis of Ormond (who used to relate it on occasion) went with the king to Cologne.

264 The countess of Lindsey was a lady of the bedchamber to the queen whilst she was in France, and a very zealous protestant. She was often teased by the Roman catholic priests that frequented the court to change her religion; but constantly avoided disputes, saying, that she was a woman and had no learning; but Dr. Crowther was her confessor, and they should dispute with him, who was

their match. F. Leybourn was one day pressing her on the old subject, when the marquis of Ormond, lord George Digby, sir K. Digby, and Dr. Crowther came in. When this last entered the room, she expressed herself very glad to see him, for Leybourn had been talking with her about religion, and she had referred herself to him. "What does he say?" says Crowther, (who was a man of very good parts and learning, but few persons exceeded him in the roughness of his conversation and behaviour.) "He says, (replied the countess,) that theirs is the true church, and ours is not so, and that this appears by miracles." The doctor asking what miracles he pretended to produce, she said, that he told her there was a thorn planted at Glastenbury by Joseph of Arimathea to bear testimony of the truth of Christianity and of the popish religion, and that it blossoms every Christmas-day. "Ridiculous enough!" says the doctor. "But pray does it blossom on Christmas-day as kept in England or as observed abroad?" "On the English Christmas-day," says Leybourn. The doctor inferring thence, that the pope who settled the new kalendar was not infallible, the other answered in an heat, "Our church is infallible, yours is not; and doctor, will you dare to assert it to be infallible?" "We are not so ridiculous," said Crowther, "as to pretend to infallibility." Upon which Leybourn saying, "If you are not an infallible church, you are a lying one," Crowther, who was seldom polite on any occasion, and was now not a little provoked at so impertinent an inference, thought fit to return his rudeness, and correct the weakness and absurdity of his reasoning by retorting it upon himself; and having asked him if he was himself infallible, and being answered, "No," told him in terms too strong perhaps to be used to any man, though cer-
tainly just with regard to the argument, "Sir, if you are
not an infallible priest, you are a lying priest." Leybourn
was horribly incensed, and the laugh of the company run-

ning against him, he could not stand it, but marched off, and was so foolish as the next day to send a challenge to Dr. Crowther. This defeat and ridiculous conduct of Leybourn afforded no small entertainment to the protestants about the court.

265 It was in the beginning of this year that the marquis of Ormond set out from Paris with the duke of Gloucester, taking the road of Flanders as the safest passage. When they came to Antwerp, the duke fell ill of a dangerous fever, which delayed their journey for some time till he had recovered his strength; so that the spring was coming on before they arrived at Cologne. Soon after his return the marquis was sent to the Hague, and from thence he attended the princess royal to the king. It was in this journey that, the weather proving very hot, the marquis went to swim in the Rhine, leaving his servant on shore to take care of the boat, in which he put his clothes. The man, on some occasion or other, quitting the bank of the river, two country peasants in the mean time got into the boat, and carried it to the other side. The marquis seeing it, swam over, and got his boat again; but in setting her back, the stream carried him so far down, that he was put to his shifts, and got to shore with difficulty. From Cologne the king set out in August with the princess royal and the duke of Gloucester to see the fair of Franckfort, being all the way on the road complimented by the German princes, through whose territories he passed, with all the marks of respect and honour usually paid to kings, and entertained very sumptuously by the elector of Mentz for three days together. The marquis attended his majesty in this journey, and was present at the interview which he had with the famous Christina queen of Sweden at Koningstein.

266 Of all the princes of Germany who endeavoured to treat the king with all the marks of respect due to his royal dignity, none had distinguished himself more than

Philip William duke of Neuburg. He had waited on his majesty at Cologne, and had entertained him and the princess royal with great magnificence at Dusseldorp. He entered with zeal into his majesty's interests, and by his ministers at the courts of Rome and Vienna had used his good offices to procure succours of money for the king's subsistence, and to get measures settled for effecting his restoration. He was thought a proper person to mediate in the king's behalf with the government of Flanders, the name of which was vested in the archduke Leopold, though all the power of it lay in the count of Fuensaldagna. The king in his way from France to the Spa, though he travelled through part of the Low Countries, and had a pass from the archduke, yet received no compliments from him in his passage, nor was so much as taken notice of by the governors of any places through which he passed after he left Cambray. This was owing to the great dread which the court of Spain had of Cromwell's power, whom they were afraid of offending, lest it might determine him to enter into a league with France, to which he now seemed inclined. The power of Spain, by the revolt of Portugal, and the expense of a long and unsuccessful war, was exceedingly impaired, and it was not consistent with good policy for any European state, at least for England, (whose trade required her to cultivate a friendship between the two nations,) to contribute to the reducing it still lower, and to the aggrandizing of the crown of France, which was already grown formidable to the rest of Europe. Spain had from the beginning of the troubles of England held a close correspondence with the parliament, and when it was divided into factions, had joined with the independent party, and been earlier than any other European potentate in acknowledging the rebels a free state after the king's murder, and in congratulating Cromwell on his dignity of lord protector. 170 But France was the stronger power, and able, in despite

of all the fleet of England, to transport over a body of men whenever she pleased to join with the discontented part of the nation; which by that support might be encouraged to make a general insurrection, and overturn his usurpation in a moment. He was exposed to no danger of this sort from Spain; so that notwithstanding the old friendship between his party and that court, and the reasons he had to be jealous of France on account of the near consanguinity between his most Christian majesty and the royal family of England, he resolved to sacrifice the interest of this nation to his own particular security, and being courted by both powers, resolved to make a strict alliance with that of France.

- 267 A league was secretly made between them,¹ when the marquis of Ormond was early in the summer sent to the duke of Neuburg to engage him to use his interest at the court of Brussels to dispose it to espouse the king's cause, and promote a treaty of alliance between their Britannic and catholic majesties. He laid before the duke the certain advice which his master had received from England, that the fleet which Cromwell had sent under Penn into the West Indies was intended to fall upon the Spaniards in those parts, which must necessarily produce a war, unless the king of Spain would be contented to give up some of his dominions in that quarter of the world; which could not possibly be imagined. The past behaviour of the Spaniard towards his majesty (though he was the first prince to whom he applied himself after his father's murder) might well be supposed to make all approaches towards a better intelligence the more difficult, and might have discouraged the attempt in any other juncture of affairs, but such an one as rendered it necessary for both their interests. This made it needful to use the interposition of some prince who wished well to both parties, to introduce such a cor-

¹ E. E. 260—269.

respondency as might be serviceable to the affairs of each; and for the better establishing thereof, it was not difficult to shew, that as the king of Spain's assistance might be very available to the king of Great Britain towards his restoration, so it might be in his majesty's power (how low soever his condition appeared at present) to contribute considerably towards defeating Cromwell's attempts upon the Indies, and to the assistance of his catholic majesty against his other enemies. For whatever success the English fleet might have in the West Indies, if Cromwell was not able to send constant and full supplies thither, the design must come to nothing, how prosperous soever the first entrance upon it should prove. And if the king of Spain would give that aid and countenance to his majesty, as would be proper for the carrying on of his own affairs, the king of England would be able to give Cromwell too much to do at home, to leave him at liberty to attend remote expeditions abroad. There were in the English navy, and particularly in Penn's squadron, many principal officers, who had formerly served his majesty, and whose affections, as well as those of the common seamen, would soon discover themselves, if he had once the liberty of ports to encourage the resort of ships and mariners to his service; in which case Cromwell would hardly adventure the setting out of any great fleets, well knowing how disaffected the seamen were to himself. In the war of Flanders the king would bring considerable advantages to the crown of Spain by confirming the Irish already in their pay, of whom the Spaniards were then so jealous, that they received little benefit by them; and by drawing off all the regiments of that nation in the French service, which in Catalonia, Italy, and France amounted to no less than ten thousand men; no considerable number whereof would remain after they knew that their king was invited by his catholic majesty to reside in Flanders, and had the benefit 171

of that king's friendship. In this case the falling off of such a force from the French might not only disappoint all their measures in the next campaign, but those men would be very serviceable in an attempt upon the British dominions, where, in conjunction with his majesty's faithful subjects, they might perhaps dispossess the usurper, or at least keep him from molesting and attacking his neighbours. The first of these events was not unlikely, considering the detestation which all sorts of people in England had of the present tyranny, and the reputation which such an alliance would give to the king's cause; and the probability of that event would likewise keep the Dutch to a strict observance of their treaty with his catholic majesty, and restrain the French from insisting upon unreasonable conditions of peace.

268 This, with an apology for the king's receiving an ambassador from Portugal, the diverting of the duke of Lorraine from pursuing his designs near Paris, and the drawing off the Irish from the Spanish to the French service, by which Bourdeaux was lost, and all the prince of Condé's designs upon Guienne were disappointed, made the substance of the marquis of Ormond's memorial to the duke of Neuburg. That prince was in perfect amity with Spain, and very desirous to serve the king of England; and would, in the month of June, when this proposition was made to him, have despatched the baron de Virmont, mareschal of his duchy of Juliers, to the court of Brussels to carry on the negotiation, if some advices which he received from Holland had not made him in doubt about the conclusion of the peace between France and Cromwell. In this uncertainty he knew nothing could be expected from Spain, which would never espouse his majesty's interests till that peace was concluded, or Penn had actually committed hostilities in the Indies, or the marquis of Ledesma was returned from London without any effect of his negotiation. Before

these particulars were cleared up, he thought it dangerous to make any proposals to the court of Brussels, for fear the Spaniards should make use of them to piece up matters again with Cromwell; but assured the marquis of Ormond, that as soon as any of these appeared in fact, he would not lose a moment in sending Virmont to set on foot the negotiation.

- 269 The duke was obliged in July to go into Bavaria to his duchy of Neuburg, before either the marquis of Lede returned, or any account came of Penn's invasion of Hispaniola and reducing of Jamaica. This occasioned some delay in the treaty, and it went on slowly till the peace between England and France was proclaimed at the latter end of this year. The conditions of that peace or league were hardly known to the Spaniards, when in the year following another was made between Cromwell and the crown of Portugal, which thwarted the design that the court of Spain had most at heart, and was likely to prove an insurmountable obstacle to the conquest of that kingdom. It was now undeniably the interest of Spain to distress Cromwell all they could; but either a slowness natural to that court, and observed in all their counsels and proceedings, or some other reason, caused a great delay in the treaty which his majesty was desirous to conclude with the king of Spain. It was on this occasion suggested by some Roman catholics to the king, that the dilatoriness of that court arose from their aversion to enter into any league with a prince of a different religion; and that if he would suffer the duke of Gloucester, or if he could be persuaded himself, to make profession of their religion, it would be a vast advantage to his affairs. The mischiefs that would arise from the king's open profession were so very great, and so very evident, that Mr. Walsingham and the most zealous of that party could not but acknowledge the danger of such a step; and yet it being as certain that the pope and Roman

catholic princes of Europe would not assist his majesty¹⁷² as long as he continued of a different communion, it was proposed as an expedient that he should be secretly reconciled to the church of Rome. ^mThis was supposed to be done about this time; for father Peter Talbot was very often shut up with him in his closet at Cologne, where they had many private conferences together; and in consequence thereof he was despatched in the spring of this year to Madrid on a very secret affair, which not being communicated to the council, was imagined to be, to impart to his catholic majesty the king's assent to the Roman catholic religion. The king himself went incognito to Brussels in the summer, and made a sort of treaty with the archduke and the count of Fuensaldagna, the purport whereof was only, that he might have liberty to reside incognito at Bruges, and as soon as he was master of a good port in England, he should be assisted by his catholic majesty with a body of six thousand men and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, to make a descent in that kingdom. This treaty was sent to Madrid to be ratified, and the Spaniards, hoping that his residence in Flanders might serve to draw the Irish troops out of the French service, (as his being in France had formerly drawn them out of their own,) gave him leave immediately to remove thither. It was drawn up by don Alonzo de Cardenas, late ambassador in England, who had always favoured the rebels, and had still a correspondence with the levellers, between whom and the cavaliers he had a mind to make a conjunction. He had ever been odious to the king's party, and having no acquaintance or friendship with any of them, he took his notions of them from their enemies, and had a very contemptible opinion of their power and interest in the nation. He had so much influence on the archduke and Fuensaldagna, who depended upon his judgment of the

^m A. 4to. p. 49. and sir R. Southwell's Narrative, p. 27.

affairs of a kingdom wherein he had resided for fifteen years together, that they would hardly have come into this agreement, if they had not been to be relieved immediately by don Juan of Austria, natural son to the king of Spain, and the marquis of Caracena; the former coming as governor of the Low Countries, the latter as general of the forces.

- 270 In virtue of this treaty, the king lost no time in removing from Cologne to Bruges, being impatient to see what effects the credit of such an alliance, and his nearer approach to England, would produce. Don Juan arriving soon after, he made a further treaty with him, whereby he engaged to call all his subjects out of the French or any other service, and to draw them together under his own command in Flanders, for the assistance of Spain. Upon this treaty his majesty was presently paid three thousand crowns a month, a great supply to a prince who had not in a whole year before received two thousand pounds from all his friends in England. The duke of York had an account sent him of this capitulation, and was required by the king to repair to him in Flanders. He had served as a lieutenant-general for four years with great reputation in the French armies, and was strongly inclined to continue in that service. The articles of the late treaty with Cromwell obliged the French to expel him and all the royal family, and adherents to the king of England, out of their dominions; but Mazarine, fearing the duke's quitting the service would make all the Irish do the like, interceded with Cromwell for leave to keep him in their troops, and employ him in the wars of Catalonia or Italy. Cromwell consented that he might serve in Italy, and his royal highness liked the service; but the king's commands overruled his inclinations; so that having received them, and disposed some of the chief Irish officers to follow him, he waited on his majesty at Bruges about the end 173

of September. In a short time five or six regiments were formed out of such of the king's subjects as were either found in the Spanish service or were tempted out of the French. Those of the latter sort were much more numerous, and were generally Irish, who left very good conditions which they enjoyed in France. "The marquis of Ormond had one of these regiments, and the first muster of it was made on Dec. 30 this year, at Courtray, from whence it was removed immediately by don Juan's orders to Deinse, and very inconvenient quarters in some villages near Gand.

271 °It was in the beginning of August this year that the marquis, being employed by the king about some affairs to Don Juan, received an order from his majesty to signify upon all fitting opportunities to any of his subjects in the French service, that he had present use for them in his own, and required them to march to such places as the marquis of Ormond should direct them. The Spaniards having just before broke into the mareschal de la Ferté's quarter, taken him prisoner with great slaughter of his men, and raised the siege of Valenciennes, had now invested Condé; and the place, after a gallant defence, was soon after surrendered. There were in it two Irish regiments commanded by Cormac Mac-carty, eldest son to the viscount Muskery, (who had by his services gained a great reputation among the French,) and sir James Darcy. The marquis, in obedience to the king's commands, made his pleasure known to these colonels, who thereupon expressed all possible duty to his majesty, and all readiness to obey his orders; but desired liberty to do it in such a way as might best provide for their honour. They were apprehensive, if they left the service in that juncture and manner, the French would suspect them of not having defended Condé as they

ⁿ E. E. p. 275—283. ° Appendix, No. XXXIII. E. E. p. 273.

ought; and it being an express article in the capitulation made with Du Moulin Jan. 13, 1646, that whenever their own king commanded them they should have leave to quit the service, and be conducted with their regiment to any place which they should choose on the frontiers of France, they thought there was no necessity of quitting it in a clandestine manner. Both officers and soldiers were likewise to have a month's pay at parting; but there was too much reason to suspect they would be broken with in this, as they had been in other particulars of their capitulation. The colonels however, being delicate in the point of honour, resolved to demand their dismissal from the court of France, and whether it was granted or denied, to quit the service with their regiments. The marquis of Ormond, considering the force of the article above mentioned, and the tenour of the king's commands, which required them to come to serve under his commission and by his own orders, thought there was no necessity for that formality; but they engaging their honours to demand their passports, and do what became them in allegiance, he made no attempt at that time to draw their officers or their men from them.

²⁷² As soon as young Muskery could get to Paris, he demanded a dismissal for himself and his men. Cardinal Mazarine unwillingly granted him a pass, but absolutely refused it for his regiment. He went into Flanders, whither his regiment followed him to a man, and was again formed into a corps, by the name of *the duke of York's regiment*, who bore the title of colonel, whilst Muskery commanded it as lieutenant colonel. The cardinal was much provoked at the desertion of the Irish, and to put a stop to it gave a false account of this affair in a letter to Oliver Darcy, titular bishop of Dromore, who then served as chaplain to an Irish regiment in the French army, quartered on the frontiers in the neighbourhood of Namur. In this letter he not only represented 174

the marquis of Ormond's instances as ineffectual, and the king's orders as disobeyed ; but fell foul on the conduct of both, charging his majesty with ingratitude to the court of France, and the marquis, if not with infidelity, at least with unskilfulness in judging and acting for his master's interests. This letter the cardinal caused to be published to all the Irish regiments in the French service, in order to encourage them to slight their king's orders, by a feigned instance of disobedience in others. The marquis of Ormond, to prevent this effect, sent copies of his majesty's orders, with a letter to the bishop of Down, in answer to that which he had communicated to him from the cardinal, desiring him to make both as public as the letter of Mazarine had been. In this letter, after justifying his own conduct, he lays open that of the cardinal, in banishing out of France the king and royal family of England, (the nearest relations of his most Christian majesty, and grandchildren of the great Henry IV,) and making a scandalous treaty, on servile conditions, with the usurper of his crown. This letter being made public was highly celebrated by the enemies of Mazarine, whose wretched cowardice and mean compliance with Cromwell was exposed in the strongest terms ; and it is wrote with so true a spirit, so just a reasoning, such a beautiful turn of expression, and in all respects in so masterly a way, that I thought it well deserved a place in the Appendix.

- 273 The king, as soon as he had concluded his treaty with Spain, notified to the court of France that he would receive no more of the small pension allowed him from thence ; which, to excuse in some measure their ill treatment, had been paid him punctually enough during his abode at Cologne. The Spaniards wanted money, and the payments he was to receive from them were not so duly made as his own necessities and those of his servants required. The marquis of Ormond passed most of the

winter at Brussels, soliciting this and other particulars of his majesty's affairs, being himself straitened, as many gentlemen who had followed the king's fortune were utterly at a loss, for subsistence. One of these, a Scotch knight of the name of Maxwell, lodged in the house of a burgher of the town, who being zealously affected to the king's cause, gave him his lodging and diet *gratis*. This seasonable hospitality and kindness in his distress could not on all occasions keep down the Scotch gentleman's passions: he quarrelled with his honest landlord, and swore he would never eat with him more. He kept his word for a whole day, fasting all that time; but it not agreeing over well with his constitution, he consulted his friend the marquis of Ormond what he should do. "Really," said the marquis with great gravity, "all the advice I can give in your case is, to go to your lodging; first eat your words, and then your supper."

- 274 The king's recalling his subjects out of the French service brought great advantages to the Spaniards, and occasioned in the beginning of the year 1657 the surrender of St. Ghislain, a place of great consequence in the neighbourhood of Brussels, and held by a French garrison, which infested all the country thereabouts, and caused such clamours against the court, that the Spaniards could not open the campaign but by the reduction of that place, which had been once attacked in vain, and was strong enough to baffle a second attempt. Half the garrison were Irish, and several of the officers being nearly allied to sir G. Lane, secretary to the marquis of Ormond, wrote to him to know, if the giving up of that place would be of service to the king; and if it would, they were ready to undertake it. The marquis sent his secretary to court with this account, who by Don Juan's directions carried on a treaty with the officers; some of which were arrested by the governor of the place, who discovered the conspiracy. This however did not 175

hinder the common soldiers, who were upon the guard in some outposts, from declaring themselves, and receiving the Spaniards; which obliged the governor to surrender St. Ghislain, upon condition that he might march away with the rest of his garrison.

275 The treaty between Cromwell and the court of France being now published, a body of six thousand English were sent over to join mareschal de Turenne, who with their assistance took the fort of Mardyke. This was immediately put into the hands of the English, who set to work in repairing the old, and raising some new fortifications. Don Juan in a bravado resolved to march thither one evening with his army, and demolish in one night what the garrison had been a month in raising. The king of England, being come to Dunkirk to put him in mind of some promises he had made him in relation to an enterprise upon that kingdom, accompanied him in this expedition. His majesty and Don Juan halted with the cavalry, whilst the infantry went forward to the works which were to be demolished. As they drew near the fort, the enemy made a continual fire from their cannon and musketry; and some small frigates that were in the ditch fired also without ceasing. His majesty advancing to see what the foot were doing, the marquis of Ormond, who attended him, had his horse killed under him with a cannon shot. Don Juan having effected what he came about retired before day to Dunkirk, and to repair the marquis's loss made him a present of a noble Spanish gennet.

276 It was not agreeable to the marquis of Ormond's principles to throw his life away in the Spanish service, without benefit to his king or country; he was desirous to expose and employ it to better purposes, for which an opportunity then offered. The king's coming into Flanders had raised the spirits of his friends in England, who knowing there was a treaty signed between him and the

court of Spain, made no doubt of an army sufficient to begin the business, and then concluded, that the general affections of the kingdom would finish the work of his restoration. The king was in hopes that the Spaniards would enable him in the depth of winter to land in England with a force sufficient to encourage his loyal subjects to join him; and though he had formerly restrained his friends from exposing themselves to unnecessary dangers, he now thought it proper to recommend their putting themselves into such a posture, as they might be ready to join him when he appeared. Several messengers were sent from England to assure him that there was an universal readiness there, attended with such an eagerness for action, that they could hardly be persuaded to stay to expect the king, but would begin the work themselves. Don Juan, taking all his accounts of England from Don Alonso de Cardenas, could not be persuaded to engage a body of the Spanish troops upon these assurances, which he did not think ought to be relied on^p; and it was very plain from those accounts, that however good the affections of the nation in general were to the king's cause, there was still wanting a person of eminent consideration and credit with his majesty to conduct the design. In this exigence the marquis of Ormond offered himself for that service, proposing to go over in disguise, and to know the utmost of what could be done; that if things were ripe for action, he would be in the head of it, and if they grew successful to such a degree as might invite the great men of the kingdom, such as the marquis of Hertford, the earl of Northumberland, or others, to come in, who might scruple to be commanded by him, he would resign the command and serve under them. At least he should be able by this expedition to let his majesty know what stress ought to be laid upon the reports and ac-176

^p Sir R. Southwell's Narrative. E. E. 314—324. A. 4to. p. 66, 67—70.

counts which came so constantly to him ; and he would be instructed how to govern his affairs accordingly.”

277 This generous offer could not but please his majesty, though he had a great reluctance to consent that the marquis should expose himself to the dangers which attended it. Sir E. Hyde (lately, on sir E. Herbert's death, made lord chancellor) was absolutely against the journey, as an unreasonable adventure upon an improbable design, seeing there was no just ground to imagine that those who had confidently undertaken the greatest matters were able to perform any thing. But the marquis exceedingly undervalued any imagination of danger, and still persisted in his offer, which the king at last accepted. The design was imparted to none but the duke of York, the lord chancellor, and the earl of Bristol ; and the marquis of Ormond took instructions for all events. To disguise the true design, to find a colour for his departure from the king, and to prevent those jealousies, inquiries, and discourses which would naturally arise upon that occasion, it was given out that he was to go into Germany to the duke of Neuburg, and to bring from thence two regiments for his majesty's service. Sir Richard Belling was appointed his secretary in this embassy, and having publicly taken leave of the king, they went together as far as Cleves ; whence sir Richard was sent on to keep up a formal correspondence, whilst the marquis with only one servant slipped down into Holland, where he met Daniel O'Neile, (who had much encouraged the undertaking,) and having hired a small vessel at Scheveling, they embarked together for England.

278 It was in the beginning of January this year that the marquis of Ormond landed at Westmarch, seven miles below Colchester in Essex. Mr. O'Neile and he kept together as far as Chelmsford, and there parted. The marquis getting to London met with sir Philip Honywood, and was conducted by him to proper places for

his concealment, and to the parties with whom he was to discourse. He first chose to meet those of inferior rank, who made the loudest boasts of what they could do, not so much in their own persons, as by great men with whom they had credit, and by friends in their respective countries. The first meeting was in an upper room at an apothecary's house near the Old Exchange, where about eight of them were got together by the appointment of sir P. Honywood, who, introducing the marquis, told them, that he was a gentleman for whom he undertook, and who was going to the king, and was the fittest person that could be found to tell his majesty how all things stood. For this reason he desired every one of them to declare the utmost of what they and their friends could undertake for in the great work. Far from complying with the motion, they unanimously refused to speak their minds in so dangerous a point, till they might see a person of credit from his majesty, as they had so often and so earnestly desired. Upon this the marquis discovered himself; but to their no little surprise and confusion. For when he pressed to have a true state and account of what each person could do, their discourses were so uncertain, and their hopes so incoherent, that he saw plainly, if he met with no better and more rational assurances from other quarters, he had little more to do than to return from whence he came, and to make his escape.

279 However, parting with those gentlemen, and giving them such encouragement and advice as was fit for their zeal, he met next with men of an higher rank, and such as were more relied on by his majesty; as colonel Russel, sir Richard Willis, colonel Villiers, colonel William Legg, and others. He met these once in Bedford garden, where colonel Russel had lodgings, and another time in Gray's Inn where sir R. Willis had chambers. But though some of these gentlemen had before given his

majesty more hopes than there were just grounds to entertain, yet now they owned the difficulties of doing any¹⁷⁷ thing; and sir R. Willis (not then suspected) was more copious than any other, in setting forth the impediments that lay in the way of an attempt for the king's restoration.

²⁸⁰ There had been some hopes given of the getting possession of Hull; but sir H. Slingsby had been a good while imprisoned for tampering with Overton the governor in that matter, and was afterwards beheaded for that design. Yet the marquis met at first with such encouragement to expect the delivery of that place, that, considering the great importance of it, and the affections of the Yorkshire gentlemen to the king's service, he was once upon the point of going directly thither. No place lay more convenient for the receiving of forces and arms from Flanders, and by an express article in the king's late treaty with the Spaniards they were to furnish him with six thousand men for a descent in England, whenever he should be master of any port in that kingdom. The securing of Hull would have fully answered the intent of the marquis's journey, but finding no solid grounds to expect it, he inquired next into the feasibility of the offers which had been made of seizing Gloucester, Bristol, and Windsor for the king's service. The undertakers for these places were scattered, for fear of imprisonment, and were not easily to be got together; but the marquis met with Dukes, who was the person to surprise Windsor, and with Clayton, Pyle, and others, that were to act in the seizing of Bristol and Gloucester. Upon examining into the matter, he found nothing like a probability that these enterprises could succeed, if attempted; nor any disposition in the actors to attempt them till the king landed, or some other design should be set on foot with success.

²⁸¹ The seizing of these and other places (of which Shrewsbury was one proposed) was to be the beginning and

groundwork of a general insurrection; and the foundation failing, there was small encouragement to expect either the attempt or success of such an affair. Mr. Stapley, a gentleman of a good family and considerable fortune in Sussex, whose mother had been sister to the earl of Norwich, and his father one of the late king's judges, had made very great offers of raising a body of men for his majesty's service, and had received a commission to command a regiment of horse, which he undertook to have in readiness, whenever it was proper to appear. Colonel Popham, a gentleman of a large estate and great interest in his country, an officer in the army, but much discontented with Cromwell, had, by the canal of sir Henry Moore, made the like offer to the king; as some others had also done. He was so considerable a person, that the king wrote him a letter, which sir Henry was to deliver, but during all the marquis's stay durst not go to him, nor convey him the letter. Colonel Russel being a person well known to Popham, and much esteemed by him, the marquis thought it best by means of sir P. Honywood to bring him and sir H. Moore together, in order to get some better assurance of what Popham would do than he could learn from sir Henry's discourse; but this gentleman could not be brought to confer with colonel Russel, though he well knew his fortune, interest, inclinations, and honour. There was another gentleman, one Mr. Cotton, with whom the marquis offered to discourse about his undertakings; but he found by the person employed that he must in that case enter into a treaty with the lord Say, concerning the reestablishing of the old treaty between the king and parliament at the Isle of Wight. He did not conceive treaties to be the business he came upon, and waved the affair; but left an address for the sending to him such propositions as were intended to be made. The case was much the same with colonel Richard Norton of Southwick in Hampshire, who had at

that time sent by sir John Arundel assurances to the king of his readiness to rise; but the marquis did not meet with encouragement enough to put himself into the power of Nath. Fiennes's father and brother-in-law. Nor¹⁷⁸ did he see Stapley, as well because his business was nothing without Bristol and Gloucester, as because he was assured by those who well knew the man and his interest, that it was impossible for him to perform any thing answerable even to his lowest undertaking.

²⁸² The marquis found in more than one party of men a great aversion to Cromwell's government, and a general inclination to serve the king, but such a mutual jealousy and animosity between those who wished well to the same cause, and desired his majesty's restoration, that they would not so much as confer and correspond with one another. Thus Popham, Norton, and Stapley, though originally of the parliament party, and living in the same or the next adjoining county, knew nothing of each other's intentions and proposals. The marquis could not in his judgment be persuaded that any such probable means were proposed for the effecting of any one design, as to the seizing of any place, that could justify his engaging so many persons as were willing to rise with all the force they could make; which, without some place of strength to receive and cover them, would have been to expose them to inevitable ruin, and the king's counsels to irreparable and shameful derision. Nor was it possible for him to stay the new modelling of designs for the taking of places, but that his being in England would be discovered, and thereupon all persons, how slightly soever suspected, would be secured and disabled from acting. This being the case, he thought it proper to advise those who were warmest for an insurrection to keep themselves quiet till they had certain accounts of the king's landing; and being assured that Cromwell knew of his being in England, and had made several searches for him, he

thought it high time to depart. Thus after a month's stay he left London, telling the gentlemen with whom he had conversed, that sir P. Honywood should know where to find him when he could be useful; and was conducted by Dr. Quatremaine, the king's physician, into Sussex. There he embarked in a shallop near Shoreham, and was safely transported to Dieppe, from whence he went by the way of Rouen to Paris.

283 Such was the issue of the marquis of Ormond's journey into England, which, though it failed in the main intent of it, afforded some smaller adventures which may possibly be amusing to the reader. He brought with him to Westmarsh only his servant Maurice, who had like to have spoiled the whole affair, and made him be taken up on suspicion, by pulling out in the room there allotted them, the conveniences for night, which were brought in the portmanteau. There being no bed in the house fit to lie in, and the weather being extreme cold, the marquis chose to sit up all night at shuffleboard with four Suffolk maltsters. He had a good hand at that sport, and drank warm ale with them till morning, when he set out for Colchester. From thence he sent Maurice back with letters, and went on himself with O'Neile to Chelmsford, where they parted. The marquis there put a green case over his hat, and a nightcap on his head; and having his portmanteau fixed behind him, with all other things suitable thereto, he jogged on in this equipage to London. His first lodging there was at a surgeon's in Drury-lane, who, though a Roman catholic, yet having good skill in his art had considerable business, and was well respected in the neighbourhood. After a while he began to suspect the inconvenience of the place, and asked his landlord over a pint of sack, if he had no hidingplace in his house for a priest. The man answered, "No;" for his house was very often searched; and so were all the houses in two or three streets thereabouts. The marquis receiving this

account of his lodgings, immediately paid his landlord, and went to a French tailor's in the Black Friars; and that very night the chirurgion's and all the houses in the neighbourhood were searched. 179

284 The marquis had once an alarm given him in this new lodging about midnight; but it proved only to be some workmen who had been employed about the house, and ran hastily up stairs at that hour to carry away their work before Sunday morning, the Lord's day being then kept with excessive strictness. The noise and hurry of several persons at so unseasonable an hour were such that, before he discovered the occasion, he was just making his escape out of a garret window, that led over the houses of another street. For the first care he had about his lodgings was to see what backways there were for a retreat. He took likewise another precaution, never going into a bed all the time that he continued in England, but lying constantly in his clothes, that he might still be in a readiness.

285 After this he took another lodging in Old Fish-street. His landlady had been in her younger days a servant at court, and could drink sack as well as her husband. He humoured them in their way, and was much securer there than in his former quarters. He went by the name of Pickering, and passed for a discarded officer. Complaining to colonel Legg that a peruke was troublesome to him, and but an ill disguise, the colonel gave him a mixture to make his own hair black. But the aquafortis was so predominant in it, that it not only changed his hair into a variety of colours, but also scalded his head, and gave him a deal of trouble. It was generally thought that sir R. Willis had discovered his arrival to Cromwell, but on condition that the marquis should not be seized, lest himself should thereby be detected, and so be forever rendered useless for any future service. Sir Richard in the year following, when his correspondence with

Cromwell was discovered^a, endeavoured to vindicate himself from the charge, and alleged the marquis of Ormond's safe return out of England as a clear proof of his own integrity. But the king would not admit this plea, having demonstrative evidence of sir Richard's treachery, and acting the part of a double spy, giving intelligence on both sides, to the marquis of Ormond of the danger he ran in a certain place; and to Cromwell, of the marquis's being there concealed; so that the one finding his lodging searched the night after he quitted them, and the other, that the person he sought for had been there in the morning, both of them were persuaded for a time of sir R. Willis's good intelligence and fair dealing in what he undertook and professed.

286 The marquis of Ormond, as soon as he landed in France, sent the king an account of his affairs in England, melancholy enough with regard to particulars, and what was thought to have been more solidly projected; yet not without some hopes from the general temper of the people and situation of the kingdom. He could never have imagined that Cromwell had been so universally hated as he found he was, not daring to venture his army from London, or to make new levies, and not knowing into what hands to trust his forces. Soon after the marquis's arrival, he had dissolved his parliament, upon which the discontents appeared so great, that if his majesty could have transported himself with the forces designed to attend him, he would have found little opposition. The inclinations to a rising were stronger and more general than his lordship could have believed without the proof of his senses; but still he thought nothing of this nature should be attempted till a force was landed from abroad; the report whereof, and expectation of his majesty's coming, had been the occasion of the preparations which had been made every where to join him.

He had, in confidence of the Spanish minister's assurances, encouraged those on whom the king most depended, 180 to hope for his speedy landing, and had promised them in that case to come himself to the west of England to make a diversion there; which was the reason of his landing in France; from whence he could transport himself thither without any difficulty.

287 The marquis on this occasion assured the king, that if he had any judgment, it led him to be confident, that if his majesty could land, but with the force, ammunition, and provisions promised him, at or near Yarmouth, he would carry that place before it could be succoured, (especially if the attempt were made before Cromwell had composed the disorders occasioned by his breaking the parliament,) and by that acquisition gain reputation enough to gather a force sufficient to do (as he thought) his own business, and certainly the king of Spain's, who would thereby save Dunkirk, which else must fall a prey to the united forces of France and England. If his majesty (to whom an express had been at the same time sent out of England to assure him of Yarmouth) approved of that enterprise, and could procure from Don Juan the forces necessary for it, to be transported over before the opening of the campaign, he professed himself ready to return to England, in order to make a diversion in the west, and would wait in France his majesty's orders and resolution. The king was forward for action, and told the Spanish ministers in very positive terms, that he found such solid grounds for the venturing himself and all his hopes in the design, that he was resolved to do so, unless they flatly denied him means. Those ministers had other intelligence out of England of the real probability of a revolution there, and that the appearance of a considerable embarkation with the duke of York's person (whom all the discontented cavaliers, as well as the republicans, affected at that time to extol on all occasions to the les-

sening of his majesty's character) would make the king's friends certainly rise, and at least cause so powerful a diversion, that Cromwell could spare no forces to send over for prosecuting the design on Dunkirk. Oliver had indeed at this time caused a few frigates to lie before the harbour of Ostend; but notwithstanding they had taken three flutes, brought thither from Holland for the transport service, the Spanish ministers pretended to go on with the expedition, and that their ships should be ready with the troops on board to sail in a few days. They flattered the king with these hopes all the month of March, and made him, till he saw the failure of them, defer sending to the marquis of Ormond to repair to him at Brussels.

288 The marquis was all that time lying concealed at Paris, where he continued from Feb. 12 till the latter end of April, almost in as much danger of the Bastille there, as he had been of the Tower at London. He lay all that time in private at the Feuillantines in the Fauxbourg S. Jacques, where his two sisters, the countess of Clancarty and the lady Hamilton, had their apartments. When he received the king's orders to come to him with as much expedition as he could consistent with his safety, he left Paris, taking with him his second son the lord Richard, who had been there for some time learning his exercises in the academy. Cromwell had sent to Mazarine to get him secured, and such diligence was used for that purpose, as made it dangerous for him to attempt to pass through any part of the frontier towards Flanders. He chose the road towards Italy, and rode in three days to Lyons.

289 Whilst he was there, he called at a shop to have his peruke mended. The master was a cripple both in his hands and feet, but said he could direct his sister to mend it as it ought to be. The marquis taking another peruke from him, went to gaze about in the streets; and step-

ping accidentally into the next church, he saw a chapel in it which was hung with the presents of several votaries who had received cures from Our Lady. Among the rest he observed an inscription as well as an offering made by ¹⁸¹ the very man he had left. When he came back to the peruke-maker, he asked him about it, wondering that he should do so, being still decrepit. The man answered, that he thought he was rather better than he had been, and hoped that by doing honour to the Lady beforehand he might the sooner enjoy the rest of her benefit. From Lyons the marquis went to Geneva, and passing through the Palatinate and down the Rhine, made the duke of Neuburg a visit at Dusseldorp; and from thence came about the tenth of May to his majesty at Brussels.

²⁹⁰ The king was very ill satisfied with the proceedings of don Juan and the marquis of Caracena, in disappointing him of the succours that had been promised him for the attempt he intended to make upon England. 'He had thoughts of going himself to Spain, in hopes of prevailing with the ministers at Madrid to supply him the next winter with the forces which those of Flanders had failed to furnish him the last, notwithstanding their repeated promises. He fancied that he could make this journey without danger, by going into Germany under pretence of attending the diet, and that from thence, slipping into Italy, he might pass into Spain without interruption. The reasons for the journey were, the little satisfaction the king had hitherto found from the ministers in Flanders with regard either to his person or his affairs; the appearance that he would have still less for the future, their force diminishing, and their disposition towards him not being likely to change for the better, when their affairs were daily growing worse, and their difficulties greater; the ill state of the Netherlands, and the danger of Dunkirk, Newport, and Ostend (all the places from

^r A. 70, 100, and 103.

whence any troops could be embarked for England) being lost in the approaching campaign; the ill effect which those losses and the distressed condition of Flanders would have upon the king's friends in England, who seeing an impossibility of being succoured, would be discouraged from forming any new design, or making an insurrection in his favour. The advantages which the king proposed from the journey were, the getting from his catholic majesty a sum of money, for making a descent upon England, and for his subsistence, into his own hands, so that the Flemish ministers should not touch it, nor be able to divert it to any other purpose; the engaging the court of Madrid to include him in a treaty of peace, whenever any should be made; the encouragement which that journey would give to the royal party in England, and the desire which the Spanish ministers expressed of his going to Spain, which they might easily force him to at last by the inconveniences he might suffer, and the cold usage he might receive from them in Flanders. On the other side there were objections to the journey arising from the dangers to which the king would thereby be exposed, and the loss of several advantages to his affairs which might happen, by some revolution in England, if Cromwell should set up himself for king; by some alteration in France, if that crown and Cromwell should quarrel about dividing their conquests; by a war between the English and Dutch, of which various symptoms were daily discovered, or by a change of ministry in Flanders; in all which cases, the king's being at such a distance from this country would be very inconvenient. The apparent poverty of Spain, which would render it perhaps as difficult to get money from thence as it had been found to procure it at Brussels, made it doubtful, whether those who would not give effectual orders for assisting the king in Flanders would be more liberal in

Spain, and the ill consequences of his majesty's being neglected in Spain would be more grievous than the same treatment in the Low Countries, since the one might be imputed to the ministers, but the other must ¹⁸² appear to be the act of the king their master. The umbrage which this voyage would give on account of the king's religion, and the difficulty about the powers and commissions necessary to be left with the duke of York, were likewise considerations which contributed to keep the king irresolute upon this subject, which he only communicated to the chancellor and the earl of Bristol, till the marquis of Ormond returned to Brussels. The first of these did not like the journey, and the last had no inclination to it, not seeing any great reason to expect success at the court of Madrid; but both had the less to object to it, because it was undeniably evident there were not the least grounds ever to hope for succours from the ministers at Brussels; so that the expedition seemed to be thought of by the king, not so much out of choice as necessity. In this difficulty of determining, his majesty thought proper to consult his friend the cardinal de Retz on the subject. The marquis of Ormond stated to him the reasons that persuaded, the advantages thence proposed, and the objections which were made against, the journey. The cardinal, who knew the court of Spain very well, was of opinion that the journey was attended with greater dangers and inconveniences than it could possibly bring advantages to the king's affairs; that if he went, he should take the duke of York along with him, and leave the duke of Gloucester behind; and that he might not lose such favourable junctures as might possibly happen, he thought his majesty should not set out till the campaign was over, and then order his affairs in such a manner that he might be back in Flanders by the time the troops should be ready to move. The king

accordingly put off his journey, and Cromwell's death happening before the end of the campaign, caused it to be entirely laid aside.

291 The king was at Hoochstraten when he received news of that event. He had retired thither in discontent with the court of Brussels, and as that village was but four hours from Breda, he went often thither to see the princess royal his sister. He had there various opportunities of conversing with the princess Henrietta, daughter of Henry Frederick de Nassau prince of Orange; and conceiving a great kindness for her, entertained thoughts of marriage. She was as much inclined to be a queen; and the king at this time sent the marquis of Ormond to make the proposition to her mother the old princess dowager of Orange; but it was civilly declined; she, who saw little hopes of his majesty's change of fortune, excusing the matter by reason of her being wholly under the protection of the States General, and that all things of that public and important nature must be first moved to them, and not be proceeded in without their approbation and direction.

292 In the ^sletter which the king wrote to that princess on this occasion, just after Cromwell's death, he took notice of the good condition of his affairs in England upon that event, and the great likelihood of his restoration, if he could but procure some assistance from the States, which he conceived it was agreeable to their interest to give him, and which he desired her good offices to solicit. The common people in Holland had made great rejoicings upon Cromwell's death, and the governing part of that country had expressed themselves more favourably to the king's cause, and shewn greater civilities to those of his party than they had ever done before. Even John de Wit seemed inclined to promote his restoration. The

^s A. 4to. 129, 130.

hopes of engaging him heartily in the king's interest, and of bringing the Dutch to supply his majesty with succours upon occasion^t, were the principal motive which disposed the marquis of Ormond to enter at this time into a treaty of marriage between his eldest son Thomas earl of Ossory and Emilia daughter of Louis de Nassau¹⁸³ Sr. de Beverweert, natural son to Maurice prince of Orange. M. de Beverweert was a man of great virtue and integrity, a particular friend to M. de Wit, and well heard in the assembly of the States. He offered only ten thousand pounds with his daughter, and insisted on his intended son-in-law's being put in immediate possession of one thousand two hundred pounds a year. This put the marchioness of Ormond to great difficulties, the condition of her estate in Ireland scarce allowing her to part with so considerable a share of it; but she could deny nothing to her beloved son, who was much in love with the young lady, not so much on account of her beauty as of her goodness, of which (as he assured his father) she had as much as he could wish in woman. He thought the happiness of his life depended upon passing it with her; and for that reason only declined a proposal, which was at this time setting on foot, of his marriage with a much greater fortune, a daughter of Thomas Wriothesly earl of Southampton. The marquis of Ormond, for the reasons above mentioned, consented to the match which was most agreeable to his son's inclinations; and the marchioness having made the settlement proposed, the marriage was solemnized on Monday Nov. 17, 1659, N. S. The marchioness had a view of employing part of the young lady's fortune in marrying her daughter the lady Elizabeth Butler to the earl of Chesterfield, (for which a proposal was now made,) and in sending her son the lord John to the academy at Paris; but the king's

^t A. 4to. 71—186.

occasions for money were so pressing, and the juncture so very critical, that almost the whole of it was immediately employed in his majesty's service.

²⁹³ Holland was not the only country which altered its conduct towards the king upon Cromwell's death. His majesty found a sensible difference in the behaviour of the Spanish ministers in Flanders, who now treated him with more complaisance and deference. The court of France paid extraordinary civilities to the queen: cardinal Mazarine made her a visit, and took occasion to congratulate her majesty and her friends upon that event. These civilities the king hoped would prove an introduction to more real services, for which a favourable opportunity soon offered. The two crowns of France and Spain, being tired of a long and expensive war, were both inclined to put an end to it by a peace, cemented by a marriage between Louis XIV and the infanta of Spain. An overture to that purpose was made in the beginning of this year, which was followed by a suspension of arms in May, in order to a treaty of marriage and peace, which was to be managed on the frontiers of both kingdoms, in a conference between the two ministers. Cardinal Mazarine set out from Paris on June 24 to meet don Louis de Haro, and the conference was opened on Aug. 13 in a small island near St. Jean de Luz. The king was in hopes that now those two crowns were no longer to be taken up in hostilities against each other, they might be brought to unite their forces for his restoration; and was encouraged to those hopes by favourable declarations from both the ministers, that his interests should be considered and provided for in the treaty. Sir H. Bennet, who had lately been his minister at the court of Madrid, and was very confident of Louis de Haro's inclinations to serve his majesty, was sent to attend the treaty, and take care of his master's interests. It was but an ill beginning of his negotiation, that sir

Henry was refused an audience, when he desired it of the cardinal, who at the same time caressed in an extraordinary manner Lockart, who was come thither as agent to the usurped government in England. Mazarine excused this refusal, pretending that he meant it for the king of England's service, and that his majesty's interests should be taken care of, but it could not be done till after all matters in dispute between the two crowns were adjusted, and the peace fully concluded.

294 The court of Spain had great reason to resent the con-¹⁸⁴ duct of the English usurpers, who had taken from them the port of Dunkirk and the island of Jamaica; and France was uneasy at the former of those places being in the hands of the English. The king imagined that the interests of both the crowns were considerably affected by those places, and imagined he could, by being on the spot himself, make an advantage thereof, which no minister that he could employ would be able to do; it being too delicate an affair for any subject to agree for the giving up of such important places, though upon the condition of restoring his majesty to the rest of his dominions. He resolved therefore to go himself to the conference, and accordingly set out in the month of August from Brussels, with great privacy, and went to Calais, where he stayed a few days incognito, and then went to Rouen, attended only by the marquis of Ormond, the earl of Bristol, and two or three servants. The duke of York set out the same day with lord Langdale for Boulogne, where he continued with equal privacy, holding a correspondence with his brother.

295 The reason of the king's stay in those parts was the expectation of a rising of his friends in England, of which Mr. Henry Mordaunt, now created lord Mordaunt, had lately assured him of at Brussels. This nobleman had been taken up soon after the marquis of Ormond's last return from England, and had narrowly escaped with his

life. He had been always active for the king's service, and had the entire confidence of all the cavalier party; his late behaviour had gained him universally the character of a man of courage and honour; and being known to be trusted by his majesty, he had been applied to by persons of other parties, who were desirous to return to their duty, and see a good settlement of the kingdom. From the time of Cromwell's death there had been various changes of government; both the army and what was called the parliament were divided into several factions, so embittered against one another, that it was evident their divisions would at last be determined in blood, and no settled government could be established till one faction had suppressed the rest. It was thought at first the wisest part the royalists could take, to wait till the factions of the army had carried matters to that extremity, and had begun hostilities against each other; lest by stirring too early, they should unite those who could not otherwise be reconciled than by having a common enemy to oppose. But when those different factions had drawn the sword against each other, it was not doubted but that the king's friends, rising in arms, would be joined by one or other of them, who should find it their best interest, and surest means of safety, to contribute to his majesty's restoration. In expectation of such an opportunity, there were few counties of England in which the royalists had not made preparations for seizing the principal towns, and taking the field; and many of the old parliamentary party, seeing no end of the distractions of the nation, had embarked in the same measures. A day was fixed for a general insurrection in all parts of the kingdom, of which lord Mordaunt, having given his majesty a particular account, returned at the latter end of June to England, with commissions to the principal persons in each county, giving them authority to choose a commander-in-chief among themselves, till they should

join with other forces under a general who had a superior commission from the king.

296 The imprisonment of several of the chief persons who were to act in this affair, the unseasonableness of the weather, and various other accidents, prevented a general rising at the day appointed. ^uThis was the first of August, when sir George Boothe, according to his engagement, seized the city of Chester, and was joined by sir 185 Thomas Middleton with a considerable body of Welshmen. The castle held out, being garrisoned by colonel Croxton with two hundred foot and fifty horse. There was in it a good magazine of arms and ammunition, and it was a great omission not to reduce it, or at least block it up, in such a manner, that the governor could receive no intelligence; in which case it would soon have been surrendered. Some jealousy also arose between Boothe and Middleton, encouraged by the ministers, who found fault with the latter for declaring too openly that he meant the king's restoration. They were discouraged at hearing of no insurrection in other places, and surprised at Lambert's advance against them; which was made with such expedition, that he was within less than a day's march of them before they thought he could have come half the way. They might however have defended Chester till they had been relieved, and Lambert, who had at most but three thousand five hundred men with him, durst not have ventured to attack them there. But they were eager for an engagement, and leaving seven hundred of their best foot in Chester, marched with the rest of their forces to meet him as far as Namptwich, where, for want of intelligence, they suffered themselves to be surprised, and were easily routed.

297 This ill conduct and sudden suppression of sir G. Boothe disappointed all the measures taken to relieve him, and to make the insurrection effectual to his majesty's resto-

^u Lord Mordaunt's letter to the king. E. E. 352.

ration. *The marquis of Ormond and lord chancellor Hyde had a correspondence with admiral Montague, (afterwards earl of Sandwich,) who had assured them of his resolution to serve the king whenever an opportunity offered. He was at this time with a fleet under his command in the Sound, and upon lord Mordaunt's account of the design of a general insurrection, it was thought proper to send a gentleman to him to engage his service and the assistance of the fleet in that design. The gentleman (who in the chancellor's letter of Sept. 20 to the marquis of Ormond, is distinguished by the style of *the knight*, and *our landlord of the garter*) met with great difficulties in his journey by land, on account of the Swedish, Danish, and Brandenburg armies, which possessed all passages in the way, and when he got at last through many dangers to the Sound, the fleet was removed to such a distance, that he could not pursue the method proposed for the communication between them, and the admiral himself was in Copenhagen. There was some difficulty to get into that place, which was blocked up on one side by the Swedish forces, and nobody was allowed to come in without a strict examination; and it was not easy to find a probable pretence to satisfy Mr. Meadows who was there as mediator, or Algernon Sidney and the other English commissioners, who were ready to make their entry, and would naturally be consulted with on this occasion. The fleet had been sent thither, in pursuance of a treaty made with Holland on May 8 to mediate for a peace, or rather to force the king of Sweden to one, upon the terms of the treaty of Roschild. The rump parliament being at that time restored in England, to secure themselves in their new power thought fit to truckle to the Dutch, and by procuring them greater advantages in their Baltic trade, to engage the friendship of their sister commonwealth. Those commissioners were sent over for that purpose to

* E. E. 323. A. 4to. 204, 217, 234, and 239.

Holland, and having on July 4 made a new treaty there with the Dutch, to obtain from the king of Sweden the conditions formerly settled between the Swedes and Hollanders in a treaty at Elbing, they went from the Hague to Copenhagen to oblige the king of Sweden to give his consent. The day assigned for the solemnity of their entry seemed a proper season for the knight to get into the town undiscovered; which he effected by putting himself into the train of a duke of Lunenburg. He soon ¹⁸⁶ found out Mr. Edward Montague, eldest son to the lord Montague of Boughton, a near relation to the admiral, whom he accompanied in that expedition, and conveying to him sir E. Hyde's letter, was appointed to come to his chambers at twelve o'clock at night, where they conferred together till morning, and Mr. Montague received the king's letter to the admiral. The next day the commissioners, with the admiral, going about to view the town, and the latter entering one of the churches, saw the knight walking there, and calling him, asked what had brought him into those parts, and held some discourse with him in general about the news in England, without seeming to take any notice of his having heard before that he was in the place. The night following at the same hour the knight made a second visit to Mr. Montague, who talked to him very freely of the temper of the fleet, the want of victuals, and the difficulties that the admiral would be exposed to for want of ports wherein to put and revictual the navy; which would have such an effect on the seamen, that though he was confident at least half the fleet would follow him, yet they would soon grow uneasy under their distresses, and be apt to make their peace by delivering up their officers. In fine, he told the knight, that his being in town was taken notice of by the commissioners; that it was necessary in many respects he should hasten away; and that he would take upon himself to satisfy the chancellor,

for whom he delivered him a letter. He gave him at the same time another for Opdam, to help him to a vessel to carry him to Hamburg; which was immediately done. The knight after three days' stay in Copenhagen left it on Aug. 26, met with very foul weather, and had like to have been drowned in his passage to Hamburg, from whence about the middle of September he got safe back to Brussels.

298 Mr. Montague's letter to sir E. Hyde was as satisfactory as could be wished; assuring him not only of his own entire devotion to the king, without the least consideration of his person or fortune, but of the admiral's disposition to serve his majesty; but that for the present nothing was to be done. He excused the hasty sending away of the knight, since though he doubted not of the professions he made, yet it was not proper for the admiral to put himself so much in his power as to own his intentions to him; however, upon any appearance of disorders in England the chancellor might expect a good account from him, and should hear from him by the way of England. The knight had scarce arrived with this letter, when accounts came of the fleet having left the Sound, and sailed for the English coast. The officers of it had, upon the first news of the dissolution of R. Cromwell's parliament, made a general protestation against the present power, and that they would adhere to the protector. Richard had since graciously absolved them of all their obligations; and the commissioners had brought with them, besides other great promises, an act of pardon and indemnity for all that was past, which, they imagined, had composed all humours; though it appeared afterwards not to have wrought any change in the officers' inclinations. When the knight left Copenhagen, they had not there heard a word of any troubles in England; but presently after his departure advice came of sir G. Boothe's rising, and admiral Montague resolved immedi-

ately to sail for England. Sidney and the other commissioners opposed it violently, protested against his going, and the contest grew so very hot, that the first told the admiral, that he knew his errand, and that the king was in his heart. The admiral however having but five weeks' provision left, and having got a council of war on his side, came away, resolving to block up the Thames with a squadron, and to employ the rest of his fleet to transport supplies of men and arms from France and Flanders, as occasion should require. But in his return he met with the news of sir G. Boothe's miscarriage and imprisonment, which disappointed all his measures; so that there being no foreign port into which he could put, nor any means for supplying the fleet with victuals, he was obliged to put into Owsley bay, and justify himself the best he could to the prevailing power in England. There cannot be given a more remarkable instance of the indisposition of foreign princes to assist an exiled king of England than offered upon this occasion. Mazarine's union with England was broke by Cromwell's death, and France making peace with his catholic majesty, had very little reason to be apprehensive of the English state, yet would not admit any ships that should declare for the king into the harbours of France. The king of Spain was actually at war with the usurped power of England, yet dreaded it so much, that he durst not provoke it further by receiving any of the king of England's ships into the ports of Spain. Would he but have countenanced his majesty's service in that particular, the English fleet, then in the Mediterranean, would have declared openly for the king.

299 How regardless of the obligations of justice, and how insensible soever of the common interests of royalty, the princes of Europe were at this time, there were still some great men, though in the rank of subjects, that were inspired with more generous and noble sentiments, and ready

to do their utmost for the restoring of the king to his throne. Among these the great prince of Condé, and the count of Marsin then in Flanders, used pressing instances with the Spanish ministry in that country to furnish him with the necessary succours to enable him to improve the opportunity which sir G. Boothe's rising offered for his restoration. The former declared himself ready to send over his own troops, and laboured to find means of transportation. The count of Schomberg, who had then Calais, Dixmuyde, and Bergh under his command, treated with the English officers at Dunkirk to reclaim them to their duty, and solicited the court for a connivance to send over considerable detachments out of his own and other regiments garrisoned in that neighbourhood. The great Turenne, out of zeal to the royal cause, upon the news of the said insurrection, offered to the queen of England to send over his regiment of one thousand two hundred foot, and the Scots gendarmes, and arms for three or four thousand men, six fieldpieces, ammunition in proportion, and provisions to subsist five thousand men for two months; to procure shipping to transport all these into England, and to grant passports for the duke of York's regiment, and what other troops he could bring from Flanders, to march for Boulogne to embark there, and to employ all his credit to raise a sum of money sufficient to carry on the business with success.

300 The queen resolved to send immediately captain Thomas Cooke to the king with this account, and wrote^y to him on Aug. 27 N. S. acquainting him that M. de Turenne had been with her that day, and was then set out for Amiens to afford his majesty an opportunity of discoursing with him on the subject; that he left it to the king to choose either Amiens, Abbeville, or Montreuil for the place of the conference, but desired to meet him without the loss of a moment's time and with the utmost secrecy;

^y See her letter. A. 4to p. 195, 200, 201, 210, 213, and 316. E. E. 333.

for what he proposed to do for his majesty's service was without any order from the court. The king had on Wednesday the 25th of that month at night parted with the marquis of Ormond near Rouen, having ordered him to go to Paris to make up matters with the queen mother, (there having been a strangeness and misunderstanding between them ever since the beforementioned affair of the duke of Gloucester,) to advise with her touching the motions then in England, and to engage her to solicit the court of France for succours, or at least for a connivance at the passing over of such forces as would follow him ¹⁸⁸ out of affection to his person and cause into England. The marquis arrived at Paris as captain Cook was setting out with his commission to the king; and a consultation being held thereupon, it was thought proper to despatch him to the duke of York; the king, when the marquis left him, purposing to go on to St. Malo, a place too remote to allow of the conference proposed so soon as the exigence of affairs required. Besides, it was not thought advisable, in so favourable a conjuncture both at home and abroad, to run the hazard of so irrecoverable a loss as that of the king's person would be, unless his presence should appear highly necessary, and should be desired; nor then, unless a secure retreat should be proposed. The marquis immediately sent away an express to Rouen to provide what ships could be got upon the coast of Normandy, and the duke of York upon notice repaired immediately to M. de Turenne near Amiens, who made him (since the king could not be found) the abovementioned offer, and gave him a letter for the king of France's lieutenant at Boulogne, whom he ordered to furnish what ships were in his government, not excepting the fishing boats. The mareschal d'Aumont, governor of the Boulonnois, sent likewise orders to the same purpose; and Turenne, for the better executing and hastening the transportation, went to Montreuil. Such was the expedition

used in this affair, that the duke of York was actually embarking on Sept. 5 with the duke of Bouillon, and count d'Auvergne, Turenne's nephews, and the troops in readiness, when the news arrived of sir G. Boothe's being routed, and the insurrection being suppressed in all parts of England. Upon this advice the duke went to Montreuil to consult with Turenne, to whom he proposed going on with the expedition, for fear the king his brother should have gone from St. Malo, and have landed in the west; where he must necessarily be in great danger, and unable to attempt any thing, unless a diversion were made in some other part of the kingdom. Turenne did not think it proper to attempt any thing in a conjuncture, before the king's friends were recovered of the consternation with which they would be seized upon the first news of the success of the rebels. He advised the duke to have patience, and wait for a better opportunity; which, considering the confusions of England, would soon be offered; and, as there was no prospect of success in the then situation of affairs, recommended to him to retire into Flanders, till he saw what turn they would take. The duke of York hereupon went to Brussels, and from thence to Breda; where he passed some time with the princess royal. Thus was the enterprise laid aside; and these were the first effects of sir G. Boothe's miscarriage.

301 The marquis of Ormond having disposed every thing for a perfect reconciliation between the king and queen, and for an interview upon his majesty's return into the neighbourhood of Paris, left this place on Sept. 2, and joined the king at St. Malo. He travelled thither post, but had scarce reached the place, when the ill news out of England, which arrived at Paris on the 6th, was brought thither, and put a stop to the design of passing into England. The king having now scarce any other hopes left, but what might arise from the treaty between

the crowns of France and Spain, resolved to try if the two ministers could not be brought to concur in proper measures for his restoration. With this view he made all possible haste by Rennes, Nantes, and Rochelle to Tholouse ; ² where the advices he received made him apprehensive that every thing was settled at the conference, and that the two ministers would have parted before he could arrive there. His greatest dependence was on Don Louis de Haro ; and in order to see him, he set out from Tholouse on Oct. 7, and passing the Pyrenean hills went to Saragossa in Arragon, where he made a ¹⁸⁹ short stay, till matters were settled for his reception. The marquis was left at Tholouse to catch Mazarine in his return, in order to dispose him to good resolutions for his majesty ; but finding that the conferences still continued, he went about a week after by Bearne and Bayonne to the place of treaty. Sir H. Bennet was there disposing all things, especially on the Spanish side, for the king's coming ; and accordingly, when the season was thought proper for it, the marquis of Ormond went from thence as far as Tolosette, to meet his majesty, then advancing to Fontarabia.

³⁰² Don Louis ordered the grandees that were with him to pay the same court to the king of England as they would to the person of his catholic majesty, and went to meet him with his coaches and horseguards. He paid him all kind of honours and respect, which his majesty returned with ample expressions of affection and esteem. The king went into Don Louis's coach, and would take in nobody else, though Don Louis had left places for the marquis of Ormond and the earl of Bristol. At his entering Fontarabia, he was saluted with three discharges of the artillery, and was lodged in the castle in the royal apartment, which Don Louis quitted to him, retiring himself to that of the baron de Batteville. He was in all

² A. 4to p. 298, 311. E. E. 306, 307.

respects treated with as much reverence as the king of Spain himself could be ; and being desirous to talk with the two ministers together, Don Louis proposed it to Mazarine ; who refused it, under pretence that such a conference could produce no advantage to his Britannic majesty ; but would, on the contrary, give the government of England a distrust of the cardinal, and thereby do hurt to the design he had of serving his majesty. The reasons which made Mazarine averse to this motion were, the dread he stood in of Lockart and the power of England, and a certain jealousy he entertained, as if Louis de Haro proposed it with a design to render him suspected to the English republicans. The cardinal was the more disposed to indulge his own fears and jealousies in this respect, because Bourdeaux, the French envoy in England, was ill-affected to the king's interest, so that none of the royalists cared to trust or unbosom themselves to him. It was either from his ignorance of their strength, or from his correspondence and friendship with the republican party, that he always represented matters unfavourably to his majesty's interests, exalted the power of the usurpers, and never gave the cardinal a full account of the true situation of affairs in England. Don Alonzo de Cardenas laboured as much on the other side to defeat the effect of Louis de Haro's real inclinations to the king's service, representing that his majesty's restoration was a work full as difficult as an entire conquest of the three kingdoms.

- 303 The king being refused an interview with the cardinal, was obliged to take up with an expedient which the other desired. It was that the marquis of Ormond, as he was going one day to S. Jean de Luz, should meet with the cardinal on his road to the Isle of Conference, and talk with him about his Britannic majesty's affairs. The matter was concerted between the two ministers, and Mazarine going out of Sibourg, mounted on horseback, and met the

marquis ; Don Louis in the mean time loitering by the way beyond the usual hour of meeting, on purpose to give the marquis of Ormond the longer time and more leisure to confer with the cardinal. This conference was on Nov. 12, and the marquis did not fail on this occasion to lay before his eminence the distracted condition of the usurping factions in England ; the invitations made to the king from thence ; the engagements of the most considerable persons, and disposition of the people in general throughout the kingdom, to restore his majesty ; and the great probability of that work's being speedily effected ; which would be raised to a certainty, if France would espouse¹⁹⁰ his cause. He put the cardinal in mind of the honour and glory he would gain to himself by being the author of so great and glorious a work, and the advantages he would thereby procure to France by a perpetual alliance with the king of England, who could never forget the obligations he should lie under to that crown, for re-establishing him in his own, and who was so well satisfied that his success would be infallible, if he was aided by France, that if he had but assurance of theirs, he would apply nowhere else for assistance. The cardinal received the marquis with the affability and civility which were natural to him, and due to the plenipotentiary of a king of England ; expressed a deep sense of his majesty's condition, and how much his most Christian majesty was affected with it, as well out of regard to the common interest of all princes, as to the near consanguinity that was between them ; and excused the league made with the government of England, as an act of necessity, and done for reasons of state, contrary to his sentiments and inclinations. But as that fatal necessity was not yet removed, he could not, as the king's first minister, promise his master's assistance at present ; however, as the ordinary revolutions of things might in a little time leave France entirely at her liberty, the king moved by his

natural generosity and the relation between them, would in such case be fully disposed to assist his Britannic majesty. Yet in that case it would be necessary that the two crowns should act in concert, and that Spain should begin first, as acting against a declared enemy, with whom France was as yet in alliance; and that nothing could be expected from France, till after the treaty had taken effect, and the intended marriage with the infanta of Spain was consummated in the ensuing year, and a peace was likewise made between Sweden and Denmark.

304 This conference did not at all lessen the contempt and aversion which the marquis of Ormond had for the cardinal, whose pusillanimity and insincerity he was too well acquainted with before. The king, finding nothing was to be got from Mazarine but general professions which had no meaning, and precarious promises, founded upon future contingencies and upon distant as well as uncertain events, and that even Louis de Haro postponed the assistance which he had been encouraged to expect from Spain till after the reduction of Portugal, which now took up all the thoughts of the court of Madrid, and which they vainly flattered themselves would be a short and an easy work, saw that he had nothing to do but to return to Flanders, and accordingly fixed a day for his departure. The earl of Bristol, who had now worked himself into the favour of Louis de Haro, was invited by him to Madrid, and resolved to accompany him thither, either to convince the court of Spain of his catholicity, (for he spent there a great deal of time in his devotions,) or to solicit it for some better revenue to maintain the king in Flanders, where all his servants were reduced to great extremities for want of money^a. The earl had been a little time before perverted from his religion by this artifice. He had always withstood the teasing of the Roman catholic priests, who pressed him to embrace

^a Relation of the bishop of Worcester.

their communion, till he fell ill of a violent fever, and the physicians told him his case was desperate, and he had nothing to think of but another world. Soon after, a Jesuit was sent in to him, who pressed him, now there were no hopes of his recovery, to die at least in the true church. The earl, notwithstanding the extremity he was in, and the weakness of reason which that of the body occasions in such cases, was not yet persuaded to turn; but the Jesuit, redoubling his attack, told him, that if he would give them any hopes of his conversion, God might possibly work a miracle in his favour; at least all his society should pray for him; and begged a promise from him, that if he recovered through their prayers he would profess himself a Roman catholic. The earl being very desirous to live, gave him his promise that he would; and made it good upon his recovery, surrendering the seals of his office as secretary of state, which after this change of religion he could not keep consistent with his majesty's service. Being ashamed to turn a second time, he continued always in that profession; but there is reason to think he never was a Roman catholic in his heart. For he was not only free in declaring against the court of Rome, but he never had a Romish priest in his family after he came into England, nor was any ever known to come near him. His daughter, the countess of Sunderland, being one day asked about it, answered, that she did not care to speak on that subject; but it was always her opinion that her father never was really and in his judgment a Roman catholic.

305 Four days after the marquis of Ormond's conference with the cardinal, the king set out from Fontarabia, attended by the marquis and a few servants^b. He took the road of Paris, and in the neighbourhood of that place, at Colombe, on Dec. 10, met the queen his mother; and they passed a week together with entire satisfaction in

^b A. 4to. 344, 302.

each other. Her majesty, to second the king's negotiations at the treaty, had sent the lord Jermyn and the abbot Montague to use instances in her name with cardinal Mazarine to furnish the king her son with the succours he wanted for a descent upon England, or at least to connive at those aids of men, arms, and ammunition which he might obtain by the affections of the French nobility, officers, and governors of places. They waited at Toulouse for the cardinal's return from the treaty, but could not prevail for so much as a connivance. The king, after his own ill success at that treaty, expected no better from their negotiation; yet did not despair of being soon upon his throne in England; some advices which he had received at Fontarabia from lord Mordaunt and others, which he had met with on the road from the same hand, having raised his hopes of some good event from the irreconcilable divisions among his enemies in England.

306 That nobleman had, upon the defeat of sir G. Boothe, and the suppression of the insurrections attempted in other parts of England, been proclaimed a traitor; but made his escape to Calais, where he landed on Sept. 17, N. S. Captain Titus and Mr. Hartgill Baron landed with him, and not knowing how to send to the king, he despatched them to Brussels, with an account of the state of affairs in England, and his desires of being informed where he might send to or wait on his majesty. Receiving advice thereof, he wrote^c on Oct. 8 to the king and the marquis of Ormond a short account of those affairs, on which he could not enlarge for want of a cipher, intending in two days to set out himself to give his majesty a fuller relation by word of mouth. Lambert's victory had not lessened the distractions of the nation, the parties in the army, or the divisions at Westminster. Lambert's return to London had made them wider, and he was suspected of driving on a design for himself.

^c A. 4to. pp. 217, 225, 249, 251, 263, 268, 286, 324. E. E. 335.

Fleetwood and other principal officers resolved to oppose Lambert, laboured with all their might to keep up an interest in the army, and made great professions of their intentions to serve the king upon the first opportunity. The parliament was full of fears and jealousies, and continued to make levies out of the congregated churches, though all the danger of risings seemed to be over. They could agree upon no settlement; they were much divided about the engagement, the fifth monarchy-men refusing to engage against a single person, lest they should exclude Christ when he comes to reign, and others, who¹⁹² were not of their opinion, abetting the argument under pretence of satisfying tender consciences. Many scrupled at the words *this commonwealth*, till it was resolved what it should be, which generally took one day in a week in debating; some being for the present model; others for a coordinate senate to be joined with it; and a third party for Harrington's scheme, described in his *Oceana*. The leaders of these different parties were at daggers-drawing; Haslerig and Vane had like to have fought in the house, and there seemed no possibility of union and agreement. The city of London was discontented at the unsettled state of things, and at the old lord mayor's being forced upon them for another year by order of the house, so that some of the aldermen laid down their charges, and nobody cared to serve as sheriffs. Those who had been taken with sir G. Boothe were most of them set at liberty, and such as were still detained prisoners looked upon themselves as in a condition of despising their conquerors. In brief, such was the confusion of affairs, and such assurances had lord Mordaunt received from those who ruled the army, or at least the most numerous part of it, and from those who were in all their counsels, that he ventured to pronounce that the king could not be longer kept out, if his business fell into honest and prudent hands.

307 He was so confident of this event, "that his greatest apprehension was, lest the king, for want of knowing the true posture of affairs in England, should be tempted to such an agreement with either or both of the crowns then in treaty, as might prove in the end to his future prejudice. For though he should esteem the restoration a great blessing, were it even wrought by the Turks, yet he had rather it were done in a way more to the king's and the nation's honour, without the dilatory preparations of royal armies, and the danger of a conquest. He was far from persuading a rash attempt, or encouraging an undertaking with a force that might receive a foil; but he was ready to make it appear by as much demonstration as a thing of that nature would permit, that a great army was unseasonable, and that it was very probable a small force would do the business. He was setting out post to wait upon the king, and to support his advice by the reasons which determined his own judgment, when his friends in England, who trusted their lives and fortunes in his hands, sent him pressing instances to return thither; nothing less than a total change of government being daily expected, or at least such a breach as would engage the parties in blood. This made him put off his journey, and send Mr. Baron to the king on Oct. 11 with full instructions, and with letters containing an information from a person of fortune and interest, one whose abilities made him courted by all parties, and who was well acquainted with most of the intrigues since the beginning of the war; one who was as moral and religious as he was wise; who finding it now lay in his power to serve his majesty considerably, desired the following account might be transmitted to him with all possible diligence.

308 Such was the character which lord Mordaunt gave of that person whose account of affairs he enclosed, going on in these words:

“This person assures himself he has such influence upon those that now push for power, and on those who steer most counsels, that not only nothing of consequence can be kept secret from him, but that he may have interest sufficient to precipitate or retard the breach, or at least to make the balance incline to what side your majesty shall judge most to your advantage. He states the interest thus; and truly, by that I am confirmed, he hath a perfect knowledge of the present affairs, as to what relates to the parliament and army. Haslerig, he says, now appears the champion for liberty, parliaments, and a republic. He is seconded by Nevil and Mr. Harrington’s¹⁹³ cabal; only he dissents about rotation. Fleetwood seems to lean that way; and these carry the vote. Lambert is the single person sir H. Vane designs, and an alliance between them unites their interests. These are seconded by the desperate sectaries, and by a considerable part of the army, with the whole body of the catholics; (of which I was assured before I heard this account.) He says, Mr. Henry Howard heads these, and had agreed with Lambert, in case sir G. Boothe had brought it to a war, to have joined with the army; that upon declaration of their good intentions a toleration was granted them; which though your majesty at the same time had proffered, they would have refused, upon the account of the establishment of that religion there.”

309 He gives this for their reason :

“If Lambert succeeds, the church of England must fall; and then, nothing but schisms remaining, their toleration will gain upon the multitude. Which if so, by taking off those in their prisons, who are, for quality, courage, and fortune, the most considerable of your majesty’s friends, they will free themselves from future apprehensions of any party’s disputing their settlement. A toleration was moved in the house, but instantly decried. He says, the council of officers designed on Thursday to come to a resolution, and his opinion is, they may push at dissolving the parliament, or purging it so, as Lambert and Vane may be satisfied. The house-party and asserters of liberty believe their interest equal to Lambert’s in the army; and this person believes they will dispute it frankly. If it come to a war, he says, the presbyterians will join with the parliament and submit to a republic, being dissatisfied with the foul play

the cavaliers used in sir G. Boothe's business. If these prevail, the prisoners will be all freed, and no blood shed; if Lambert have success, he believes they will all die. He proposes for prevention, that your majesty, having now interest with both crowns, immediately get into readiness three or four thousand men, and that upon the first breach you land. His opinion then is, the less violent party of the very schismatics, all the presbyterians, and most of the house, will join with you. From this person your majesty will have a perfect account of what passes, and he humbly desires to kiss your hands when your majesty comes so near that he may do it and run no risk of discovery, wherein he is extreme cautious that your majesty may not lose the service of so useful a person, nor he be ruined by the indiscretion of some near you."

310 This was the intelligence which lord Mordaunt was charged to convey to his majesty. He accompanied it with further advertisements of his own; touching the resolution of the king's friends in the west and other parts of England, recommending earnestly to his majesty, that he would draw nearer his own kingdoms, and be ready to transport himself with a small body of foot, and (if the two crowns declined assisting him) with that which had been offered him by M. de Turenne, and which (when the opportunity, daily expected, presented itself) would be sufficient to do his business. The truth of this intelligence was soon verified by the events; Haslerig and his party, who carried all in the parliament, having on Oct. 12, O. S., cashiered Lambert and other officers, and vested the command of the army in Fleetwood, Ludlow, Monck, Haslerig, Walton, Morley, and Overton; Lambert the next day drew down his forces to Westminster, and dissolved the parliament. The republican party, deprived of the countenance of the house, applied to Monck for assistance, (who seemed readily to embark with them,) and resolved to dispute the point with their swords. The cavaliers thought it was their time to appear the moment that these factions had drawn blood, and repeated their

instances for lord Mordaunt's immediate return. He judged it necessary, (though two months had not been passed since his being proscribed,) and having despatched 194 Mr. Armorer to his majesty, renewing the instances he had made before for his nearer approach to England, returned to London five days after the dissolution of the house.

- 311 The king did not receive these and some other accounts till he reached Paris on Dec. 10^d, when he caused a memorial to be drawn up, representing to cardinal Mazarine the assurances given him of Portsmouth, Exeter, Bristol, Gloucester, Lynn, and Windsor castle being seized for his service, of a considerable part of the fleet disposed to declare for him, of intended risings for him in Wales, the west, and other parts of England, of the distress of Lambert for want of money, the irreconcilable divisions of his enemies, and the firm resolution of his friends, who had either engaged in sir G. Boothe's affair, or should have risen at the same time, and who, though now set at liberty, expected to be taken up again, and to have their estates confiscated whenever a new government was settled; and being desperate with that expectation, were ready, with any competent help, to attempt their deliverance by restoring his majesty. In these circumstances, he desired the most Christian king's effectual orders to his commanders and other ministers on the coast for the furnishing his Britannic majesty (whenever he should make demand thereof) such proportion of men, arms, and ammunition, with necessaries, and liberty of transportation, as his most Christian majesty should think fit to limit; and this was the rather to be hoped, because such secret orders could no ways turn to the prejudice of the crown and counsels of France, and yet would be effectual enough upon occasion for the king of England's service. Such was the purport of the memorial drawn

^d A. 4to. p. 339. E. E. 374.

by the marquis of Ormond, and transmitted by the queen to lord Jermyn to present to the cardinal minister, who would not so much as grant this lowest degree of assistance towards the king's restoration; that being a blessing which God had reserved to himself, and which was soon after effected by his majesty's own subjects, without any obligation to foreigners.

312 The king returned to Brussels in the week after Christmas day. The accounts which he there received of the affairs were not so agreeable to him as those which he had met with on the road. Lambert and the officers of his party had constituted a committee of their body for the safety and government of the kingdom, and sent colonel Cobbet into Scotland to persuade Monck to concur with them. This form of government was generally disagreeable, yet they could not fix upon any other. Monck imprisoned Cobbet, seized Berwick, and declared for the parliament. Haslerig and Morley were received into Portsmouth, and from thence advanced with forces towards London. Lawson with the fleet declared for the parliament, which met again at Westminster, and re-assumed their former authority. Lambert's forces began to resist, and he neither had nor could raise money to pay those which as yet adhered to him; so that all his party was on the point of being ruined, without any possibility of resistance, and the rump parliament and republican party seemed entire masters of the nation. This was death to the king's hopes, which were founded upon the equality of power in the two great contending factions, and must in all probability be ruined by the entire suppression of either^e. All the remains of hopes that were left lay in Monck, who, though he had declared for the rump parliament, continued his resolution of marching to London, though that parliament was restored. He had likewise called a sort of convention of estates in

^e E. E. 373, 377. A. 4to. p. 391.

Scotland, (of whose affections to his interest the king had no doubt,) and had recommended to them to take care of the safety of their nation. The whole Scotch¹⁹⁵ interest being so opposite to that of the rump, (which was composed only of members that continued to sit after the king's murder, and had been the means of destroying the liberty of that kingdom,) and Monck uniting himself in so extraordinary a manner to the nobility and gentry of that nation, trusting them so far, and depending so much on their assistance, afforded grounds to believe that he had something more in his purposes than he professed, and that he would at last declare for his majesty, with whose friends he thus united.

- 313 The marquis of Ormond's judgment with regard to that general, and the proceedings of the rump, which had ordered a bill to be brought in for abjuring the king and all the line of king James, is thus expressed in a letter of his on Jan. 31 to lord Jermyn :

“That the oath of abjuration should not proceed, though it hath been industriously pursued by the greater number of the house, nor the city become any thing more pliant to the desires of the rump, and yet that Monck should declare (as in his letter to the city he does) for this individual parliament and a free commonwealth, and march towards London (as some say) with his whole army, leaving Scotland to be kept upon the matter by the Scots, are matters which induce me to expect something from him, at least beyond what he pretends ; and I believe it possible, that he brings his army, under this pretext, (which he finds most proper to lead them unanimously,) to be mastered, rather than to master the city and dissenting members ; which he might do doubtless by sending his declarations. But what his further intentions are, or for whom, I will not so much as guess, supposing it possible that they are but conditionally formed by himself, to be pursued, or laid aside, as he shall find his power capable of accomplishing them upon the place. It is true all of our side write as if they were pleased with the face of things ; but I see no particulars that warrant so much satisfaction. I will hope it is a general inclination towards the king,

grounded on as general a despair of settlement without him ; which they are better able to observe than describe."

314 He laid so much stress upon this general inclination, that he was the less alarmed at the reestablishment of the rump.

"Though (says he) the submission to the parliament seems universal and hearty in all those that have any military or civil authority in the three kingdoms ; and though I conceive the appearance of its being so, and the drawing of the army towards London, reason enough to stop the king, if he were ready to embark with a force that a month since in the judgment of all men would have done his work ; yet you may take it for a certain truth, that many of those who pretended to secure places for the parliament, and possessed themselves accordingly of them, did it with a purpose of making use of them in the end to the king's advantage, if the contest had been kept up a little longer. Of this we have good evidence, besides the known inclinations of many of the persons that acted. Whence it may be inferred that upon any the like conjuncture (which infallibly will happen) we shall still have them to friend, and in a posture more able to help us. Nor are we the less to account upon them for their taking any oaths, or making any abjurations contrary to it, since all in any sort of power there have long learned and often practised the absolving themselves in such cases ; and it is no melancholy remark by the way, that the imposing of an abjuration of the king's family met with such considerable opposition in the house, even from some that had an hand in the last king's murder."

315 He thought it behoved the king to be in a readiness to make use of all events, and therefore pressed the lord Jermyn, who was then attending the French court at 196 Lyons, to renew his instances for their supplying his majesty with the succours and the secret orders which he wanted, or at least with a sum of money, which would be of infinite service in that juncture, and might be advanced without danger of discovery, or giving any jealousy to their allies. He hoped the cardinal would, from the experience of what was past, and from the probability of the like revolution, be persuaded so to dispose of troops

that they might be made use of in the proper season, and to constitute some person, in whom he had a confidence, and who was favourable to the king's cause, to be judge of that season; which, in the appearing submission to the parliament, might be done with less suspicion than when the opportunity should be offered. What encouraged the marquis of Ormond to entertain any hopes from the cardinal at this time was the known aversion of the republican party in England to a French alliance, and the credit which the Spaniards had with that party, so that there were as great rejoicings made at Brussels for the rump's recovery of their power, as if the Spanish ministers had a share in the success and triumph on that occasion. Mazarine, according to his system of politics, wished the power of England to be vested in a protector, (as it had been in Cromwell's time,) and in the hands of any single person whatever, except the rightful king. Agreeable hereto, he had lately made an offer to Fleetwood, (who, among other demonstrations of his weakness, which he would have called by the name of penitence, for having contributed to the dissolving of the parliament, had now confessed to them on his submission,) to support him and his party with money and other assistances, if they would stick to what they had begun. This confession (which his eminence best knew whether it was true or no) ought in all reason to dispose him to favour one way or other the disturbance of that parliament, which, besides their professed inclination to prefer the interest of Spain before that of France, (were it only to differ from Cromwell's maxims and practices,) could never forget that offer. To encourage the cardinal to such a step, in which the interest of France as well as of the king was engaged, he gave him reasons to expect the concurrence of the Dutch, who were uneasy at the reestablishment of the rump, and dreaded nothing so much as to see England settled in a commonwealth. Thus he di-

rected lord Jermyn to tell his eminence that M. Hem-fleet had come the last week to Brussels, (though in a very bad state of health, and in weather very inconvenient for travel,) on purpose to tell the king, that in discourse with M. de Witt he had liberty from him to assure his majesty, that whenever France should think fit to propose to Holland a conjunction for restoring the king, they would be found very well disposed to it. But nothing could move the cardinal to depart from those maxims which he had laid down for his political conduct, or to assist the king, for fear his restoration should put an end to the distractions of England, and settle that kingdom on a bottom of justice, without which no peace can be lasting, and no nation can ever long flourish. It was either this detestable view in politics, or his apprehensions of the king's resentment of his conduct towards him, that made him afterwards, when Monck was come to London, had conquered all difficulties, and was preparing matters to bring over his majesty, he caused the French ambassador at London to propose to him the setting up for himself, and to assure him of all the power of France to support him in his usurpation. The general was too wise and honourable a man to be tempted by the glaring offer of unlawful and precarious power; he rejected it with disdain, and chose rather to make his name glorious in all ages by restoring his lawful prince, than raise his present fortune for a time upon the ruins of his country.

316 ^fWhilst the king was still uncertain about Monck's 197 real intentions, he had intimation given him by Mr. Thomas Howard, younger brother to Charles afterwards earl of Carlisle, that his brother-in-law sir George Downing, then resident at the Hague, and lately come out of England, would be glad to have a private conference with any one whom his majesty entirely trusted, and wished it might be the marquis of Ormond. The marquis was

^f Sir R. Southwell's Narrative.

upon this occasion sent to the Hague, where sir George, meeting him in secret, told him, that by the course and revolution of things in England, which he had well observed, his majesty must suddenly be restored ; that whatever any particular undertakers might pretend to the king, in order to exalt their own merit, it would be in truth the work of the whole nation ; that the English could no longer bear the tyrannies they lay under, and seeing no other cure for the evils they suffered, the calling home of his majesty was irresistible. He mentioned many particulars, and explained himself fully as to the grounds which he had to be of this opinion ; and only desired, that for the sake of the good news, of which probably he was the first informer, he might find favour hereafter, so far as to be allowed to live in peace and quiet, for he should not pretend to any more.

- 317 The marquis returned to Brussels with this account to his majesty ; and as Monck had entered London in the beginning of February, his proceedings there soon cleared up the mystery of his intentions, and every week brought new accounts, confirming the hopes which sir George Downing had given. The letter, which that general had sent on the 12th of that month to the house, requiring them to determine the time of their sitting, and to issue out writs for a new parliament, as the only means of restoring peace and happiness to the nation, was brought to Brussels with incredible expedition by an officer who had formerly served under the marquis, and was by him introduced to the king. This was followed by the re-admission of the secluded members into the house, who immediately put the fleet under the command of admiral Montague, set sir G. Boothe and all that had been imprisoned for his engagement, or for their affections to his majesty, at liberty, and prepared matters with great prudence for the calling of a free parliament, which nobody who knew the inclinations of the kingdom could doubt

but it would produce a restoration. In fine, the long parliament having dissolved themselves on March 16, and issued writs for a new one to meet on April 25, Monck, finding a ready concurrence in the council of state appointed to govern in the interval, (of which Arthur Annesley, afterwards earl of Anglesey, was president,) and seeing himself master of the kingdom, thought he might now take more direct steps to the end he aimed at, and sent his cousin sir John Grenville to the king, with a tender of his duty, and proper instructions with regard to the letters which he advised his majesty to write to himself, the new parliament, and the fleet, and a declaration to be published for the satisfaction of the kingdom.

318 Lord Mordaunt accompanied sir John in his journey to Brussels, where they arrived at the latter end of March. This I judge from the letters of the king, the marquis of Ormond, and lord Mordaunt, wrote from thence on the first of April to Paris, which were acknowledged by the answers of the queen to the king, and of lord Jermyn to the marquis of Ormond on the sixth of that month O. S. The king and the marquis had in their letters taken notice of his majesty's resolution to remove immediately out of Flanders to Breda, it not being proper for the king, at the time he was invited into England, to continue in the territories of a king of Spain, who was in 198 hostility with the English, and whose ministers might probably advise him to detain his majesty's person till he had delivered back Dunkirk and Jamaica. Lord Jermyn does not find fault with the resolution, the reasons for it (arising from the important particulars in the marquis's letter) being too clear to be disputed, yet presses much that the king would come to Paris, and make that the place of his residence, till he should go for England.

319 It was one considerable part of Monck's instructions to sir J. Grenville, that he should not return till he had

seen the king out of the Spanish dominions, and his majesty was desired to make haste to Breda, and from thence [despatch] all the letters and papers he should send to England. I have taken notice of these particulars, as well to do an act of justice to general Monck by shewing that his application to the king was earlier than is generally represented, and that he did not wait till he had seen the issue of the elections, by which he might judge of the temper of the members, as to do another to the marquis of Ormond, (from whom nobody I believe will separate the lord chancellor,) by shewing that he was not unacquainted with Monck's offers and instructions to the king. The surmise, that these were kept a secret from those two noble persons is so far from truth, that on the very next day after lord Mordaunt and sir J. Grenville parted from the king, lord Mordaunt, upon some fresh advices received from England of Monck's measures and further communication of his design, sent ^ha letter to the marquis of Ormond, desiring him to despatch Hartgill Baron with the commission for that general, and such further instructions as were necessary.

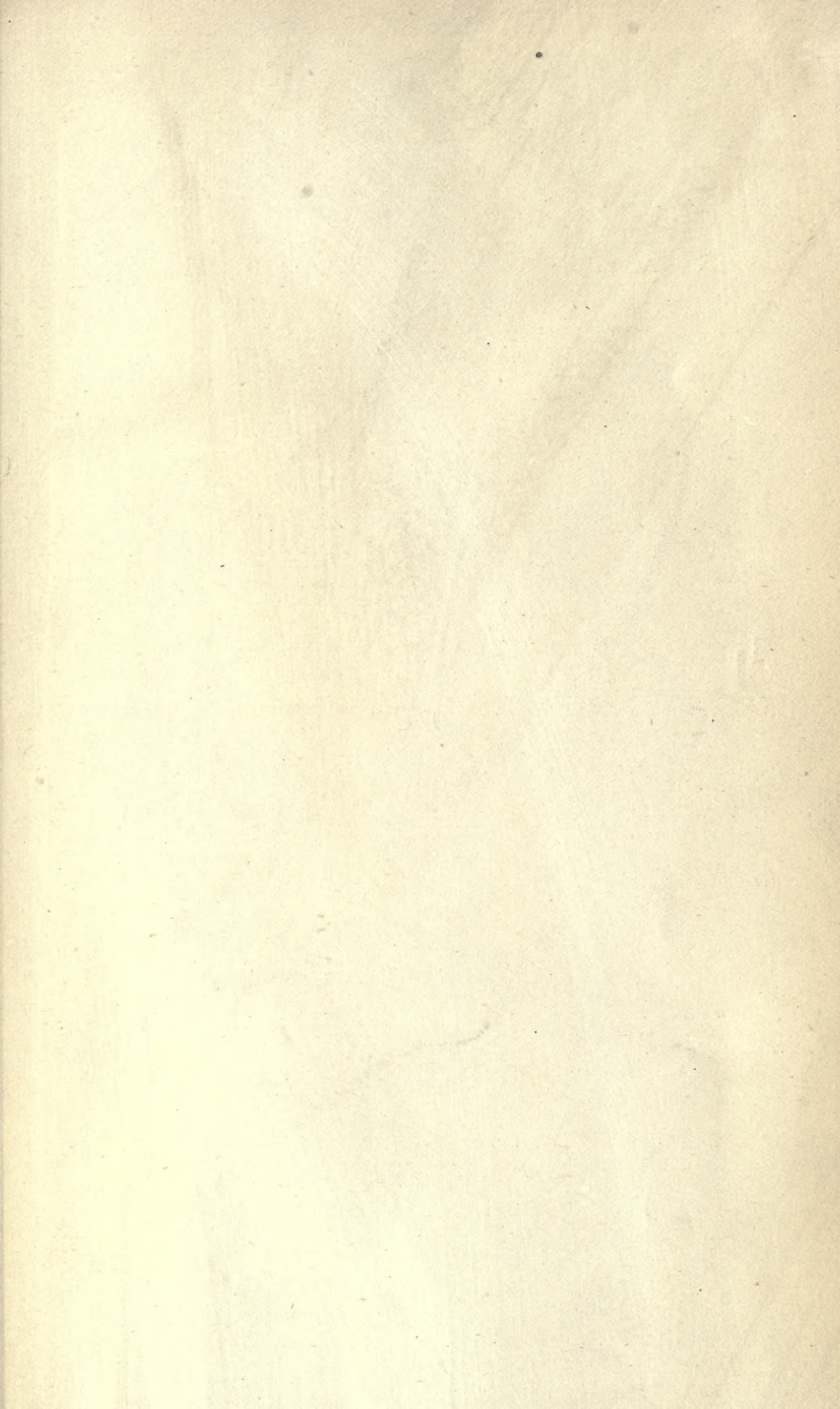
³²⁰ It may not be improper to observe further that Monck had recommended to his majesty to give satisfaction to all parties, to declare that he would pass an act of oblivion and indemnity for all offenders, grant a general liberty of conscience to gratify all humours in religion, and to leave every body in the state wherein they were, and in the possession they had of lands, belonging either to the church or crown, or taken from the royalists, whose estates had been confiscated as delinquents. Admiral Montague had sent to the king at the same time, offering him the fleet under his command, without any reserve, or insisting on any condition whatever. Lord Jermyn hereupon observes, that this last offer was the more considerable, because not clogged like the others with conditions,

^h See his letter. G. 4to. p. 33.

and from thence takes occasion to justify his opinion for the king's coming into France, because there he might, by the advantage of the ports of that kingdom, make the best use of the fleet for his service; and as the affair of his restoration was to be carried on by a treaty with the parliament, nothing would so effectually bring that body to more moderate terms, or secure the affair from miscarriage, as his majesty's being invited to Paris, and residing there.

321 This point of a treaty was indeed the only thing which caused any difficulty in the way of the king's return. The presbyterian party were many of them for the Isle of Wight propositions, and all of them for making terms with a prince whom they had offended to a degree not to be forgiven by a less generous nature. All that affected to set up for patrons of liberty, and abundance of well meaning persons that had always wished well to the royal cause, were afraid of the prerogative's being restored in its full extent; and if it had once come into debate, upon what conditions the king should be received, there would have been enough to join in insisting upon several articles that could not but be very disagreeable to his majesty. The cavaliers were much afraid of the consequences of such debates, in which all the republican party 199 and sectaries would find opportunities to shew their rancour to monarchy, and aversion to the king's restoration, in a way that would be acceptable to the people. At least it would cause a great delay in settling the kingdom, and expose that to great hazards which now seemed resolved by the general consent of the nation. Hence lord Mordaunt, upon his return to England, observing how passionately many of those of the presbyterian party who had appeared most zealous for the king's return were bent upon terms with him, advised his majesty to make no hesitation in the matter, but to consent absolutely to the first which should be proposed, lest the

matter should be drawn out into length, and his restoration finally prevented. These fears and inconveniences were removed by the wise conduct of Monck, who resolving generously to restore his prince, like a sovereign, with all the rights and prerogatives of his crown, would not suffer the matter to come into debate, and so defeated the schemes of those who designed either to oppose the reestablishment or to impair the power of the monarchy. Sir Mathew Hale, a man of great piety and moderation, good affections to the king, and unexceptionable in all points of his character, having moved the house of commons to consider upon what conditions his majesty should be recalled, the general got up and cautioned them against entering into a consideration which would cause an infinity of debates, and delay, if not prevent, the settlement of the nation. What the consequences thereof would prove, it behoved the house well to consider; but for his own part he declared, that if they entered upon that matter he would not answer for the army. This put a stop to any further debate; the king was invited over without any condition, and the marquis of Ormond, who had attended him in the whole course of his exile, attended him likewise at the latter end of May in his happy return into England.



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